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ON THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS

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J. MUIR

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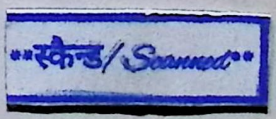
PART II



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Φάναι, ὃ ἂν μὴ γιγνώσκωμεν, βαρβαρικόν τοῦτ' εἶναι. εἴη μὲν δυν ἴσως ἄν τι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τοιοῦτον αὐτῶν, εἴη δὲ κἂν ὑπὸ παλαιότητος τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ὀνόματων ἀνεύρετα εἶναι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πανταχῇ στρέφεσθαι τὰ ονόματα οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἂν εἴη εἰ ἡ παλαιὰ φωνὴ πρὸς τὴν νυνὶ βαρβαρικῆς μηδὲν διαφέροι. PLATO, *Cratylus*, i. 421.

"We might say that the words which we did not understand were derived from the barbarians. Some of them might in reality be so; and it might also be the case that, owing to the lapse of time, the earliest forms were undiscoverable: for, as a result of the circulation of words in all parts of the world, it would not be at all strange if the ancient language, as compared with the modern, was in no respect different from the speech of the barbarians."

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ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS

ON THE

ORIGIN AND HISTORY

OF

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA

THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS.

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED, AND ILLUSTRATED,

BY

J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D.,

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL PRUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, AND OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, HONORARY MEMBER OF THE GERMAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, AND FOREIGN MEMBER OF THE LEYDEN LITERARY SOCIETY.

VOLUME SECOND.

INQUIRY WHETHER THE HINDUS ARE OF TRANS-HIMALAYAN ORIGIN, AND AKIN TO THE WESTERN BRANCHES OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN RACE.

THIRD EDITION.

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.[1]

My primary object in this volume, as in its predecessor, has been to produce a work which may assist the researches of those Hindus who desire to investigate critically the origin and history of their nation, and of their national literature, religion, and institutions; and may facilitate the operations of those European teachers whose business it is to communicate to the Hindus the results of modern inquiry on the various subjects here examined.[2] The book (as will at once be apparent to the Oriental scholar) is, for the most part, either a compilation, or, at the least, founded on the labours of others; but while my principal aim has been to furnish the reader with a summary of the results of preceding inquiries, my plan has, at the same time, rendered it necessary for me occasionally to institute fresh researches in different directions for the further elucidation of particular points which were touched upon in the course

[1] [This Preface is now reprinted with hardly any alteration, excepting such as has been rendered necessary by the difference in the numbers of the pages in which the several topics are treated, and by some additions and omissions.]

[2] This peculiarity in the object of the treatise will account to the European scholar for the introduction of many details which would otherwise have been quite superfluous.

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of my argument. In this way I may have succeeded in contributing a small proportion of original matter to the discussion of some of the interesting topics which have come under review

The obligations under which I lie to the different authors, whose labours have furnished the chief materials of the volume, have been, in most instances, so fully acknowledged in detail in the following pages, that it is not necessary for me to allude to them here more particularly. I must, however, refer to the assistance which I have derived from the French version of the Rigveda by M. Langlois, which, with his index, has directed my attention to various important passages in the later books, which I was then enabled to study in the original.

Though a small portion only of the present volume consists of "Sanskrit texts," which in some parts are altogether wanting, and in others but thinly scattered, (*apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto*) I have not considered it necessary to abandon the old title, but it has been slightly modified.

Although some idea of the object and contents of the volume may be gained from a perusal of the introductory statement of its plan (in pp. 1—3), and from the table at the close of this Preface, it may conduce to the convenience of those readers who, before entering on a perusal of the work, desire to obtain a more precise conception of the course of the discussion, and of the process by which I have sought to establish my conclusions, if I subjoin here a brief concatenated summary of the principal topics in order,

The general object of the present Part is to prove

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that the Hindus were not indigenous in India, but have immigrated into that country from Central Asia, where their ancestors at one time formed one community with the progenitors of the Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germans, etc.[3] In order to establish this result, I have sought to show that Sanskrit, the original language of the Hindus, exhibits undeniable marks of close affinity to the ancient languages of the other races just mentioned; and that the earliest religion, and mythology also, of India are connected with those of Persia by various points of contact and resemblance. Having adduced evidence on both these heads, and argued that these facts imply a common origin of the nations in question, and their subsequent dispersion from one common centre towards the different regions in which they ultimately settled; I endeavour to fortify the conclusions to which we are thus conducted by demonstrating that, in the earliest ages of their history, the ancestors of the Hindus appear to have occupied only the north-western corner of Hindustan; and that, while they were connected on the one hand by affinities of language and religion with the nations of the west, they were on the other hand distinguished, both by language and by institutions, from certain other tribes with whom they came into collision as they advanced across the north of India, and afterwards diffused themselves to the south of the peninsula: for if we find that the Hindus originally possessed only the Panjāb, the presumption (derived from

[3] [This proposition has been so far modified in the second edition that I now only insist on at least one of the elements in the ancestry of the Hindus having belonged to the Indo-European stock.]

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other considerations) that they immigrated from the north-west, becomes strengthened; and if, again, on their advance to the south-east, they encountered tribes with a different language and religion, already in occupation of those tracts, the probability that they did not grow up in India, alongside of these alien tribes, acquires additional force.

In order to obtain a basis for carrying out the philological portion of this argument, viz., for comparing the original language of the Hindus with those of the Persians, Greeks, and Latins, it became necessary for me to prove that the Sanskrit, which is now a learned language only, was at one time spoken by the ancestors of the Hindus. This I have attempted to do in the First Chapter (pp. 4—214), by showing in detail that the original Sanskrit idiom has undergone a long series of gradual mutations, of which we now see the ultimate result in the modern vernacular dialects of the north of India. The method which I have adopted to exhibit this has been to begin (Section i., pp. 4—11) with the existing spoken dialects, Urdu, Hindī, Mahrattī, etc., and to show what the elements are of which they are composed, viz., (1) pure Sanskrit, (2) modified Sanskrit, (3) Deśya or aboriginal non-Sanskrit words, and (4) words derived from Arabic and Persian. The fourth element is the latest which they have acquired, and dates only from the Mahomedan invasion; while the second and third (in a more or less different form) are common to them with the Prākṛits, or older vernacular dialects, out of which they grew.

In the succeeding sections (ii.—vii., pp. 11—128) an

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account is given of these earlier vernaculars, viz. (1) the Prākṛits, of which specimens are to be found in the different Hindu dramas, and which seem to have existed as spoken dialects, at least from the commencement of the Christian era, until they became merged in the modern vernaculars; (2) the Pāli, or sacred language of the Buddhist books of Ceylon and Burmah, which appears to represent one of the provincial dialects of northern India existing at the time when Buddhism began to be propagated in the sixth century B.C., and exhibits to us the popular speech of that region at a somewhat earlier stage than the dramatic Prākṛits; (3) the dialects (nearly contemporaneous with the Pāli) which are employed in the rock and pillar inscriptions of Aśoka; and (4) the singular dialect or jargon employed in the Gāthās or metrical portions of the Buddhist chronicles of northern India. In this portion of the work some comparative tables are introduced, which exhibit (*a*) the relations (*i.e.* the points of resemblance and of difference) between the modern vernaculars, Hindī, and Mahrattī, and the dramatic Prākṛits, and show how the two former have been formed by a modification of all the various elements of the latter, just as they (the older Prākṛits) in their turn have sprung up (if we except a small non-Sanskritic residuum) from the gradual decomposition of the Sanskrit; (*b*) the forms which are common to the dramatic Prākṛits, and the Pāli, as well as those points in which they vary, and which demonstrate that the Pāli diverges considerably less from the Sanskrit than the Prākṛits do, and must consequently be more ancient than they; and (*c*) the

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relation in which the rock inscriptions stand to the Pāli. In Section viii. (pp. 128—144) the conclusion is drawn that, as the vernacular speech of India, as far back as we are able to trace it, has been undergoing a continual series of mutations, and as the older the form is in which we find it existing, the nearer it approaches to the Sanskrit in its words and its grammatical inflections,—it must at some period a little further back have entirely merged in Sanskrit, and have been identical with it. Thus Sanskrit having been once the same with the oldest language of northern India, must at that period have been a vernacular tongue. After some speculations on the history of the Sanskrit language and its mutations, some further arguments,—drawn partly from the parallel case of Latin (which though once a spoken tongue, was ultimately lost in its derivative dialects, Italian, etc.), and partly from certain phenomena in Indian literature, or notices occurring in Indian authors,—are adduced in Section ix. (pp. 144—160) in support of the position that Sanskrit was once a vernacular language, and that the Vedic hymns were composed in the same dialect which their authors habitually spoke. I then go on to argue further (Section x., pp. 161—214) that as Sanskrit was once a spoken tongue, it must in its earlier stages have been exposed to all the mutations to which all spoken languages are subject. That such has actually been the case, is clear from a comparison of the oldest Sanskrit, that of the Vedic hymns, with the form which it took in the later literature, and which (as it became exempt from further modifications by ceasing to be popularly spoken) it has

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continued ever after to retain. As, however, the distinction which is here drawn between the older and the more recent literature may be disputed by the Hindu student, I have considered it necessary to adduce proof of the assertion that the Vedic hymns are the oldest of all the Indian writings; and with this view to ascend by gradual steps from the most recent commentaries on the Veda, through the Nirukta, the Brāhmaṇas, etc. to the hymn-collections, pointing out that each of these classes of works presupposes one of the others to have preceded it in regular order, and that such methods were employed by the commentators for the interpretation of the hymns as to prove that much of their language was already obsolete or obscure, and that consequently their priority in time to the very oldest of their expositors must have been very considerable. To complete the survey of the subject, I further show that there is a difference in the ages of the several Vedas (the Ṛik, Yajush, and Atharvan) themselves, as well as between the different portions of each, as is distinctly evidenced by their contents (see also pp. 446, ff.). The superior antiquity of the Vedas to the other Indian writings is next proved by a statement of the differences discoverable between the religious systems of these two classes of works, the nature-worship of the Vedas supplying the original germ out of which the Puranic mythology was slowly developed with innumerable modifications. The greater age of the Vedas is then shown by comparing a number of their grammatical forms with those of the later Sanskrit. Finally, I revert to the conclusion before indicated, that the language in which the Vedic hymns

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were composed can have been no other than the vernacular speech which was employed by the ṛishis and their contemporaries, as it is quite inconceivable that in that early age, when the refinements of grammar were unknown, there could have existed any learned language distinct from the ordinary dialect of the people.

Having thus shown cause for believing that Sanskrit, the original speech of the early Hindus (or Indo-Arians), was at one time a spoken language, and consequently liable, like all other spoken languages, to continual mutations in its earliest ages, and having by this means paved the way for proving that it is descended from one common mother with the ancient languages of the other Indo-European races, to which it exhibits the most striking family resemblance;—I proceed, in the Second Chapter (pp. 215—357), to produce the evidence which comparative philology furnishes of this resemblance, and to argue from the affinity of languages a community of origin between the different nations by which they were spoken. I then go on to bring forward the further grounds, supplied by comparative mythology and by other considerations, for supposing that the ancestors of the Hindus[4] belonged to the same great family as the Persians, Greeks, Romans, etc., which had its original seats in Central Asia, and that, on the dispersion, in various directions, of the different branches of that ancient family, the Indo-Arians immigrated into Hindustan from the north-west. The following are some of the details of this process of proof: In Section i. (pp. 217—228), a few simple remarks on comparative philo-

[4] [See note 3, p. ix.]

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logy are premised, in which it is shown how, by a comparison of their roots and structure, languages can be distributed into different families, of which the several members have a more or less close affinity to each other, while they have little or no resemblance to the members of any other family. This is illustrated by a comparative table, in which it is shown that while Sanskrit has in many of its words a strong similarity to Persian, it has scarcely any to Arabic; and by some other particulars. Section ii. (pp. 228—267) supplies detailed evidence of the affinities of Sanskrit with the Zend, Greek, and Latin, consisting, first, of comparative lists of words belonging to those languages which correspond with each other both in sound and sense; and secondly, of illustrations of the resemblances between those languages in their modes of inflection, as well as in the formation of words. As, however, the mutual differences which these languages also exhibit, might be urged as disproving the inference of their derivation from a common source, it is shown how, in the course of time, different branches of the same original tongue have an inevitable tendency to diverge more and more from the primitive type, both by modifying their old elements, and by assimilating new: and it is further pointed out that it is precisely those parts of a language which are the most primitive and essential in which the different Indo-European tongues coincide, while those in which they differ are such as would grow up after the nations which spoke them had been separated, and had become exposed to the action of diverse influences, physical, intellectual and moral. But as, admitting the

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resemblances between these languages, a Hindu might feel disposed to draw the conclusion that Sanskrit is the source of all the other kindred tongues, instead of being derived together with them from an older language, the common parent of them all,—to obviate this erroneous inference, it is next shown that the whole grammatical character of Greek and Latin is that of independent languages; that in this respect they differ entirely from the Indian Prākṛits (which have evidently resulted from the decomposition of Sanskrit), and that they even contain various forms which are older than those of the Sanskrit; while the greater part of their vocabulary is different. The same considerations apply, though not so strongly, to Zend. In Section iii. (pp. 267—278) the inference is drawn that affinity in language implies affinity in race;[5] and that, therefore, the ancestors of the Hindus must at one time have lived in the same country, as a part of one and the same community, with the forefathers of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans. In such a case as is here supposed, those branches of the original nation which separated earliest from the others, would in after-times exhibit the fewest points of resemblance in language and institutions to the rest, while those which remained longest together would show in all respects the closest mutual affinities. In Section iv. (pp. 279—286) it is argued that there is no objection[6] arising from physiological considerations, *i.e.* from colour or

[5] [In this second edition, this proposition is modified. I only affirm now that affinity in language affords some presumption of affinity in race.]

[6] [This assertion is in the 2nd edition changed into an inquiry whether there is any objection.]

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bodily structure, to classing the Hindus among the Indo-European races. Section v. (pp. 287—300) exhibits the grounds which exist for supposing that the ancestors of the Indians and Iranians (or Persians) continued to form one community after the other kindred tribes had separated from them, and departed to distant regions. These grounds are, first, the closer affinity which subsists between Zend, the language of the ancient Persians, and Sanskrit (of which some illustrations are furnished); secondly, the fact that both nations in former times applied to themselves the appellation of Ārya; and, thirdly, the nearer and more numerous coincidences which are discoverable between the early mythologies of the two peoples, of which some details are adduced. From this more intimate affinity between the Indians and Persians, independent as both are of each other in their origin and development (see also pp. 312—317), a strong confirmation is derived to the general conclusion (deduced mainly from language) of the common origin of all the nations called Indo-European. In Section vi. (pp. 301—306) the theory of Mr. Curzon, that India was the original country of the Indo-European races, from which they issued to conquer, occupy, and civilize the countries lying to the north-west, is stated, together with some of the arguments by which he supports it. The remarks of Mr. Elphinstone, who leaves it undecided whether the Hindus were autochthonous or immigrant, are also quoted. In Section vii. (pp. 306—322) I cite the opinions of Schlegel, Lassen, Benfey, Müller, Weber,

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Spiegel, Renan, and Pictet, who concur in the conclusion that the cradle of the Indo-European race must be sought, not in India, but, as Schlegel, Lassen, and Pictet argue, in some central tract, from which the different branches of this great family could most easily have diffused themselves towards the widely-separated countries which they eventually occupied; a condition which would not be fulfilled by supposing a remote and southerly region, such as Hindustan, to be the point of departure. Some of these writers draw the same inference from the relation in which the Indo-Arians stood to the aboriginal tribes whom they encountered in India. In opposition to Mr. Curzon, who represents the language and religion of India as the sources from which those of all the other kindred races issued, Professor Spiegel maintains that the Iranian language and mythology, though owning a common origin with, are in their development perfectly independent of those of, the Indians. In the same section it is further urged that as neither the languages nor the mythology of the Greeks and Romans are derived from those of the Indo-Arians, there is no ground for supposing that the former nations emigrated from India at any period whatever. Section viii. (pp. 322—329) contains the few passages I have been able to discover in the Indian authors which may be supposed to embody any reference (in no case, it must be confessed, other than a very obscure one) to the trans-Himalayan origin of their ancestors. The chief of these are the interesting paragraph of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, which contains the legend of the

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Deluge in the oldest form in which it occurs in any Sanskrit work,[7] and some texts relating to the northerly region of Uttara Kuru, the Ottorocorras of Ptolemy. In Section ix. (pp. 329—334) I have quoted, according to the versions of Spiegel and Haug, the first chapter of the Vendidad, which contains the oldest tradition of the Persians relative to Airyana-vaejo, the supposed primeval abode of their forefathers. Section x. (pp. 335-341) discusses the route by which the Āryas immigrated into India.[8] Schlegel and Lassen are of opinion that they must have penetrated into India from the west by the route of Kabul and across the Indus. Roth and Weber also regard the Panjāb as the earliest seat of the Indo-Arians in Hindustan. In Section xi. (pp. 341—357) I have endeavoured to show by quotations from the Vedas, that at the period when the hymns were composed, the Indians, though not unacquainted with the central provinces of northern India, were most familiar with the countries bordering on, or beyond, the Indus, and the north-western parts of Hindustan generally. From this fact, and from the testimony of later writers to their intercourse with tribes, apparently Arian in descent and language, residing in the Panjāb and on the other side of the Indus, I derive a confirmation of the view that the Hindus entered India from the north-west.

In the Third Chapter (pp. 358—444) I have sought

[7] [This passage has been omitted in the present edition for the reasons stated in note 96, p. 323.]

[8] [A sentence referring to an opinion of Professor Benfey subsequently altered is here omitted.]

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to adduce further arguments in support of the same conclusion, (1) from the distinction drawn by the authors of the Vedic hymns between their own kinsmen, the Āryas, and the tribes differing from them in complexion, customs, and religion, whom they designate as Dasyus; (2) from the accounts occurring in the Brāhmaṇas and post-Vedic writings, of the gradual advance of the Āryas from the north-west of India to the east and south; and (3) from the well-established fact that the south-Indian languages are fundamentally different from the Sanskrit, and imply a non-Arian origin in the people by whom they were originally spoken. Section i. (pp. 359—369) contains a selection of passages from the Rigveda, in which the Āryas and the Dasyus are distinguished from one another, and reference is made to the enmity existing between the two. In most (or at least some) of these passages, it appears, human enemies and not demons must be intended under the appellation of Dasyus, as I infer both from the tenor of the texts themselves, and because in later writings, the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, the Institutes of Manu, etc., this word is always applied to barbarous tribes. Section ii. (pp. 369—396) supplies a further collection of Vedic texts bearing upon the relations of the Āryas and Dasyus, and the characteristics of the latter as degraded, dark-complexioned, irreligious, neglecters of sacrifice, etc. There are, indeed, other texts in which these Dasyus are regarded as demons, and this creates a difficulty. An attempt is made at the close of the section to explain, (1) from the original position of the Āryas, as an

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invading tribe in a country covered by forests, and from the savage character of the aborigines, as well as (2) from the lengthened period during which the hymns continued to be composed,—how the same appellations and epithets might come to be applied to different classes of beings, human, ethereal, and demoniacal, indiscriminately. In Section iii. (pp. 397—405) I quote the well-known passage from Manu's Institutes, which adverts to the superior sanctity of the country on the banks of the Sarasvatī (which is in consequence presumed to have been for some time the seat of the most distinguished Indian sages, and the locality where the Hindu institutions were chiefly developed), and defines the limits of the several provinces of Brahmanical India, as then recognized. I next adduce a highly interesting legend from the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, which narrates how the sacred fire (typifying, of course, the sacrificial rites of the Brāhmans) travelled from the neighbourhood of the Sarasvatī eastward, across the river Sadānīrā into Videha, or north-Behar. Section iv. (pp. 405—421) presents a selection of passages from the great epic poem, the Rāmāyaṇa, descriptive of the Rākshasas or gigantic demons by whom the Brāhman settlers in southern India were oppressed and their rites obstructed, and whose monarch Rāvaṇa was vanquished and slain by the Indian hero Rāma, with the aid of an army of monkeys. In these poetic and hyperbolical descriptions, it is supposed (by some that) we can discern the indistinct outlines of a great movement of the Āryas from the Doab southward across the Vindhya

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range, and their conflicts with the aboriginal tribes of the Dekhan, the enemies of the Brāhmans and their institutions. The epithets applied to the Rākshasas in the Rāmāyaṇa correspond in many respects, it is observed, with those employed in the Rigveda to characterize the Dasyus, Rākshasas, and Yātudhānas. Section v. (pp. 422—423) contains some Hindu traditions regarding the tribes in the south of the peninsula, which, however, are not considered to throw any light on their real origin. Section vi. (pp. 423—438) supplies a variety of details, derived from Mr. A. D. Campbell's Telugu Grammar (including the important note by Mr. F. W. Ellis), and Dr. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages, by which it is clearly shown that the Tamil, Telugu, Malayālim, and Canarese tongues (which are spoken by thirty-one millions of people), though, at different periods since the occupation of southern India by the Brāhmans, they have received a large infusion of Sanskrit words, are, nevertheless, originally and fundamentally quite distinct from, and independent of, that language, and that Tamil composition in particular is regarded by the native authors as pure and classical in proportion to its freedom from Sanskrit words. In the viiᵗʰ, and concluding Section (pp. 438—444), the results of the preceding sections are summed up. From the fact (established both by philological considerations, and by the testimony of the south-Indian grammarians) that the Dravidian languages are essentially distinct from Sanskrit, it is argued that the people by whom the former class of languages were

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spoken originally (*i.e.* before the Brahmanical invasion of the Dekhan) must have belonged to a race which had no affinity to the Sanskrit-speaking Āryas; and could not, therefore, as Manu asserts, have been degraded Kshatriyas. I then endeavour to show how the results obtained in this Chapter, viz., (1) that the Āryas, when living in the Panjāb, came into conflict with an alien race called Dasyus; (2) that the Āryas can be shown from their own books to have at first occupied only the north-west of India and then to have advanced gradually to the east and south, and last of all to have crossed the Vindhya range into the Dekhan; and (3) that the original languages of the south of the peninsula are distinct from Sanskrit,—how, I say, these results harmonize with, or corroborate, the theory that the Hindus, or Indo-Arians, are not autochthonous, but immigrated into Hindustan from the north-west.[9]

The Appendix[10] (pp. 445—488), and the "Additions and Corrections" contain some further illustrations of the subjects discussed in the body of the work, and in a few cases supply some modifications of the text which closer research has rendered necessary.

In the notes towards the close of the Volume, and in the Appendices, the Sanskrit passages have been printed in the Italic character.[11] The system I have followed is nearly that of Sir W. Jones. The distinctions between some similar letters have not always been very

[9] [See note 3, p. ix.]

[10] [Portions of the Appendix and additions have now been incorporated in the earlier part of the volume.]

[11] [In the first edition the Sanskrit was printed in the Nāgarī character throughout the greater part of the volume.]

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carefully indicated; but the Sanskrit scholar will have no difficulty in determining the words which are intended.

Nearly all the Sanskrit texts in this Volume have been taken from printed editions. The quotations from those parts of the Rigveda which have not yet appeared in Professor Müller's edition, have been copied from the MS. copy in my possession, alluded to in the Preface to the First Volume. The quotations from Durgāchārya, in pp. 166 f. and 173, have been derived from a MS. belonging to the East India House. That in p. 204 was, I believe, extracted from a MS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. The two passages from Bhāskara Acharya, pp. 161 and 178, were obtained from Pandit Bapu Deva of the Benares College.

I owe it to the kindness of Professor Goldstücker that I am able to adduce the extracts from the Nyāya mālā vistara, in pp. 53 and 179.

The work of M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, entitled: "Etude sur la Géographie et les Populations Primitives du Nordouest de l'Inde d'après les Hymnes Védiques" (which discusses many of the subjects handled in the present volume), has only now come into my hands, as the last sheet, containing part of the Appendix and the "Additions and Corrections," is passing through the press.

The results at which this author has arrived in his valuable and ingenious dissertation, in regard to the origin of the Āryas, their immigration into India, and the direction of their movements within that country,

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correspond precisely with those which I myself had reached. His views on some points of detail on which I had adopted a different opinion, tell even more strongly than my own in favour of the general conclusions in which we both coincide.[12]

[12] I allude to his conclusion that the Sarayu referred to in the Veda was a river in the Panjāb (in support of which he refers to Burnouf's Bhāg. Pur. folio ed. p. ii. 455); and that the country of the Kikaṭas must, most probably, have been in Kos'ala or Audh, and not in Magadha, or South Behar.

I am happy to learn from M. de Saint-Martin's work that he intends to prosecute further his researches into the ethnography of India

[EDINBURGH, 1860.]

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

In preparing this edition for the press, I am reminded how much this volume is indebted to the labours of the different authors whose works are quoted in it, viz., Burnouf, Lassen, Cowell, Campbell, Ellis, Caldwell, Clough, Turnour, Fausböll, Rajendralal Mitra, H. H. Wilson, Weber, Müller, Goldstücker, Roth, Benfey, Bopp, Kuhn, A. W. Schlegel, Pictet, Spiegel, Haug, Whitney, Windischmann, Langlois, Renan, Curzon, and Elphinstone.

To these names I have now to add those of Messrs. Beames, Childers, D'Alwis, Aufrecht, Curtius, Vullers, Schleicher, Fick, Crawfurd, Huxley, and G. Rawlinson, from whose writings or communications I have derived valuable assistance in augmenting my materials, or revising different portions of the work. My obligations to these scholars are acknowledged in the text.

The improvements which have been introduced in this edition are principally the following: the Comparative Tables of Words in pp. 15, ff.; 76, ff.; 221, ff.; 230, ff.; and 287, ff.; as well as the statements of Gāthā and Vedic forms in pp. 117, ff., and 205, ff.; have been greatly enlarged.

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My conclusions regarding the value of affinity in language as a proof of affinity in race, and the effects of climate upon colour, have been so far modified that I no longer venture to pronounce positively that the Brahmanical Indians are of pure Indo-European descent; but leave it an open question whether the blood of their Arian ancestors may not on their immigration into India have been commingled with that of darker tribes previously in occupation of the country.

In the Appendix, Note B, pp. 446, ff., reference is made to a recent paper by Prof. Kern, in which he alleges the insufficiency of the proofs heretofore adduced of the posteriority of the Atharvaveda to the Rigveda; and more detailed grounds in support of that opinion are adduced. Some remarks are also made in pp. 454, ff. on the views recently expressed by the same writer, and by Prof. Haug, on the antiquity of the caste-system.

The Appendix and the Additional Notes contain further illustrations, or corrections, of various statements in the text.

The volume has, further, been revised throughout; but, with the exception of the alterations which have been just specified, it remains essentially the same as before.

J. M.

Edinburgh, 1871.

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ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 17, line 15, for "*daliddāe*" read "*daliddadāe.*"
„ 76, line 12, for "*Saptaśalaka*" read "*Saptaśataka.*"
„ 94, line 17, for "*baliddo*" read "*baladdo.*"
„ 192, 4 lines from the bottom, *for* "Panigins" *read* "Paingins."
„ 259, last line, *for* "Mahābbāshya" *read* "Mahābhāshya."
„ 332, note 109, line 2, *for* "Hyreania" *read* "Hyrcania."
„ 360, note 3, line 5, *for* "viii. 226," *read* "viii. 22, 6."
„ 361, 7 lines from foot, *for* "Vṛihad" *read* "Bṛihad."
„ 368, line 29, *for* "xviii. 8, 22," *read* "xviii. 2, 28."
„ 370, note 30, line 3, *for* "Vālākhilya" *read* "Vālakhilya."
„ 385, line 17, and note 63, line 1, *for* "Arjuni" *read* "Arjuna."
„ „ note 3, line 5, *for* "i. 103, 3," *read* "i. 104, 3."

Note.—Page 89, note, line 3, Prof. Weber suggests that "*kadraṇo*" in the works quoted is no doubt a misprint for "*kaïṇo.*"

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ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

VOLUME SECOND.

PLAN OF THE PRESENT VOLUME.

In the first volume of this work I have sought to collect, translate, and illustrate (1) the mythical accounts of the creation of man and of the origin of castes which are to be found in the Vedic hymns, in the Brāhmaṇas and their appendages, in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas; (2) the texts of the Veda, and Brāhmaṇas, which speak of Manu as the progenitor of the Āryan Indians; (3) the passages of the Rig and Atharva Vedas which throw light upon the mutual relations of the several classes of Indian society at the time when those works were composed; (4) the portions of the Brāhmaṇas, or of later books which relate the struggles for pre-eminence which appear to have occurred between the Brāhmans and Kshattriyas in the early ages of Indian history; (5) the opinions of Manu and the authors of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas regarding the origin of the alien tribes dwelling within, or adjacent to, the boundaries of Hindustan; and (6) the Purānic descriptions of the parts of the earth exterior to Bhāratavarsha or India: and as a result of the whole inquiry I found that the sacred books of the Hindus contain no uniform or consistent account of the origin of castes; and that in consequence of this discrepancy the theory commonly received by that people of the original distinctness of the four classes, in virtue of their derivation from different portions of the Creator's body, is not established as the doctrine of Hinduism, even by a literal interpretation of its more popular writings.

It will now be my endeavour to show by a series of proofs of a different description, derived from comparative philology, and from an examination of the earliest Hindu writings, the Vedas, that the people of India who belong to the principal pure and mixed classes were not originally divided into castes, or indigenous in India, but may, with

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the greatest probability, be regarded as forming a branch (not, however, perhaps, free from the intermixture of foreign elements,) of the great Indo-European family, of which the Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Germanic tribes were, or are, also members; and that while other branches of this great family (which seems to have had its primeval abode in some distant country to the north-west of India) separated themselves from the main stock and migrated to the westward, the progenitors of the Hindus travelled towards Hindustan, where they perhaps intermarried with some of the tribes which were previously in occupation of the country, and where their original religious ideas were gradually modified, and the system of castes and other institutions and tenets of Brahmanism were slowly developed.

The process of reasoning by which I hope to establish these conclusions is the following. First, I propose to show, by an examination of the languages and literature of India, that the Sanskrit is not (as the Hindus appear to conceive) an immutable form of speech of divine origin, but is different now from what it was when their ancestors first came into India. This will be made apparent by a comparison of the archaic diction of the Vedic hymns with the more modern language of the Itihāsas and Purāṇas; and that this difference is the result of gradual development will be proved by a reference to the natural laws of speech, and to the analogous process which the tongues of other nations have undergone; by arguments drawn from the composition of such books as the Nighaṇṭu, and Nirukta, explanatory of obsolete words and phrases in the hymns, and from the existence of such liturgical commentaries as the Brāhmaṇas, and such speculative treatises as the Upanishads, which presuppose as already antiquated, or at least antecedent, the hymns which they quote, and the sense of which they explain and develope. The difference in age between the various Indian Śāstras will be further briefly adverted to, and established by pointing out the great discrepancy between the religious ideas, forms of worship,[1] and state of manners which they severally represent; the Vedic hymns being shown by all these various lines of proof to be the earliest of all the Indian books, and the others to follow from them by a natural course of growth and expansion. While the

[1] The detailed treatment of this portion of the subject is deferred to a later volume of this work, the fourth.

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mutability and the actual mutations of the Sanskrit language are demonstrated by this historical outline of Sanskrit literature, I shall show in some introductory sections, how, through the action of the same phonetic changes as are found to have transformed most of the ancient languages of Europe into their several modern representatives, the older Sanskrit became gradually modified[2] into the Pāli and Prākṛits, of byegone centuries, till, in combination with other elements,—not traceable in its classical literature, but forming, either an original part of the spoken dialect of the Āryan Indians, or a portion of it borrowed from alien sources,—it was ultimately broken down into the modern vernacular dialects of Northern India.

Having thus shown the mutations which the Sanskrit has undergone since its introduction into India, I propose, secondly, to prove, by a comparison of that venerable language with the Zend, Persian, Greek, Latin, and other western tongues, that these forms of speech are all closely related to each other, both in respect of roots and forms of inflection; and this in such a manner as to show them to be sister-dialects, derived, by gradual modification, from some more ancient, and now extinct, parent-language. From these facts, and others derived from Zend and Greek mythology and literature, I shall proceed to argue the probability of a common origin of the different nations,—generally called the Āryan, Indo-Germanic, or Indo-European nations,—by which the above-mentioned languages have been spoken; as well as to evince the strong probability that the progenitors of the Hindus immigrated from the north or north-west into India.

I shall then endeavour to fortify the latter of these conclusions by referring to the indications which are discoverable of a collision between the Indo-Āryans, after their arrival in India, and certain barbarous tribes, speaking a different language, and belonging to a different race, who occupied that country before their immigration, and by sketching a history of their advance to the south and east. These subjects will be illustrated from the data to be found in the Vedic hymns, the most ancient monuments of Indian antiquity, as well as in the other Śāstras of later date.

[2] The objections which have been raised to this statement of the origin of the Pāli, etc., will be considered further on

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CHAPTER I.

THE LANGUAGES OF NORTHERN INDIA: THEIR HISTORY AND RELATIONS.

SECT. I.—*The North-Indian Dialects, Ancient and Modern.*

A SURVEY of the languages of Northern India reveals to us the following facts. We find, first, a polished and complicated language, the Sanskrit, popularly regarded as sacred, and in reality of very high antiquity; which is now, however, understood only by a few learned men, and spoken in their schools as the vehicle of discussions on grammar, theology, and philosophy, while it is totally unintelligible to the mass of the people. We find, secondly, a variety of provincial dialects which are employed both by the learned and the unlearned, viz., Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, Guzaratī, etc., all bearing a close resemblance to each other, and all composed, in a great measure, of the same roots.

The words of which these vernacular dialects are formed may be divided into four classes. First, such as are pure Sanskrit, as for example *īśvara* (god), *devatā* (deity), *svarga* (heaven), *strī* (woman), *purusha* (man), *jana* (person); secondly, words which, though modified from their original form, are easily recognizable as Sanskrit, such as *log* from *loka* (people), *istrī* from *strī* (woman), *muṉh* from *mukha* (mouth), *bhāī* from *bhrātṛi* (brother), *bhatījā* from *bhrātṛija* (brother's son), *bāhin* from *bhāginī* (sister), *biyāh* from *vivāha* (marriage), *bhūīṉ* from *bhūmi* (earth), and innumerable others in Hindī; thirdly, words which have no resemblance to any vocables discoverable in Sanskrit books, and which we must therefore either suppose to have an origin independent of that language, or to have formed part of the colloquial,

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though not of the written, Āryan speech,[1] such as in Hindī, *bāp* (father), *bēṭā* (son), *pēṛ* (a tree), *chaukī* (a chair), *chūk* (a blunder), *khiṛkī* (a window), *jhāgṛā* (a dispute), *bakheṛā* (the same), *āṭā* (flour), *chaṭāī* (a mat), and a multitude of other instances. Fourthly, words derived from Arabic, Persian, or some other foreign language, as *ādmī* (a man), *'aurat* (a woman), *hākim* (a ruler), *hăkīm* (a physician), *durust* (right), *roz* (day), *dariyā* (a river), *roshanī* (light), etc., etc.

Let us now see what is the history of these vernacular dialects. It is clear, for various reasons, that they cannot have existed for ever in their present form. When therefore, and how have they been created? What do history and the books of Indian grammarians tell us on the subject?

If we begin with the Arabic and Persian words which the North-Indian dialects, such as Bengalī and Hindī, contain, we shall find it to be universally admitted that words of this kind have only been introduced into those languages since the time when the Musulmans began to invade India. Now it is well known that Mahmūd of Ghazni made his first inroad into Hindustan between eight and nine hundred years ago. Before that time, and in fact till long afterwards, when the Mahomedans had penetrated from the north-west far into India, and taken possession of that country, there could have been scarcely any intermixture of Arabic or Persian words in the Indian dialects.[2]

[1] This latter alternative supposition was suggested to me by Prof. Aufrecht. The same remark had been previously made by Mr. J. Beames, as will appear from a quotation which I shall make further on from his "Notes on the Bhojpurī dialect of Hindī," in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1868, p. 499.

[2] We learn, indeed, from the works of the ancient astronomer, Varāha Mihira, that a few astronomical and astrological terms of Greek or Arabic origin had been borrowed from the Arabian astronomers, and introduced into Sanskrit books. I allude to such words as *hōrā, ḍṛikāṇa, liptā, anaphā, sunaphā, āpoklima, riṅpha*, which are of Greek origin, and *mukāriṇā, mukāvilā, tasdī, taslī*, etc., which are derived from the Arabic. (Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, II., 525 ff., and Weber's Indische Literaturgeschichte, p. 227, and Indische Studien, II., pp. 254 and 263.) The following verse of Varāha Mihira proves clearly how much the Indian astronomers were indebted to the Greeks:—

mlechhāḥ hi yavanās teshu samyak śāstram idaṁ sthitam |
ṛishi-vat te 'pi pūjyante kim punar daivavid dvijaḥ |

"For the Yavanas are Mlechhas; yet among them this science is thoroughly cultivated;

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In the preface to the popular Urdu book, the Bāgh o Bahār, we have the following account by the author, Mīr Amman, of Dehli (who states that his forefathers had served all the kings of Hindustan, from Humayūn downwards), of the origin of the Urdu language, which I copy in the Roman character:—

"*Haqīqat Urdu kī zabān kī buzurgoṉ ke muṉh se yūṉ sunī hai kih Dillī shahr Hindūoṉ ke nazdīk chaujugī hai. Unheṉ ke rājā parjā qadīm se rahte the, aur apnī bhākhā bolte the. Hazār baras se Musulmānoṉ kā 'amal hūā. Sulṭān Mahmūd Ġhaznavī āyā. Phir Ġhorī aur Lodī bādshāh hūe. Is āmad o raft ke bā'iṣ kuchh zabānoṉ ne Hindū Musulmān kī āmezish pāī. Ākhir Amīr Taimur ne. . . . Hinḍūstān ko liyā. Unke āne aur rahne se lashkar kā bāzār shahr meṉ dākhil hūā. Is wāste shahr kā bāzār Urdū kahlāyā. . . . Jab Akbar bādshāh takht par baiṭhe, tab chāron ṭaraf ke mulkoṉ se sab qaum qadrdānī aur faiẓrasānī us khāndān lāṣānī kī sunkar ḥuzūr meṉ ākar jama'a hūe. Lekin har ek kī gōyāī aur bolī judī judī thī. Ikaṭṭhe hone se āpas meṉ len den saudā sulf suwāl jawāb karte ek zabān Urdū kī muqarrar hūī. . . . Nidān zabān Urdū kī manjte manjte aisī manjī kih kisū shahr kī bolī us se ṭakkar nahīṉ khātī.*"

"I have heard from the lips of my ancestors the following account of the Urdu language:—The City of Delhi in the opinion of the Hindus has existed during the four Yugas. It was inhabited of old by their kings with their subjects, who spoke their own *bhākhā* (dialect). A thousand years ago the rule of the Musulmans began. Sultān Mahmūd, of Ġhaznī, came. Then the Ġhorī and Lodī dynasties held sway. In consequence of this intercourse, a certain mixture of the languages of the Hindus and Musulmans took place. At length Amīr Taimūr . . . conquered Hindustān. In consequence of his arrival and residence, the bāzār of the army was introduced into the city, and the bāzār of the city came in consequence to be called Urdū. . . . When king Akbar ascended the throne, all races, learning the liberality of that unequalled family and its patronage of merit,

and even they are revered like Ṛishis: how much more a Brāhman skilled in astrology!" (Colebrooke's Essays, II., 410.) This trifling exception, however, does not invalidate the assertion made in the text, that it was only after the settlement of the Musulmans in India that Arabic and Persian words came to be used in the dialects of India.

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gathered round his court from all the surrounding countries; but the language of all these people was different. From their being collected, however, trafficking together, and talking with each other, a camp (Urdū) language became established. . . . At length, the Urdū language, being gradually polished, attained such a degree of refinement that the speech of no city can vie with it."

But it is only in the Urdu dialect, which is used by the Mahomedans and by those Hindus in the north-western provinces of India who have learnt the Persian language, that Persian and Arabic words are extensively employed. The words derived from those sources which exist in the Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, Guzaratī, and other North-Indian dialects, in the form in which they are generally spoken by the Hindus, are considerably fewer in number. By far the larger portion of words in those tongues are (as has been already said) either (1) pure Sanskrit, or (2) corrupt Sanskrit, or (3) words which can neither be traced in Sanskrit books nor yet are derived from Persian or Arabic, and which may therefore be regarded either as indigenous (*i.e.* derived from non-Āryan tribes), or colloquial vocables of Āryan origin.

Several interesting questions arise here; as First, how far back can we trace the existing vernacular dialects, Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, Guzaratī, etc., in the form in which they are now spoken? Secondly, what has been the process of their formation? and, Thirdly, from what source have they derived those words which are not discoverable in Sanskrit, as it has been preserved to us in written records?

The question regarding the antiquity of the existing vernaculars is one which I am not prepared to answer with any precision. Professor Lassen (Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ, pp. 59 f.) thinks they have existed since, at least, 1000 A.D. I translate his remarks on the two classes of dialects derived from Sanskrit: "To close this disquisition, I therefore remark that there are two families of corrupted Sanskrit, one more ancient, and not completely broken down, to which belong the Pali and the dramatic dialects; and a second of more recent origin, and diffused in our own day over the provinces of India, which differs more widely from its parent. The former set are genuine daughters of the Sanskrit; the latter grand-daughters, al-

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though it is to some extent doubtful whether these are the daughters of the former, or of their sister dialects. As regards antiquity, the former family are proved by the history of Buddhism, and of the Indian drama, to have come into existence prior to our era; and it may be shown by probable proofs that the latter arose before 1000 A.D. The discussion of the latter question is, however, foreign to our purpose."

Mr. Beames claims for the modern vernacular dialects a high antiquity, and regards them as springing from an ancient Āryan language, which included elements not discoverable in the classical Sanskrit. His observations are as follows:

"I would here further observe that the written Sanskrit has unfortunately attracted the attention of scholars too exclusively. No one who lives long in India can escape having the conviction forced on him that the written language is quite inadequate to account for many forms and facts observable in the modern dialects. These dialects assert for themselves a high antiquity, and are derived, one cannot doubt, from an ancient Āryan speech, which is as imperfectly represented in Sanskrit as the speech of the Italian peasantry of their day was represented by Cicero or Virgil. The process of selection which led the polished Roman to use only stately and euphonious words—a process which is abundantly exemplified in the pages of modern English writers—was doubtless at work among the ancient Brahmins; and the fact that the cognate Indo-Germanic languages preserve words not found in Sanskrit, but which can be matched from the stores of humble and obscure Hindī or Bengalī dialects, is another proof of this fact. The line taken by Professor Lassen, in his valuable Prakrit Grammar, of treating all Prakrit words as necessarily modifications of Sanskrit words, is one which he has borrowed whole from Vararuchi and Hemachandra, and, however excusable in those ancient commentators, seems unworthy of an age of critical research."

It is not, however, necessary for my purpose that I should decide, even approximately, the question of the antiquity of the modern vernaculars. It will be sufficient if I can show that they have been derived by a gradual process of change from other provincial dialects which preceded them; and which, in their turn, have sprung from the Sanskrit, at some stage of its development.

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There is no difficulty in conceiving that the Indian vernacular dialects should have undergone great modifications in a long course of ages. The mere fact above adverted to, which every one recognizes, of their having at a particular assignable date admitted into their vocabulary a large influx of Persian and Arabic words, is sufficient to render it probable that they may have formerly experienced other mutations of various kinds.

The circumstance, too, that the people who inhabit the different provinces of northern India make use of different, but kindred, provincial dialects, Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, etc., which must, for the most part, at a period more or less remote, have sprung from some common source,[3] is a proof of the tendency to change which is inherent in all spoken language. For as the inhabitants of all these provinces profess, with some modifications, the same creed, receive the same religious books, and are divided into the same or similar castes, and for these and other reasons appear to be descended, though perhaps not exclusively, from one common stock, it is highly probable that their common ancestors must, at one time, have employed one and the same language: and that that language has in process of time undergone various provincial modifications, out of which the several modern vernaculars have been gradually formed.

We shall also see, a little further on, that the differences between the North-Indian dialects (the old Mahārāshṭrī, Śaurasenī, etc.) which preceded the modern vernacular tongues, were few and unimportant; whereas the modern vernacular tongues, Bengalī Hindī, Mahrattī, and Guzaratī, differ widely from each other in their forms of inflection and conjugation. This greater divergence between the modern than we find to have existed between the earlier dialects, evinces clearly the tendency to continual alteration, which I have remarked as a characteristic of language in general.

[3] Mr. Beames says (Jour. Roy. As. Soc. for 1868, p. 498): "It is, however, clear that each dialect of Hindī has had an independent existence for centuries, and I think an independent origin." This, however, can of course apply only to forms, not to the words which the dialects, whether Hindī or other, have in common; and which in many cases are diversely modified from the Sanskrit original. And although some of the grammatical forms may be original or invented, and not modified from those of any pre-existing Āryan language, there must be other forms which are merely modifications or developments.

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I shall first of all state briefly the facts by which it is proved that the modern vernaculars are not, comparatively speaking, of any high antiquity, but have arisen out of earlier provincial dialects: and then proceed to establish these facts more in detail.

First. In extant Buddhist histories, such as the Lalita Vistara composed in Sanskrit, numerous verses, styled Gāthās, are interspersed, the language of which differs from pure Sanskrit, by the forms of inflection being varied or mutilated. This popularized Sanskrit, or something akin to it, appears to have been at one time the spoken language of India; or, at least, this Gāthā dialect exhibits some specimens of that ancient spoken language, and exemplifies the process by which the ancient Sanskrit, itself at one time a spoken language, became gradually corrupted.

Second. It has been discovered that many inscriptions are extant, engraven on rocks in different parts of India, bearing date apparently between two and three hundred years anterior to the Christian era, in which a language differing both from Sanskrit and the modern vernaculars is used.

Third. There are extant in other countries, such as Ceylon and Burmah, very ancient Buddhist books written in a language called Pālī or Māgadhī, which also is different from the modern vernaculars, as well as from Sanskrit, while it closely resembles the language of the rock inscriptions just alluded to.

Fourth. In ancient Indian dramas such as the Mṛichhakaṭī, Śakuntalā, etc., while kings and Brāhmans are made to speak Sanskrit, various forms of speech called Prākṛit and Apabhraṅśa are employed for the inferior castes and for women, which in like manner, differ both from Sanskrit and from the existing vernacular tongues.

The four foregoing classes of language have a more or less close affinity to each other; and from the use made of the last three in particular, viz., that used in the rock inscriptions, that found in the Pālī Buddhistical writings, and those employed in the dramas, it is impossible to doubt that either they, or forms of speech closely connected with them, were formerly current, during a long course of centuries, as the actual vernaculars of the periods when they were employed for literary, political, and religious purposes.

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But while we thus discover that Pālī and different forms of Prākṛit, such as have been described, were employed in former times, we can find no traces of the modern vernacular dialects, Hindī, Bengālī, or Mahrattī, etc., in their present shape, in the ancient records of that same period; and we must therefore of necessity conclude that these modern vernaculars did not at that time exist, but have been subsequently developed out of the above-mentioned Prākṛit languages or other pre-existent forms of speech; in other words, that the former vernaculars (or Prākṛits) have been gradually altered until they have assumed the form of the modern Hindī, Bengālī, Mahrattī, etc.

As regards the second question started in p. 7, the process by which the modern vernaculars arose out of the earlier modifications of Sanskrit, viz., the manner in which the grammatical forms of the latter, *i.e.* the Prākṛits, were broken down into those of the former, it is not necessary that I should enter into any detailed investigation, although some insight into the process will be afforded by the Comparative Tables which will be given further on. It is sufficient to know that by a particular operation of the general laws of linguistic change, the more recent forms of speech have naturally grown out of the older.

I shall now proceed to supply a more detailed account of those forms of vernacular speech already alluded to, which appear to have preceded the existing varieties, and which are now obsolete. In carrying out this design, it will be advisable to begin with those dialects which seem to be the most recently formed and employed of the four Indian classes of speech which have been before alluded to, viz., first, that found in the Buddhist Gāthās; secondly, that used in the rock inscriptions; thirdly, the Pālī; and fourthly, the dramatic Prākṛits. The last-named class appearing to be the most recent, I shall first subject it to examination, and then proceed to the others.

Sect. II.—*The Prākṛit Dialects employed in the Dramas.*

With the view of ascertaining the relation in which the Prākṛit languages stand to the modern vernaculars of northern India, I have gone cursorily over several of the dramas in which they are employed, such as the Mṛichhakaṭī, attributed to King Śūdraka, and the Vikra-

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morvaśī attributed to Kālidāsa, (both of which, though their precise age be disputed, appear to have been respectively composed, at the latest, about sixteen and fourteen hundred years ago,[4]) together with several others. I have also referred to the examples given in the Prākṛit Grammar of Vararuchi, which is considered by Lassen to have been composed about eighteen hundred years ago,[5] or rather in its commentary. An examination of the Prākṛits which are found in these several works shows that the languages of India were then in a state of transition, and formed an intermediate link between the Sanskrit and the modern vernacular dialects. For whatever opinion we may entertain on the question whether the dramatic Prākṛits were identical with any contemporaneous or earlier vernacular dialects,[6] it is difficult to imagine that they had not a considerable resemblance to some of these. Even if some of the forms of the dramatic Prākṛits were purely literary and unknown in any of the spoken languages, they could scarcely have failed to bear some analogy to those of the latter; as, first, the inventors of those forms could hardly have had the ingenuity to devise entirely novel modifications of speech, or secondly, if they had, their compositions would have been thereby rendered unintelligible. The Prākṛit forms of inflection and declension approach more to the Sanskrit than to the modern vernaculars; but yet exhibit a great

[4] Professor Wilson, reasoning from a variety of considerations, considers the Mṛichhakaṭī to have been probably composed in the interval between 100 B C. and the end of the second century A.D. (Introduction to the play, pp. 5–9.) The same writer thinks that the Vikramorvaśī, which is regarded as the work of Kālidāsa, is more recent than the Mṛichhakaṭī, but does not assign any probable date (Introd. to drama, pp. 185, 186). Lassen holds that the Mṛichhakaṭī was composed towards the end of the first century A.D., while the Vikramorvaśī and the Śakuntalā (which last is also assigned to Kālidāsa) were composed in the second half of the second century A.D. (Ind. Alt. ii. p. 1160). Weber, on the other hand, in his latest notice of the subject in the Introduction to his Mālavikā and Agnimitra, pp. xxxiii, xl, places the age of Kālidāsa, the author of Vikramorvaśī and Śakuntalā, at the close of the third century A.D. The Mṛichhakaṭī is held by the same author to be not earlier than the second century A.D. (Ind. Stud. ii. 148).

[5] Ind. Alterth., vol. ii. p. 1160.

[6] It is quite conceivable that the Prākṛits employed in the earlier dramas may have continued to be the conventional forms in use in later works of the same kind, even after the provincial vernaculars to which they were most akin had been modified or superseded,—just as Latin, Sanskrit and Pālī continued to be used for literary purposes after they had ceased to be spoken tongues.

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breaking down and modification of the former. I will give some instances of this which will make my meaning clearer than any general statements. I do not think it necessary to distinguish here the different kinds of Prākṛit, which will be specified further on.

Sanskrit.	Prākṛit.	Hindí.	English.
Bhavāmi	Homi	Hūṉ	I am.
Bhavasi	Hosi	Hai	Thou art.
Bhavati	Hodi	Hai	He is.
Bhavanti	Honti	Haiṉ	They are.
Uttishṭha	Uṭṭhehi	Uṭh	Rise.
Prāpnomi	Pāvimi	Pātā-hūn	I obtain.
S'ṛiṇomi	S'uṇāmi	Suntā-hūṉ	I hear.
S'ṛiṇu	Suṇu, *or* Suṇāhi	Sun	Hear (imper.).
Kathayạ	Kahēhi	Kah	Tell.
Dadāmi	Dēmi	Detā-huṉ	I give.
Dadāti	Dēdi	Detā-hai	He gives.
Dattam	Diṉṉam	Diyā, Dīn	Given.
Nṛityati	Năchchai	Nāchtā	He dances.
Rakshāmi	Rakkhāmi	Rakhtā-hūṉ	I keep.
Dhāva	Dhovehi	Dho	Wash.
Brūmaḥ	Bollāmo	Bolte	We speak.
Patāmi	Paṛemi	Paṛtā	I fall.
Nishkāsaya	Nikkālēhi	Nikāl	Expel.
Ghṛitam	Ghiä	Ghī	Ghee.
Mukha	Muha	Muṉh	Mouth.
Kāryyam	Kajjam	Kāj	Work.
Karma	Kamma	Kām	Work.
Karṇa	Kaṉṉa	Kān	Ear.
Twam	Tumam	Tum	Thou or you.
Tubhyam	Tujh	Tujh	To thee.
Yushmākam	Tumhāṉam	Tumhārā	Of you.
Asti	Atthi, *or* Achchhi	Āchchhe (Beng.)	He is.
Santi	Achchhanti	Āchchhen (ditto.)	They are.

It is manifest that in these instances we see the intermediate forms which the words took in Prākṛit before they assumed the shapes in which we now find them in Hindī or Bengalī, *e.g.*, *karma* and *kāryya* became in Prākṛit respectively *kamma* and *kajja*, and finally in Hindī *kām* and *kāj*. The Sanskrit form *rakshāmi* (I keep) re-appears

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in the Prākṛit *rakkhāmi*, with the compound consonant *ksh* changed into *kkh*, but with *āmi* the final affix of the first person singular unchanged. In the modern vernacular the former change remains, but the word has undergone a farther modification, the peculiar affix of the first person singular *āmi* having disappeared in the Hindī *rakhtā*, which does not differ from the second and third persons. A fuller exemplification of the points in which the Prākṛits coincide with and diverge from the Sanskrit, on the one hand, and approximate to the modern vernaculars on the other, will be found in the tabular statement subjoined.

The books to which reference has been made in this statement are the following:—Mr. Cowell's Prākṛita Prakāśa of Vararuchi; Lassen's Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ; Delius's Radices Pracriticæ; the Mṛichhakaṭī, Stenzler's edition; the Śakuntalā, Böhtlingk's edition; the Prabǫdha Chandrodaya, Brockhaus's edition; Mālavikā Agnimitra, Tullberg's edition; and the Vikramorvaśī, Calcutta edition.[7]

[7] Since the first edition of this work appeared, two dramas, the Prasannarāghava of Jayadeva, and the Bālarāmāyaṇa of Rājaśekhara, have been printed by Pandit Govinda Deva Śāstrī, in the Journal called "The Pandit," published at Benares, and separate copies of each have been struck off, bearing the dates of 1868 and 1869. Professor Weber has also published, in 1866, a Dissertation on the language of the Jaina work called "Bhagavatī," which is a species of Prākṛit; and in 1870 the text, with a German translation, of the "Saptaśataka of Hâla," as a "contribution to the knowledge of Prâkṛit."

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TABLE NO. I.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF THE SANSKRIT, PRĀKṚIT, AND MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES.[8]

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛichh. 3. 126	*ghṛitam*	*ghiam*	*ghī*	*ghī*	ghee.
Mṛichh. 3 Var. v. 25	*dadhi*	*dahīm̃, dahiṁ*	*dahī*	*dahīm̃*	curds.
Var. ii. 27 . .	*mukha*	*muhaṁ*	*muñh*	*mukh*	mouth.
Var. ii. 27 . .	*badhira*	*vahira*	*bahirā*	*bahirā*	deaf.
Var. ii. 27 . .	*megha*	*meho*	*meñh*	*megh, ḍhag*	cloud.
Var. v. 19 . .	*vadhū*	*vahū*	*bahū*	*bāyako, bail*	wife.
Mṛichh. 164. 168. . . .	*sādhu*	*sāhū, śāhū*	*sāhū*	*sāhū, sāvakār*	good: banker.
Var. iii. 3. 17.	*kārya, karma*	*kajja, kammo*	*kāj, kām*	*kāj, kām*	work.
Var. iii. 17. Var. ix. 17.	*ārye*	*ajje*	. . .	. . .	respectable.
Var. ii. 10. .	*garbhiṇī*	*gabbhiṇ*	*gabbhin*	*gābhaṇ*	pregnant.
Var. iii. 2. 50.	*yogyam*	*joggam*	*jog*	*jogā*	proper.
Var. iii. 2. . .	*rājya*	*rajja*	*rāj*	. . .	kingdom.
Var. iii. 27. Mṛichh. 31.	*adya*	*ajja*	*āj*	*āj*	to-day.
Vikr. 78. 79.	*vādyamānaiḥ*	*vajjantehiṁ*	*bajānā*	*bajāwiṇeṁ*	to sound.
Var. iii. 3. . .	*ardham*	*addham*	*ādhā*	*ādhā*	half.
Var. iii. 3. 50.	*karṇaḥ*	*kaṇṇo*	*kān*	*kān*	ear.
Śak. 25. . . .	*khaṛjūraiḥ*	*khajjūrehiṁ*	*khajūr*	*khajūr*	date tree.
Mṛichh. 104.	*charmmakāraḥ*	*chammārao*	*chamār*	*chamhār*	Chumar.
Var. iv. 1. . .	*kumbhakāraḥ*	*kumbhāro*	*kumhār*	*kumbhār*	potter.
Var. iii. 3. . .	*sarvam*	*sabbam, śabbam*	*sab*	. . .	all.
Mṛichh. 124.	*suvarṇa*	*śovaṇa*	*sonā*	*soneṁ*	gold.
Var. iii. 27. .	*satyam*	*sachcham*	*sach*	*sāch*	true.
Var. iii. 4. Mṛichh. 44.	*chaudraḥ*	*chando*	*chānd*	*chānd*	moon.
Vikr. 23. . . .	*chandreṇa*	*chāndaeṇa*	. . .	. . .	by the moon.
Var. iii. 28. .	*madhyaḥ*	*majjho*	*manjhalā, majholā*	*māj*	middle.
Var. iii. 12. .	*hastaḥ*	*hattho*	*hāth*	*hāt*	hand.
Mṛichh. 7. 120	*vṛiddha*	*vuḍḍha*	*buḍhā*	. . .	old.
Vikr. 107. . .	*vṛiddhām*	*vuḍḍhiṁ*	*buḍhiyā*	. . .	old woman.
Vikr. 121. . .	*jyeshṭha*	*jeṭṭha*	*jeṭhā*	. . .	eldest.
Var. iii. 1. 50	*mushṭi*	*muṭṭhi*	*muṭṭhi*	*mūṭh*	fist: handful.
Var. iii. 1. 51 Mṛich. 28. 142	*śreshṭhi*	*seṭṭhi*	*seṭh*	*śeṭ*	superior, banker.
Mṛichh. 18. 30	*kāshṭhena*	*kaṭṭheṇa*	*kāṭh*	*kāṭhī*	wood, a pole
Mṛichh. 18. 21	*śushka*	*sukkha śukkha*	*sūkhā*	*sukhā, sukā*	dry.
Mṛichh. 53. .	*sākshin*	*sakkhi*	*sākhī*	. . .	witness.

[8] This table (except as regards the transliteration of the Indian words), is reprinted nearly as it stands in the first edition, and without a renewed verification of the references in col. 1, the labour of which, I thought, would hardly have been repaid by correction of a few possible inaccuracies.

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REFERENCE	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Var. i. 20. and iii. 12. . . .	*pustakam*	*pothao*	*pothī*	*pothī*	book.
Var. iii. 29. Mṛichh. 54.	*pushkaraḥ*	*pokkharo*	*pokharā*	*pokhar*	pond.
Mṛichh. 99. Var. iii. 29.	*dakshiṇe*	*dakkhiṇe*	*dakhin*	. . .	south.[9]
Lassen, 363. Mṛichh. 97. 117. . . .	*dakshiṇam*	*dāhiṇam*	*dāhinā*	. . .	on the right hand.[9]
Var. iii. 40. Mṛichh. 99.	*paśchimaḥ*	*pachchhimo*	*pachchim*	. . .	west.
Var. iii. 1. . .	*bhaktam*	*bhattaṁ*	*bhāt*	*bhāt*	boiled rice, rice in husk.
Mṛichh. 104.	*granthi*	*ganṭhi*	*gāṇṭh*	*gāṇṭh*	joint.
Var. i. 12. . .	*pishṭam*	*piṭṭham*	*pīṭnā*	*piṭaṇeṁ*	to pound.
Mṛichh. 105.	*pṛishṭhataḥ*	*piṭṭhido*	*pīṭh*	. . .	at the back.
Var. i. 36. . .	*chaitraḥ*	*cha'itto*	*chait*	. . .	name of a month.
Mṛichh. 120 Var. iii. 29.	*kshetra*	*khetta*	*khet*	*śet*	field.
Mṛichh. 94. 95	*mṛittikā*	*maṭṭiā*	*maṭṭī*	*mātī*	earth.
Var. iii. 40. Mṛich. 71. 150	*paśchāt*	*pachhādo, pachhā*	*pāchhe*	. . .	after.
Var. iii. 2. . .	*nagnaḥ*	*ṇaggo*	*nangā*	*nangā*	naked.
Var. iii. 40. .	*vatsa*	*vachha*[10]	*bachā*	*bachā*	child, etc.
Var. iv. 9. 26 Vikr. 36. .	*vidyut*	*vijjū, vijjulī*	*bijlī*	*wīj*	lightning.
Var. i. 32. iii. 31	*vṛikshaḥ*	*vuchho*[11]	*brichh*	*vṛiksha*	tree.
Mṛichh. 73. 79	*rūkshaḥ*[12]	*rukkha, lukkha*	*rūkh*	. . .	tree.
Var. i. 30. iii. 30	*ṛikshaḥ*	*richchho*	*rīchh*	. . .	a bear.
Mṛichh. 72. Var. v. 35.	*bhrātā*	*bhādā, bhāā*	*bhāī*	*bhāū*	brother.
Mṛichh. 72. .	*ashṭamam*	*aṭṭhamam*	*āṭhwāṅ*	*āṭhwā*	eighth.
Mṛichh. 71. .	*saptamam*	*sattamam*	*sātwāṅ*	*sātwā*	seventh.
Var. iii. 35. Mṛichh. 93.	*pushpam*	*puppham*	*puhap*	. . .	flower.
Var. i. 8. . .	*mayūra*	*moro*	*mor*	*mor*	peacock.
Var. i. 7. . .	*lavaṇam*	*loṇam*	*lon*	*loṇ*	salt.
Mṛichh. 11. 94. and 113. 138	*bhaginīm*	*bahiṇim*	*bahīn*	*bahīṇ*	sister.
Mṛichh. 117.	*śūkaraḥ*	*śūale*[13]	*sūar*	. . .	hog.
Var. i. 28. xi. 17 Mṛichh. 11.	*śṛigālī*	*siālī, sialī*	*siyāl*	. . .	she jackal.
Mṛichh. 120.	*vīja*	*vīa*	*bīā*	*bīj, bī*	seed.
Mṛichh. 77.	*vaṇik*	*bāṇio*[14]	*baniyā*	*vāṇī*	merchant.

[9] Here it deserves to be specially noted that the Sanskrit word undergoes the same changes in Prākṛit and Hindī according to its two different meanings.

[10] The Persian has the same form, with a *b* instead of the *v*.

[11] Vararuchi gives the form *vachchho*, not *vuchchha*, which I find in the Mṛichh., p. 73.

[12] *Rūksha* is given in Wilson's dictionary as one of the Sanskrit words for a tree; but it may have crept in from Prākṛit. Compare Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*

[13] This word is from the S'akārikā, one of the Apabhraṅs'a dialects. In ordinary Prākṛit it would perhaps be *sūaro* or *s'uaro*.

[14] *Vāṇio* Mṛichh., 28 and 50.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKṚIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛichh. 78. .	*ķāyasthaḥ*	*kāatthao*	*kāyath*	*kāyat*	Kāyasth.
Lass. p 172. 218. Mṛich. 29. 30. 151. Var. iv. 2.	*devālayaḥ* / *devakulam*	*deulu,* / *devalam*	*dewal*	*dewaḷ, deūḷ*	tèmple.
Var. iv. 1. . .	*rājakulam*	*rāa'ulam,* / *rāulam*	*rāwal* (a priest.)	*rāūḷ* (a palace.)	royal family.
Mṛichh. 30. 38. 39. . .	*dyūtakaraḥ*	*jūdiaro, jūdi-* / *aru, jūdialo*	*juārī*	*jugārī*	gambler.
Var. viii. 25.	*sthāna*	*ṭhāṇa*	*thāñw*	*thāṇ*	place.
Var. iii. 33. .	*snāna*	*ṇhāṇa*	*nahān*	*nahāṇ, nhāṇ*	bathing.
Var. iii. 33. 61.	*kṛishṇaḥ*	*kaṇho*	*kanhaiyā,* / *kānh* [15]	*kanhaiyā,* / *kānhobā*	Kṛishṇa.
Var. iii. 3. . / Mṛichh. 13.	*grāma*	*gāma*	*gāñw*	*gāñw*	village.
Mṛichh. 97. / Var. iv. 25.	*grāmyāḥ*	*gāmeluā* [16]	*gāñwālā*	. . .	villager.
Mṛichh. 69. 96 / Lass. 172. 425	*balīvardāḥ*	*ba'illā*	*bail*	*bail*	oxen.
Mṛichh. 6. .	*daridratayā*	*daliddāe*	*dalidratā*	. . .	poverty.
Mṛich. 12. 44. 164. Var. xii. 22. Vikr. 30.	*striyam,* / *striyā*	*iśthiyam,* [17] / *itthiāe*	*istrī*	. . .	woman.
Mṛichh. 18. 23. 58. . . .	*śyāla*	*sālaa, sālo*	*sālā*	*sālā*	brother-in-law.
Var. iii. 14. 50. & Mṛichh. 40	*stambhaḥ*	*khambho*	*khambhī*	*khāmb*	pillar.
Var. iii. 29. .	*skandhaḥ*	*khandho*	*kandhā*	. . .	shoulder.
Mṛichh. 43. / Mṛichh. 50.	*vahis,* / *vāhya*	*vāhila,* / *vāhira*	*bāhir*	*bāher*	outside.
Mṛichh. 126.	*vṛiddhe,* / *vṛihati*	*vaḍḍhake,* / *vaḍḍhakāhiṁ*	*baḍā*	. . .	great.
Mṛichh. 131. / Var. iii. 39.	*kārshāpaṇam*	*kahāḅaṇam,* / *kahāvaṇo*	*kahāwan,* / *kāhan*	. . .	16 paṇas of cowries.
Var. iii. 58. . / Mṛich. 73. 134	*dīrghikā*	*digghiā, dīhiā*	*dighī*	. . .	oblong pond.
Var. v. 24. .	*haridrā*	*haladdā,* / *haladdī*	*haldī*	. . .	turmeric.
Var. ii. 31. .	*yaśas*	*jaso*	*jas*	*jas*	glory.
Var. iii. 29. / Mṛichh. 150.	*kshemam*	*kkhemaṁ*	*khem*	*khem*	welfare.
Mṛichh. 175. / Var. iii. 26.	*gardabhāḥ*	*gaddaho,* / *gaḍḍaho*	*gaḍahā*	*gāḍhawa*	ass.
Var. iii. 28. 56	*sandhyā*	*sañjhā* [18]	*sāñjh*	*sāñjh*	evening.
Var. iv. 25. .	*etāvat*	*ettiaṁ*	*itnā*	. . .	so much.
Mṛichh. 44.	*andhakāra-* / *rasya*	*andhaārassa*	*andhiyārā*	*andhār*	darkness.

[15] Kānhpur (city of Kānh, or Kṛishṇa) is the proper name of Cawnpore. When *Kṛishṇa* means *black*, it becomes *Kasaṇo* in Prākṛit, according to Var. iii. 61. The Bālarāmāyaṇa has *kisaṇa*, p. 141, and *kaṇṇa* in p. 244, in the same sense.

[16] See Lassen, p. 425, who says *gāmeluā* = quasi *grāmālayukāḥ*.

[17] This word is in the S'akārikā dialect.

[18] In this and other instances, the rules and examples given would, of course, account, by analogy, for the existence of many other modern vernacular words, of which the earlier

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Vikr. 49. and Lass. 249.[19]	*upādhyā-yasya*	*uajjhāassa, ojhāo*	*ojhā*[20]	. . .	religious teacher.
Var. iii. 18. & Vikr. 9.	*āścharyam*	*achcheram, achcharīam*	*acharaj*	. . .	wonderful.
Var. xii. 6. Vikr. 103.	*gṛidhreṇa*	*giddheṇa*	*gidh*	*gīdh*	vulture.
Vikr. 112. . .	*mātaram*	*mādaram,*[21] *māam*	*mā*	*āī, māī*[22]	mother.
Var. v. 32. . .	*mātā*	*māā*			
Vikr. 112. Vikr. 116.	*pitaram* *pituḥ*	*pidaram,*[23] *piaram, piduṇo*	*pitā, bāp*	*pitā, bāp*	father.
Mṛichh. 14. 95.116.141 Var. iv. 32.	*gṛihaṁ*	*ghalam, gharam, gi'ham, haraam*	*ghar*	*ghar*	house.
Var. ii. 2. . .	*jīvam*	*jīam*	*jī*	. . .	life.
Var. ii. 2. . .	*sūchī*	*sūī*	*sūī*	*suī*	needle.
Var. ii. 2. iii. 50	*mārgaḥ*	*maggo*	. . .	. . .	path.
Var. iii. 48. .	*ātmanaḥ*	*āpaṇo,*[24] *appaṇo*	*apṇā*	. . .	self; own.
Mṛichh. 12. 78. 103. 104 S'ak. 105. .	*ātmā* *ātmānam*	*āpā, appā* *appāṇam, āpāṇam*	*āp*	*āpan* . . .	self; great-souled.
Prabodhach 12. 28. 37. 46. 63. 68.	*mahātmā-nam*	*mahāppā-ṇāṇam, mahāppā-ṇam*	. . .	. . .	
Prab. 63. . . Var. iii. 1. .	*sthale*	*thale*	*thal*	. . .	dry land.
Var. iv. 15. S'ak. 21. . .	*aśru*	*aṁsū, assu*	*āṁsū*	*asūṁ, āsu*	tear.
Var. iii. 2. v. 14. vi. 60. .	*agnim*	*aggim*	*āg*	*āg*	fire.
Var. iii. 60. Lassen, 284.	*kriyā*	*kiriā*	*kiriyā*	. . .	ceremony.
Var. iii. 8. . .	*brāhmaṇo*	*vamhaṇo*	*bāmhan*	*bāmaṇ*	Brahman.
Var. iii. 25. .	*garttaḥ*	*gaḍḍo*	*gaḍhā*	. . .	cavity.
Var. i. 18. ii. 27	*gabhīram*	*gahiram*	*gahirā*	*gahirā*	deep.

Prākṛit form may not now be discoverable in any extant work. Thus the Hindī and Mahrattī word *bānjh*, a barren woman, is formed from the Sanskrit *bandhyā*, in the same way as *sānjh* comes from *sandhyā*; and as in the latter case we find the earlier Prākṛit form to have been *sanjhā*, so we may suppose the older Prākṛit form of *bānjh* to have been *banjhā*, or *vanjhā*. And the same must have been the case in numerous other instances. [In fact, since the above was written, I have actually found the word *vanjhā*, a barren woman, in Clough's Pali Grammar, p. 37. See also *vanjhjhībhūdā*, Bālarām., p. 225.]

[19] Campbell's Telugu Grammar, note to Introduction, p. 13.

[20] Ojhā is the designation of a particular tribe of Brahmans. In the Bālarāmāyaṇa, 85 ff., the word has the form *uvajjhāa*.

[21] In Persian *mādar*. [22] Mahrattī of Nagpur. [23] In Persian *padar*.

[24] See Lassen, Inst. Pracr., p. 315. Burnouf (Lotus de la Bonne Loi, p. 660) observes that the form *āptano* or *ātpano*, which occurs in the rock inscription of Girnar, is the intermediate step by which *ātman* was transformed into *appā, appano*, etc.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRÁKRIT.	HINDÍ.	MAHRATTÍ.	ENGLISH.
Var. iv. 31.	*malinam*	*ma,ilam*	*mailā*	. . .	dirty.
Var. i. 9.	*chaturthī*,	*cha,utthī*, *chotthī*	*chauthī*	*chauthā*	fourth.
	chaturdaśī	*cha'uddahī*, *choddahī*	*chaudahwīn*	*chaudā*	fourteenth, fourteen.
Var. iii. 44.	*panchadaśaḥ*	*pañṇāraho*	*pandarahwān*	*pandharā*	fifteenth,
Var. ii. 41. Mṛichh. 70.	*shashṭhī*	*chhaṭṭhī*	*chhaṭhī*	. . .	fifteen, sixth.
Var. ii. 14. 44.	*ekādaśa*, *dvādaśa*, *trayodaśa*	*ēāraha*, *vāraha*, *teraha*[25]	*igārah*, *bārah*, *terah*	. . .	eleven, twelve, thirteen.
Lass. 271. 318 Var. vi. 59.	*dvayoḥ*	*doṇham*, *doṇṇam*	*doṇoṁ*	. . .	of two.
Lassen, 318 Mṛichh. 101 Var. vi. 54.	*dvau*, *dvābhyām*, *dvayoḥ*	*due*, *do*, *dohiṁ*, *d.*	*do*	*don*	two.
Lassen, 319. Var. vi. 56.	*trīṇi*	*tiṇṇi*	*tīn*	*tīn*	three.
Lassen, 319.	*shaṭ*	*chha*	*chha*	. .	six.
Lassen, 320.	*viṁśati*	*vīsa,i*	*bīs*	*wīs*	twenty.
Lassen, 320.	*triṁśat*	*tīsaa*	*tīs*	*tīs*	thirty.
Var. iii. 30.	*kshaṇam*	*chhaṇaṁ*	*chhan*	. . .	moment.
31.	*kshamā*	*chhamā*	*chhamā*	. . .	patience.
	makshikā	*machhiā*	*makkhī*	. . .	a fly.
Var. iii. 52. iv. 1	*srotas*	*sotto*	*sotā*	. . .	stream.
Var. i. 12.	*nidrā*	*ṇiddā*	*nīnd*	*nīd*	sleep.
Lassen, 246. Var. iii. 53.	*tāmram*	*tamvam*	*tāmbā*	*tāmb* (iron rust.)	copper.
Var. iv. 33. Lass. 172. n.	*duhitā*, *dhīdā*	*dhīā*	*dhiyā*, *dhī*	. .	maiden, daughter.
Var. iv. 25.	*dhanavān*	*dhaṇṇilo*	*dhanwālā*	. .	rich.
Var. i 10. iii. 12, Mṛich. 71	*prastāraḥ*, *prastaraḥ*	*pattharo*, *patthāro*	*patthar* (a stone.)	*patthar*	a bed : a stone.
Var. i. 20. iii. 1	*muktā*	*mottā*	*motī*	*motīṁ*	pearl.
Var. iii. 3. 58 Mṛichh. 93.	*rātri*	*rattī*	*rāt*	*rāt*	night.
Var. ii. 32.	*yashṭi*	*laṭṭhī*	*lāṭhī*	*laṭṭh*	staff, club.
Var. i. 15. 28. iii. 41. Mṛichh. ?	*vṛiśchikaḥ*	*vichchuo*, *vinchhuo*	*bichū*, *bichī*	*vinchū*	scorpion.
Var. iii. 17. 19	*sūryaḥ*	*sujjo*, *sūri*	*sūraj*	. . .	the sun.
Var. i. 29. Lass. 293. Vikr. 45.	*prāvṛish*	*pāus*	. . .	*pāus*	the rainy season.
Var. iii. 35. 38. Lass. 209	*vāshpaḥ*	*vāppho*, *vappho*	*bhāph*	. . .	vapour.
Var. iii. 22.	*nartakaḥ*	*ṇaṭṭao*	*naṭ*	*naṭ*	a dancer.
Var. iii. 24.	*vārtā*	*vattā*	*bāt*	. . .	word.
Lassen, 250. Var. iii. 21.	*paryanka*	*pallanka*	*palang*[26]	*palang*	bed.
Bāl. 132.	*palyankaḥ*	*pallanko*	. . .	. . .	do.
Lassen, 264. Var. iii. 1. 12	*ekastha*	*ekattha*	*ikaṭṭhā*	. . .	collected.

[25] See Prof. Cowell's note on Var. ii. 44.

[26] This word *palang* means in Persian also, a *bed*, as well as a *tiger*.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Var. iii. 12. Mṛichh. 18.	*mastaka* . . .	*matthaka* *matthaam*	*māthā*	*māthā*	head.
Lassen, 272. Var. iii. 40.	*matsya*[27]	*machchha*	*machchh, machchhlī*	. . .	fish.
Var. x. 10. Lassen, 379. App. 53.	*kanyā*	*kaṇṇā, haṇṇā*	. . .	. . .	girl.
	ahaṁ	*aham, ham, hagge, haṅi*	*maiñ, ham*	*mīm̃*	I.
	vayam	*amhe, vaam*	*ham*	*amhī*	we.
	mama	*maha, majjha*	*mujh*	*mājhā*	mine.
Vikr. 81. 82	*asmākam*	*amhāṇam*	*hamārā*	*amhālā amhāna*	of us, [us, by us, Mahr.]
Var. vi. 25–53.	*tvam, tvām*	*tumam, tumam*	*tum*	*tūm̃*	thou.
Cowell, Int. p. xxviii.[23]	*tubhyam*	*tujjha*	*tujh*	*tuj*	to thee.
	tava	*tuha, tujjha tujjhaha*	*tujh*	*tujhā*	thine.
	yūyam	*tumhe, tujjhe*	*tum*	*tumhī*	you.
	yushmākam	*tumhāṇa*	*tumhāra*	*tumhāla, tumhāna*	of you, [you, by you, Mah.]
Mṛichh. 38.	*kasya*	*kāha*	*kāhe*	. . .	whose?
Var. vi. 6.	*kasyāḥ*	*kissā*	*kis*	. . .	[of what woman?
Cowell, Int. xxvii.	*yaḥ*	*jo*	*jo*	*jo*	who.
Var. iv. 16.	*tasmin*	*tahiñ*	. . .	. . .	in this.
Mṛichh. 93. 96.	*yatra, tatra*	*jahiñ, tahiñ*	*jahāṅ, tahāṅ, tahiñ*	*jetheṁ, tetheṁ*	where, there.
Var. iv. 25.	*kiyat, yāvat*	*kettia, jettia*	*kitnā, jitnā*	*kitim̃*	how much, as much.
Mṛichh. 74.	*kutra*	*kahiñ*	*kahāṅ*	*koṭheṁ*	where?
Mṛichh. 4. 51.	*uttishṭha*	*uṭṭhehi utthehi*	*uṭhnā*	*uṭhneṁ*	rise, to rise.
Var. viii. 15. 61	*gṛihṇāti*	*geṇha, i*	*gahnā*	*gheṇeṁ*	to take.
Mṛichh. 4. 27. & *pas.* Cf. Delius, p. 41 Kram., in ditto, p. 10.	*pṛichchha* *pṛishṭā* *pṛishṭvā* *prakshyāmi* *pṛichhati*	*puchchha* *puchchhidā* *puchchhia* *puchchhissam* *puchchhadi*	. . . *pūchhnā*	. . . *pusaṇeṁ*	to ask.
Var. viii. 12.	*mriyate*	*mara, i*	*marnā*	*maraṇeṁ*	to die.
Var. viii. 18. xii. 17. Mṛic. 66. 103. 134. *pas.* Vikr. 14	*smarāmi* *smarasi* *smṛitvā*	*sumarāmi* *sumaresi* *sumaria*	*sumaranā*	. . .	to remember.
Mṛichh. 21. 24	*samarpayasi*	*samappesi*	*sompnā*	*sompaṇeṁ*	to entrust.
Mṛichh. 14. 131, Vikr. 57. 97. 101 Del. p. 62 .	*prāpitā* *prāptaḥ* *prāpnomi* *prāpsyasi*	*pābidā* *pābide, patto pāviya* *pāvimi* *pāvihi*	*pāyā* *pāwtā* *pāwahi*	*pāvaṇeṁ*	to obtain.
Var iii 3. . .	*prabhavati*	*pabhava'i*	. . .	. . .	he prevails.

[27] *Machcha* also is, however, given in Wilson's dictionary as a Sanskrit form.

[28] [See also Mṛichhakaṭī and Vikramorvaśī, etc., *passim*.]

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Var. vii. 20.	*bhavāmi*	*homi*[29]	*hūñ*	. .	I become, or am.
21. viii. 1.	*bhavasi*	*hosi*	*hai*	.	thou becomest, etc.
Mṛich. 105. 38. 39. 72. 163. . . .	*bhavati*	*bhodi, hodi*[30] *hojja, hojja'i*	*hai*	. . .	he becomes, etc.
	bhavanti	*honti*	*haiñ*		they become, etc.
Prab. p. 44.	*anubhavanti*	*aṇuhavanti*	. .	. . .	they feel.
Mṛichh. 141.	*anubhavitum*	*aṇubhavidum*	. .	. . .	to feel.
Mṛichh. 21. 24	*bhavishyati*	*huvissadi* *huvissadi*	*hōihi*[31]	. . .	he will be.
Var. vii. 12. 13. 14. 15. Lassen, 268.	*bhavishyāmi*	*hossāmi*,[32] *hossam*, *hohāmi*, *hohimi*	*hūñgā*	*hoīn*	I will be.
	bhavishyāmaḥ	*hossāmo*, *hohāmo*, *hohimo*, *hohissā*, *hohitthā*	*hoñge*	. . .	we will be.
Var. vii. 20. 21. . .	*bhavishyati*	*hojja, hojjā* *hojjahii*, *hojjāhii*	*hogā*	*hōīl*	he will be.
	bhavatu	*hojja, u*, *hojjāu*	*hūjiye, hūjiyo*	. . .	let him be; be (imper.).
Var. vii. 23. 24. . .	*abhavat*, *abhūt*	*huvīa*, *hohīa*	*bhayō huā*, *hatā, thā*	*hotā*	he was.
Var. viii. 2. .	*bhūtam*	*huam* (*hūam ?*)	*hūā*	. . .	been.
Mṛichh. 25. .	*jvālaya*	*jālehi*	*jalānā*	. . .	to burn.
Var. viii. 13 Vikr. 112. Mṛich. 16. 31	*karomi*	*karomi*, *kalemi*, *karemi*	*kartā.*	*karitoñ*	I do.
Mṛichh. 132.	*kṛitam*	*kaḍe*	*karā, kiyā*	*kela, kelā*	done.
Mṛichh. 31. Vikr. 18. .	*kṛitaḥ*	*kulu, kao*[33]			
Delius, pp. 27–29. . .	*kurvan*	*karanto*, *kalento*, *karento*, *kubbāṇo*	*kartā*	*karit*	doing.
Delius, pp. 27–29. . .	*nirākṛitya*	*ṇirākariya*	*kŏrĕyā* (Bengalī.)	. . .	having undone [done].
Delius, p. 17 Mṛichh. 105	*dadāmi*	*demi*	*detā*	. . .	I give.
Mṛichh. 66.	*dadāti*	*dedi*	. . .	. . .	he gives.
Var. viii. 62. Mṛich. 95. 37.	*dattam*	*dinṇam*	*diyā, dīn*	. . .	given.
Mṛichh. 127.	*dadatī*	*dentī*	*detī*	. . .	giving (fem.).
Mṛichh. 32. 163. . . .	*mārgayati*	*maggadi*[34] *maggedi*	*māngnā*	*māganeñ*	to ask.

[29] From *havāmi*, etc.; see Lassen, p. 176.
[30] *Hoi*, Mṛichh. 38. 102.
[31] *Hōihi*, provincial for *hogā*.
[32] Burnouf, Lotus, 687
[33] Delius seems to think *kulu* may be the Prākṛit imperative.
[34] Comp. *maggo* from *mārgaḥ*, antè, p. 18, Var. ii. 2. iii. 50

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛichh. 79. 82. 88. . .	*mārgayitum*	*maggidum*	. . .	. . .	to ask.
Mṛichh. 136	*margamā-ṇena*	*maggamā-ṇena*	. . .	. . .	
Mṛichh. 95. .	*mārgayataḥ*	*maggantassa*	. . .	. . .	
Mṛichh. 12. .	*kalpayata*	*kappedha*	. . .	*kāpaṇeṁ*	to cut.
Mṛichh. 51. .	*kalpayitvā*	*kappia*			
Var. viii. 23. Mṛichh. 36 Del. 15. 16.	*jñātvā*	*jāṇia*	*jāniyā* (Bengalī.)	. . .	having known
Var. viii. 56. Delius, p. 24.	*śṛiṇomi*	*śuṇāmi*	*sunnā* (Hindī)	.	
Mṛichh. 37. .	*śrutvā*	*śuṇia*	*śuniyā* (Bengalī.)	. . .	to hear.
Mṛi. 104. 105.	*śṛiṇu*	*suṇu, suṇāhi*	*sun*	. . .	hear.
Mṛich. 45. 70	*dhāv, dhāvati*	*dhavehi, dhoadi*	*dhonā*	*dhuṇeṁ*	to wash.
Mṛichh. 46. .	*svapimaḥ*	*subemha*	*sonā*	. . .	to sleep.
Prasan. 65. .	*supta*	*sutta*	*soā*	. . .	asleep.
Bāl. 178. . .	*svapsyāmi*	*suvissam*	*so, ūnga*	. . .	I shall sleep.
Mṛich. 59. 122 Var. viii. 25	*sthāpayitvā*	*ṭhābia, thābia*	*thāmnā*	*thāmbaṇeṁ*	to hold, stop.
Mṛichh. 97. Delius, 19. .	*sthāpayāmi*	*thābemi*	. . .	. . .	
Mṛichh. 57. .	*rakshāmi*	*rakkhāmi*	*rakhnā*	*rākhaṇeṁ*	to keep.
Var. viii. 47. Mṛichh. 70. 71. Del. 50.	*nṛityati, nṛityate, nṛityan*	*ṇachhai, ṇachohīadi, ṇachhanto*	*nāchnā*	*nāchaneṁ*	to dance.
Mṛichh. 71. .	*śikshayantaḥ*	*sikkhantā*	*sikhnā*	. . .	to teach.
Mṛichh. 72. .	*upavishṭaḥ*	*ubaviṭṭhā*	*baiṭhā* (?)	. . .	seated.
Cowell, App. A. p. 99. .	*kathayati*	*kahai*	*kahnā*	*kathaṇeṁ*	
Śak. 45. 34. Mṛich. 4. 80.	*kathaya*	*kahehi, kadhehi*	. . .	. . .	
Mṛichh. 80.	*kathayishyāmi*	*kahissam*	. . .	. . .	to tell.
Mṛichh. 36. .	*kathayitum*	*kahidā*	*kahā*	. . .	
Mṛichh. 103.	*kathayaṭe*	*kahijjadi*	. . .	. . .	
Delius, 86. . Vikr. 2. . .	*asti*	*atti, achchi*[35]	*āchhe* (Bengalī.)	*āhe*	he is.
Mṛichh. 99. .	*stha*	*achchhadha*	*āchho* (Beng.)		ye are.
Lassen, 346. Cowell, 184.	*santi*	*achchanti*	*āchhen* (Beng)		they are.
Sūtra 24. in App. A. . Cowell, 99.	*vadati*	*vollaï volaï*	*bolnā*	*bolaṇeṁ*	to speak.
Mṛichh. 105. Delius, 67. .	*brūmaḥ*	*bollāmo*[36]			
Mṛichh. 169.	*labhante*	*luhanti*	*lahate, lete*	. . .	they receive.

[35] Mr. Childers thinks the forms *achchi*, etc., cannot be referred to the Sanskrit root *as*. *Asti*, he says, became *atthi* in Pāli, but the Pāli *achchhati* is, he considers, beyond doubt the present tense of *ās*, and points to an anomalous form *atsati*.

[36] This alteration of *brūmaḥ* into *bollāmo* may perhaps be conceived to have proceeded by the following steps: *barūmaḥ, balūmaḥ, bollāmo*. Or it is possible that *bol* may be an indigenous non-Sanskrit form, or a vernacular root retained in Prākṛit.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛichh. 115.	*kshipatu* (*phel*, to go)	*pheladu*[37]	*phelite* (Beng.)	. . .	to throw.
Mṛichh. 139.	*dūrīkarishyāmi*	*phelaïssam*	. . .	. . .	I shall remove.
Mṛichh. 112.	*jāgṛita*	*jaggetha*	*jāgnā*	*jāgaṇeṁ*	to wake.
Var. vii. 7.	*gataḥ*	*ga'o*	*gayā*	. . .	gone.
Var. vii. 1. and ii. 24.	*paṭhati*	*paḍhaï*	*paḍhnā*	*ṛaḍhaṇeṁ*	to read.
Mṛichh. 121. Var. viii. 51.	*patāmi*	*paḍemi* *paḍāmi*	*paḍnā*	*paḍaneṁ*	to fall.
Delius, 51.	*patitaḥ*	*paḍido*	*paḍā*	. . .	fallen.
Mṛichh. 120. Delius, p. 22.	*uḍḍayante*[38]	*uḍḍenti* *uḍḍa'enti*	*uḍnā*		to fly.
Mṛichh. 124.	*paridhāsye*	*pahiliśśam*	*paharnā*	*pāndharaṇeṁ*	(to put on (clothing).
Mṛichh. 71.	*pibanti*	*pianti*	*pīnā*	*piṇeṁ*	to drink.
Delius, 77.	*jīvāmi*	*jīāmi*	*jīnā*		to live.
Mṛichh. 170.	*jīvantam*	*jīantam*	. . .	. . .	
Mṛichh. 165.	*nishkāśaya*	*nikkālehi*	*nikāsnā* *nikālnā*	. . .	to put out.
Var. viii. 44 Vik. 11. Del. 60. Kram. 10	*varddhate*, *varddhatām*	*vaḍḍhadi* *vaḍḍhadu*	*baḍhnā*	*wāḍhaṇeṁ*	to increase.
Vikr. 44.	*tvarayasva*	*turavāvehi*	*turant* (quickly.)	. . .	hasten.
Var. viii. 4.	*tvarate*	*tuvara'i*	. . .	. . .	he hastens.
Śak. 43. 168 Vikr. 91. Delius, 79. Hemachandra, Cowell. 173. note.	*paśyāmi* *dṛiśyāmi*[39]	*dekkhāmi*[40]	*dekhnā*	*dekhaṇeṁ*	to see.
	darśaya	*dekhāvahi*	*dikhānā*	*dākhaviṇeṁ*	to cause to see.
Var. viii. 48.	*yudhyate*	*jujjhaï*	*jūjhnā*	*junjhaṇeṁ*	to fight: be killed.
Var. viii. 48.	*budhyate*	*bujjhaï*	*būjhnā*	*bujhaṇeṁ*	to understand.
Var. viii. 25. 26, Mṛich. 73 Kram. 28. in	*dhyai*	*jhā, sanjhāadi*	*samajhnā* (?)	*samajaṇeṁ*	to meditate, understand.
Delius, p. 10.	*krudh*	*kujjh*	. . .	. . .	to be angry.
Var. viii. 46.	*rushyati*	*rūsa'i*	*risiyānā*	. . .	to be angry.
Var. viii. 50.	*mṛid. iti.*	*mala'i*[41]	*malnā*	. . .	to grind, rub.

[37] Perhaps derived from *prer*, to impel. Comp. *pellaṇeṇa* and *vellaṇeṇa*, rendered by *preraṇena*, in the Bāla., p. 203. Both roots are given in the lexicons.

[38] Prof. Aufrecht draws my attention to the fact that, in the Vedas, the root signifying "to fly" is not *ḍī*, but *dī*. See also the intensive form of the verb in *dedīyitavai*, Śatapatha Brahmaṇa, v. 3, 2, 6, quoted by Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v.

[39] This form may at one time have been in use.

[40] This word occurs on the Lāt of Firoz Shah in the forms *dekhati* and *dekhiye*, and in the form *dekhāmi* in the inscription at Dhauli. See Burnouf, Lotus de la bonne Loi, pp. 666, 669, 671, 676, who supposes *dekhati* may come from an old form *driśyati*, he sees. Mr. Childers thinks, however, it must come from the Sanskrit future *drakshyate*.

[41] See also Kramadīśvara, 39, in Delius, p. 11, where the root *mṛid* is said to become *maṇ* in Prākṛit. In Persian also the verb *mālīdan* means to *rub*.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Var. viii. 531	*sphuṭ*	*phuṭṭaï*, *phuḍaï*	*phūṭnā*	*phuṭaṇeṁ*	to split.
Mṛich. 70. 7. Delius, 59.	*badhyante*	*bajjhanti*	*bajhnā*	. . .	to be bound or caught.
Var. viii. 27.	*khād*	*khā*	*khānā*	*khāṇeṁ*	to eat.
Delius, 29. Mālavikā, 54.	*pārayāmi*	*pāremi*	*pārite* (Bengalī.)	. . .	to be able
Prasanna-rāghava, 45	*prāghuṇasya* *prāhuṇasya*	*pāhuṇassa*[42]	*pāhun* *pāhunā*	. . .	a guest.
Bālarāmāyaṇa 266.	*pakshiṇaḥ*	*pakhkhiṇo*	*pakheru* *panchhī*		birds.
Bāl. 290.	*kshīra*	*khīra*	*khīr*		milk.
Bāl. 231. 235.	*lakshāḥ*	*lakkhā*	*lākh*		hundred thousand.
Bāl. 45. 307.	*akshi*	*achchhi* *akkhi*	*āṇkh*		eye
Bāl. 246.	*kaksha*	*kakkha*			side.
Bāl. 53. 69. 98	*gotra*	*goṭṭa*	*got*		family, clan.
Bāl. 267.	*sūtra*	*sutta*	*sūt*		thread.
Bāl. 165. 167. 297.	*putra*, *putrī*	*putta*, *puttī*	*put*		son, daughter
Bāl. 221.	*kārpāsa*	*kappāsa*	*kapās*		cotton.
Bāl. 142. 178.	*karpūra*	*kappūra*	*kapūr*		camphor.
Bāl. 269. 298.	*dharma*	*dhamma*			virtue
Bāl. 294.	*darpaṇam*	*dappaṇam*			a mirror.
Bal. 267.	*nīrvāṇa*	*nivvāṇa*			extinction.
Bāl. 76. 194.	*dugdha*	*duddha*	*dūdh*		milk.
Bāl. 266.	*mugdha* *snigdha*	*mudḥdha* *siṇidhdha*			infatuated. affectionate.
Bāl. 236.	*pippala*	*pīpala*	*pīpal*		pīpal tree.
Bāl. 178.	*mishṭā*	*miṭṭhā*	*mīṭṭhā*		sweet.
Prasannarāgh.	*mishṭā*	*miṭṭhī*			
Bāl. 270. 278.	*oshṭha*	*uṭhtha*, *oṭhtha*	*hoṅth*		lip.
Bāl. 156. 303.	*śvaśureṇa*	*sasureṇa*	*sasur*		father-in-law
Bāl. 153.	*śvaśrū*	*sāsue*	*sās*		mother-in-law.
Bāl. 158.	*śvaśrūṇām*	*sāsūṇam*	*sās*		Do. gen. pl.
Bāl. 182.	*bhrū*	*bhū*	*bhauṁ*		eyebrow.
Bāl. 168. 176.	*snushā*	*suṇā*, *susā*			daughter-in-law.
Bāl. 34. 179. 234. 245. 364.	*śabdaḥ*	*saddo*			sound.
Bāl. 245. 251.	*mudgara*	*mogāra*	*mogra*, *mudgar*		a mallet.
Bāl. 235.	*dhūma*	*dhūsa*	*dhūāṅ*		smoke.
Bāl. 238.	*pādayoḥ*	*pāesu*	*pāṅw*		at the feet.

[42] The word is translated by *atitheḥ* in Pandit Govinda Deva's edition. But I find the word *prāghuṇa* in Wilson's Dictionary in the sense of guest; and Böhtlingk and Roth give both that and another form *prāhuṇa*. As, however, they do not cite from any very ancient author any passage in which the word is found, and as it is of rare occurrence as compared with *atithi*, it may perhaps have been imported into Sanskrit from Prākṛit. *Pāhuṇa*, in the sense of "guest," is, Mr. Childers informs me, a good Pāli word.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Bāl. 142. 292.	*pakva*	*pikka*	*pakkā*		mature.
Pras. 48.	*mūrkha*	*murukha*	*mūrakh*		fool.
Bāl. 49. 93. 270.	*jhaṭiti*	*jhaṭṭi*	*jhaṭ*		quickly.
Bāl. 246. 270.	*śiras*	*sireṇa*	*sir*		head.
Bāl. 77.	*katham*	*kīsa*	*kaisā*		how?
Prasan. 36. 44.	*katham*	*kahaṁ*			
Prasan. 26.	*vyāghrasya*	*vaghghassa*	*bāgh*		a tiger.
Prasan. 84. / Bāl. 76. 238.	*stana*	*tthaṇa, thaṇa*	*than*		female breast, udder.
Bāl. 168.	*jihvā*	*jīhā*	*jībh*		tongue.
Bāl. 276.	*kāṁsya*	*kaṁsa*	*kāṁs*		bell metal.
Var. viii. 6. / Bāl. 76.	*ghūrṇat*	*gholanta*	*gholnā* (to mix with a liquid.)		rolling.
Bāl. 238.	*ghūrṇanti*	*golanti*			roll, move.
Bāl. 246.	*ghūrṇati*	*ghuṇṇadi*			turns round.
Bāl. 143.	*chūrṇitam*	*ghullalidam*			pounded, crushed.
Mṛichh. 3.	*āhūya*	*saddābia* [43]	. . .	. . .	having called, summoned.
Mṛichh. 50.	*āhvayāmi*	*saddābemi*	. . .	. . .	I call.
Mṛichh. 54.	*āhvaya*	*saddābehi*	. . .	. . .	call (imper.).
Mṛichh. 54. 141.	*ājñāpayati* / *āhvayati*	*saddābedi*	. . .	. . .	he commands, calls.
Mṛichh. 60.	*ākārayishyāmi*	*saddābaïśśam*	. . .	. . .	I shall summon.
Mṛichh. 150.	*āhūyate*	*saddābīadi*			he is called.
Mṛich. 6.	*spṛishṭvā*	*chhibia* [44]	*chhūnā* (?) (to touch)	. . .	having touched.
Mṛichh. 35.	*veśyā*	*gosāṇiā* [45]			a harlot.

[N.B.—In this and the following list, it will be seen that I have generally given the Hindī and Mahrattī verbs in the infinitive, without reference to the mood or tense of the corresponding word in Prākṛit. The verbs in the Sanskrit column, on the contrary, are always exact renderings of the Prākṛit ones, in tense, number, person, etc.]

[43] This word is, no doubt, as Mr. Childers suggests, from the Sanskrit *śabdāpay* (see above the alteration of *śabda* into *sadda*). The word *śabdāpayet* occurs in the Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 57, 9, Schlegel's ed., and in ii. 59, 3, of the Bombay ed., where the commentary explains the word by *ākārayet*, "summon." In Gorresio's ed., ii. 59, 6, the verb *āhvayet*, having the same sense, is substituted. Forms like *śabdāpay* are, as Prof. Aufrecht informs me, very common in the later Sanskrit.

[44] A various reading is *bibia*. Mr. Childers thinks *chhibia* comes from the Sanskrit *chhup*, "to touch." This root is given, he tells me, in Clough's list of Pāli verbs in the sense of "to touch;" and the word occurs in the Dhammapada, p. 156, line 1.

[45] This word is, no doubt, derived from *gosvāminī*, the wife of a Gosvāmin, or Goshain; and I am told by a well-informed friend that the word has got the sense of harlot from the indifferent character of some of these female devotees.

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It is thus clear from an examination of the Indian dramas, and of the examples furnished by the grammarians who treat of the dramatic dialects (as illustrated in the preceding comparative table), that the words which we find in Prākṛit are in great part identical with those of Sanskrit, but more or less modified in their forms, and that these modifications are, in numerous instances, intermediate between the original Sanskrit words and the still more corrupted forms which we discover in the languages descended from the Prākṛits, I mean, in the modern vernacular dialects.

But, while the great majority of Prākṛit words can, by the application of proper methods, be traced back to a Sanskrit source, there are some others which refuse to yield to the action of even the most powerful tests which criticism can employ, and successfully assert their claim to an origin independent of classical Sanskrit, and which we must therefore conclude either to belong to the vernacular Āryan speech, or to be of non-Āryan derivation.

Another fact then which is made clear by the examination of the dramatic poems and the Prākṛit grammarians is, that the Prākṛit dialects contain a certain number of words which are not discoverable in classical Sanskrit, but which we also find in the modern vernaculars, such as the roots *ḍub*, to sink, *tharhar* (in Hindī *tharthar*), to tremble, *ḍhakk*, to cover or shut, and the nouns *goṛ*, leg, *bappa*, father, etc.[46] The greater portion of the words of this class, which I have discovered, will be found in the subjoined table. [In the present edition I have added, at the foot of the table, a number of new words, some of which, however, I find, may be derived from Sanskrit, but few of which are discoverable in the modern vernaculars.]

[46] See the Rev. H. Ballantine's paper "On the relation of the Mahrattī to the Sanskrit," in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. iii. p. 369–385. Some of the words considered by Mr. Ballantine to be Mahrattī are, however, Persian or Arabic, such as *mekh*, *baghal*, *manzila*; others, as *khāne*, to eat, are Sanskrit. I add the following remarks from Dr. J. Wilson's "Notes on the Constituent Elements," etc., of the Marāthī language (prefixed to Molesworth's Marāthī Dictionary, 2nd edition), p. xxii. [The Marāthī language] "has two distinct lingual elements, the Scythian (or Turanian) and the Sanskrit." . . . "The Scythian element . . is obviously the more ancient of the two, as far as its present locality is concerned. It is still a good deal in use, especially among the lower orders of the people, and in the business of common life. It claims almost all the words beginning with the cerebral letters, which, as initials, were probably not originally in use in the Sanskrit; almost all the words beginning with the letter *jh*; and a great majority of the words formed from imitative particles, both simple and reduplicated, which are often very expressive, and are not now of an arbitrary character, whatever they might have been before they got established in the

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TABLE No. II.

List of Prākṛit words, chiefly from the Mṛichhakaṭī and the grammarians, which are not found in classical Sanskrit, or are of doubtful origin, with their modern vernacular equivalents, when ascertained.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛichh. 119.	*pitṛisambandhi*	*bappa-kelake*[47]	*bāp ke* / *bāp karke*	*bāp*	father.
Mṛich. 80. 108	*pādam*	*goḍam*	*goḍ*	. . .	foot, leg.
Mṛich. 72. 112	*udara*	*poṭa, poṭṭa*	*peṭ, poṭa*	*poṭ*[48]	belly.
Mṛichh. 35. .	*puṁśchalī*	*chhiṇṇāliā*	*chhināl*	*chhināl, sindal*	harlot.
Mṛichh. 40. .	*stambha*	*khuṇṭa*	*khoṇṭā*	*khuṇṭā*	peg.
Mṛichh. 31. 36. 167. .	*manushyaḥ*	*goho*	. . .	*goho*	man.
Mṛichh. 123. & n., 299 .	*rasaḥ*	*lakhaliā*	. . .	*lakerī*[49]	a slight taste.
Mṛichh. 175.	*kukkuraḥ*	*huḍe*	. . .	. . .	dog.
Vikr. p. 79. .	*paśya*	*ua*	. . .	. . .	look.
Mṛichh. 100.	*rakshata*	*johaha*[50]	*johnā*	. . .	to watch: look out for.
Mṛichh. 141.	*prakampate*	*thartaredi*[51]	*thartharānā*	*thartharaṇeṁ*	to tremble.
Var. viii.68. & Kram. in Delius, 11.	*majjati*	*vuṭṭaï, vuttaï, khuppaï*	*būḍna*	*buḍaṇeṁ*	to sink
Mṛich. 162. 317	*majjantam*	*ḍubbantam*	*ḍūbnā*	*ḍūbaṇeṁ*	
Mṛichh. 36. 79. 164. . Prab. 58.	*pidhehi* / *pidhatta* / *pihitam*	*ḍhakkehi*[52] / *ḍhakkedha* / *ḍhakkide*	*ḍhaknā*	*ḍhāṅkaṇ* (a lid or cover) / *jhāṅkaṇeṁ* (to cover)	to cover or shut.

usus loquendi of the people by whom they were originally formed." . . . "The Sanskrit element is that which predominates in the Marāthī, as the inspection of the Dictionary at once shows." . . "Colebrooke expresses it as his opinion that 'nine-tenths of the Hindī dialect may be traced back to the Sanskrit;' and perhaps a similar observation may be justly made as to the proportion of Sanskrit words in the Marāthī, when both primitive and modified forms are taken into the account."

[47] About the affix, *kelake* or *kerake*, see Lassen, p. 118.

[48] In Molesworth's Mahrattī Dictionary, this word is set down as derived from the Sanskrit *peṭa;* but the only sense assigned to this word in Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary is that of *basket.*

[49] Stenzler's Mṛichhakaṭī, p. 299.

[50] In Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary the word *jongaṭa* is given as a noun, with the sense of "longing for;" which may possibly be connected with this word.

[51] Prof. Benfey, in his review of the first edition of this volume, in the "Gött. Gel. Anzeigen" for January 23rd, 1861, p. 132, considers this root to be connected with the Sanskrit *tarala*, "trembling," and the participle *tarturāṇa* (from the root *tur*), which occurs in Rig Veda, ix. 95, 3, where it has, according to Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, the sense of "rushing forward."

[52] Wilson and Böhtlingk and Roth give a root *dhakk*, with the signification to

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛich. 118. 95.	*kārayishyāmi* / *kāraya*	*ghaḍḍābaïssam* / *ghaḍḍābehi* [53]	*ghaḍnā*	*ghaḍaṇeṁ*	to fabricate.
Mṛichh. 122.	*karshāmi*	*vaḍḍhāmi*	. . .	*oḍhaṇeṁ*	to draw. (Stenz. 298.)
Kramad. in Delius.	*nishad*	*ṇumajj* [54]	. . .	. . .	to sit.
	piv	*ghoṭṭ*	*ghūṇṭnā*	*ghoṭaṇeṁ*	to drink, gulp
	khip	*vijj*	. . .	. . .	to throw.
Var. viii. 64.	*krudh*	*jur* [55]	. . .	. . .	to be angry.
Var. viii. 66.	*trasyati*	*vajjaï*	. . .	. . .	to be afraid.
Var. viii. 28. Delius, p. 6.	*gras*	*vis, ghis* [56]	. . .	. . .	to eat.
Var. viii. 20.	*ghrā*	*pā*	. . .	. . .	to smell.
Var. viii. 67.	*mṛij*	*lubh, sup*	. . .	. . .	to cleanse.
Var. viii. 69.	*dṛiś*	*pulaa*	. . .	. . .	to see.
Prasannarāghava, 11.13.113. 115.	*vilokayan*	*pulovanto*	. . .	. .	seeing.
	vilokaya	*pulcvehi*	. . .	. . .	see.
Var. viii. 70.	*śak*	*tar, vaa, tīr*	. . .	. . .	to be able.
Mṛichh. 21.	*sphoṭayishyāmi*	*maḍamaḍāïssam*			I shall split. [57]

"destroy;" but the *dh* is the dental, not the cerebral, letter. I have withdrawn from the table the word *kāṇelī*, as it is found in Sanskrit as well as Prākṛit sentences in the Mṛichhakaṭī.

[53] This may come from the Sanskrit root *ghaṭ*, "to act."

[54] Delius, p. 12, thinks that these roots may have been disused in Sanskrit.

[55] Prof. Benfey, in the review above quoted, regards this word as connected with the Sanskrit root *jvar*, and the adjective *jvara*, "excited," "in a passion."

[56] See Mr. Cowell's note 5, on p. 72, where he supposes that Delius's reading *ghis* is probably incorrect. In his Index, p. 202, however, Mr. Cowell places a mark of interrogation after *visaï*.

[57] While this table is passing through the press, I have been favoured with the following remarks on some of the words by Mr. R. C. Childers. "Bappa, Bâp—In Siṁhalese *Appá* is 'father,' and *Báppá* 'uncle.' The latter word is a corruption of *bála-appá*, as is shown by the corresponding *Bálammá*, 'aunt.'—Poṭa, Peṭ—I think this may well be the Sanskrit *Peṭa*, compare the various meanings of *Koshṭha*. The Italian for a man's head is *testa*, properly an earthen pot. It is singular that the Siṁhalese for 'belly' is *Baḍa*, which, however, cannot be peṭa; it would rather represent *bhaṇḍa*, but I am very doubtful about its etymology.—Chhiṇáliá—Clough, in the Siṁhalese dictionary, gives under *Chhinna*, the meaning 'harlot.' Could *náli* be the Sanskrit *náṛí*?—Ua, 'look,'—I do not know how this word is used, but might it not be simply an interjection?—Ḍhakkhehi,—The Sanskrit root '*Stag*' is *Thak* in Páli (*thaketi* 'he covers,' *thakanaṁ*, 'a covering'). But Clough gives 'concealment' as one of the meanings of *ḍhakka*.—Ghaḍábaiśśam—This must be a causative of '*ghaṭ*': *Ghaṭápeti*, 'he fabricates,' occurs in Páli (see D'Alwis Intr. p. 35).—Vaḍḍhámi, 'to draw,'—Compare Turnour's Mahávaṁsa, p. 160, line 1 and erratum, *Kuntaṁ vaḍḍhetha bho*, 'pull up the lance,' which seems to have been stuck in the ground (see previous page).—Vijj, 'to throw,'—Could this be 'vyadh'? The present tense in Páli is *vijjhati*.—Vajjaï, 'to fear,'—Could this be 'vṛij' (Páli *vajjati*), in the sense of 'to shrink from'?—Pul, 'to see'—This must be the Siṁhalese *bala-navá* 'to see,' the etymology of which I have not succeeded in tracing."

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛichh. 17.	*bhakta*	*chhalli*[58]			boiled rice.
Mṛichh. 43.	*śasya-lampaṭa*	*śaśśa-palakka*			a rioter in grain (spoken of an ox).
Mṛichh. 101. 159.	*chintāparaḥ chintāyuktaḥ*	*tattilo* (or *tantilo*), *tattilā*			anxious.
Mṛichh. 127.	*bāle*	*vāśū*	. . .	. . .	O young female!
Mṛichh. 134.	*kshālayishyāmi*	*gālaīśśam*[59]	. . .	. . .	I shall wash.
Bāl. 65f. 74 240.	*kānti*	*rincholī*	. . .	. . .	brilliance.
Bāl. 194.	*pankti*	*riṣholī*	. . .	. . .	a row.
Bāl. 86.	*gaja*	*doghaṭṭa*	. . .	. . .	an elephant.
Bāl. 195. 264.	*śukti*	*sippi*	*sīp, sīpī*	. . .	a shell.
Bāl. 249.	*trasta*	*chamakaṇta*[60]	*chamaknā* (to glitter, start)	. . .	alarmed.
Bāl. 240.	*miśrita*	*kallabida*	. . .	. . .	mixed.
Bāl. 264.	*patita*	*paloṭṭa*	. . .	. . .	fallen.
Bāl. 198.	*samūhāḥ*	*kaḍappā*	. . .	. . .	assemblages.
Bāl. 203.	*śreshṭha*	*garilla*[61]	. . .	. . .	most excellent.
Bāl. 243.	*nartakī*	*taraṭhṭhī*	. . .	. . .	a dancing girl.
Bāl. 251.	*chūrnita*	*chuspaṇia*	. . .	. . .	pounded.
Bāl. 276.	*miśram*	*vidurillam*	. . .	. . .	mingled.
Bāl. 246.	*sparśaiḥ*	*jhaḍappehiṁ*	. . .	. . .	contacts.
Bāl. 246.	*dutkāraiḥ dutkurutaḥ*	*ḍukkarehim ḍukkanti*	*ṭhokaron se ṭhonkte?*	. . .	they beat with blows?
Bāl. 259.	*lalāṭa*	*ṇiḍola*[62] [63]	. . .	. . .	forehead.
Bāl. 198.	*śobhita*	*changoṭhṭhia*	. . .	. . .	beautified.

[N.B.—See other non-Sanskrit roots, or roots of doubtful origin, used in Prākṛit. in Vararuchi, viii. 18, 21, 23, 34, 35, 39, 40.]

[58] Wilson gives *challi*, with the sense of "rind," "bark."

[59] Here the *ksh* of the Sanskrit may be changed into *g*. The Pāli form, Mr. Childers tells me, is *khālayissāmi*, which he thinks may supply a link between the two words in the Table. But the Bālarāmāyaṇa, p. 48, has *pakkhālaṇa* for the Sanskrit *prakshālana* and the Prasannarāghava, p. 124, has *chchhālaa* for the Sanskrit *kshālaya*.

[60] The word also occurs in p. 243 of the same drama, in the forms *chamakkanta* and *chamakkida*, where it is explained in the commentary by *chamakṛita*, "astonished."

[61] This may possibly be a mistake of the copyist for *gariṭhṭha (garishṭha)*, which occurs in page 224.

[62] Mr. Childers suggests that *ṇiḍola* is probably only an altered form of *lalāṭa*, as in Pāli *naḷāta* is a more common form than *lalāṭa*, while metathesis would account for the most important remaining variation.

[63] The Sanskrit lexicons have *changa* in the sense of beautiful; but from what the latter part of the word is derived, I do not see.

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It is true that these vernacular words, occurring in the dramas, are few in number; that many vocables, very unlike the Sanskrit, which seem, on a hasty inspection, to be of a different origin, are discovered, on a more careful examination, to be derived from that language by successive steps proceeding according to certain recognized rules of mutation; and that the words, not deducible from the written Sanskrit, which remain, do not bear so large a proportion to those which are of Sanskrit origin, as is the case in the modern vernaculars.[64] This paucity of such words in the dramas is, perhaps, to be accounted for by the fact that they are polished compositions containing many poetical passages, and were written by Pandits, men familiar with Sanskrit, who would be likely, when they could, to avoid vulgar words and phrases, and to employ vocables of Sanskrit derivation, wherever it was found possible: just as we see the pedantic Pandits of our own time are in the habit of doing.[65] And there can be no doubt that in the provincial dialects, as spoken by the lower classes and by unlearned persons in general at the time when the dramas were composed, many more non-Sanskrit words would be current than we meet with in the dramas. In the same way we find in modern times several modifications of language in use among different sections of the community in the same provinces of Hindustan. The Hindu Pandits, for instance, use a dialect which is full of Sanskrit words; the villagers use fewer Sanskrit and more indigenous words; the lower Mahomedans use a language approaching to that of the Hindu villagers, but with more Persian and Arabic words; while educated Mahomedans introduce into their discourse a large number of Arabic and Persian words and phrases. But the existence of even a small proportion of such non-Sanskrit words

[64] Lassen remarks, p. 286: "The roots of the Prākṛits must be looked for in Sanskrit; and the few words which appear to be of extraneous origin can, for the most part, be traced to Sanskrit, if the investigation is pursued on right principles. At the same time I would not entirely deny that some vocables may have passed from the indigenous languages of India into the Sanskrit as well as the Prākṛit; but such words are certainly not numerous." Lassen may not underrate here the number of purely indigenous words in the Prākṛits, as they are exhibited in the dramas, but his remarks are not certainly correct if applied to the modern vernaculars, in which words not derived from Sanskrit, and which must have come down to them from the vernacular Prākṛits, are very numerous.

[65] Compare the case of English, like that of Dr. Samuel Johnson, full of Latin and Greek derivatives with other compositions in which Anglo-Saxon predominates.

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in the dramas, when taken in conjunction with the corrupted form, akin to that of the modern vernaculars,—in which we find Sanskrit words employed there, appears sufficient to show that the Prākṛits, such as we see them in the dramas, were, in a more or less modified form, the spoken dialects of their day; and were consequently the precursors of the modern vernacular tongues. As we find in these latter a considerable proportion of words which cannot be traced back to classical Sanskrit, we are led to conclude that these words must have existed in the older vernacular dialects, and have been transmitted from them to the later. The only alternative is that we suppose these non-Sanskrit words to have been invented in modern times, a supposition which is destitute of all probability.[66]

The question, already proposed in p. 7, now recurs, Whence came these words which are met with in the Prākṛit dialects and the still larger number discoverable in the modern vernacular tongues, which are not found in classical Sanskrit? In answer to this question two suppositions have been already made. It has been suggested, p. 7, that these words are either (1) colloquial vocables of Āryan origin (a view which is adopted by Mr. Beames in the passage quoted in p. 8), or (2) that they have been borrowed from the language of non-Āryan tribes with which the Āryans came into contact. For I must here anticipate an assertion which I hope further on to prove more in detail, viz., that there are in India very manifest traces of a variety of races of men differing widely in their origin.

It appears that the ancestors of the higher classes of northern Hindus, who originally spoke Sanskrit and called themselves Āryas, must have had their origin in countries to the north or west of India, and immigrated into Hindustan at an early period. When they arrived there, they found the country already occupied by a race of men called in the Veda and Mahābharata, Dasyus, who spoke a different language from themselves, and with whom they became engaged in continual

[66] Even if it were to be admitted that the Pāli and the scenic dialects were never identical with the spoken vernaculars, this would not neutralize my argument. For the Prākṛits must have been used on the stage, and must therefore have been understood. They could not, however, have been intelligible, if they had not approached closely to some form of spoken language. And the existence of the Pāli, as well as of the Prākṛits, shows both the general tendency of men to break down and modify their languages, and the actual process by which they proceeded in northern India.

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warfare. These Dasyus appear to have been partly driven away by the Āryas to the east and south and north, where they took refuge in the forests and mountains, and partly to have been subdued and to have become incorporated in the Āryan communities as their slaves or dependents. Though these earlier inhabitants of India also had, in all probability, immigrated into that country at some period anterior to the invasion of the Āryas, I shall, for the sake of ready distinction, style them the aborigines. These aboriginal tribes may not have been all of one race, and may have arrived in India at different times, but their history is very obscure, and can only be conjectured. So much is clear, that their languages are not all alike. In the south of India we find still existing a set of spoken languages called Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malayalim, etc., which differ very widely from the vernacular tongues of northern India, viz., the Mahrattī, Hindī, Bengalī, etc. Though the southern languages have now a certain intermixture of Sanskrit words, yet it is clear that this intermixture is only of comparatively recent date, as those languages differ entirely both in structure and in the great bulk of the words of which they are composed from the Sanskrit, and all its derivative languages. The dialects of northern and central India, on the other hand, viz., the Mahrattī, Hindī, Bengalī, etc., are, as we have already seen, mainly derived from classical Sanskrit, though they contain a considerable proportion of words which are evidently of a different origin. These words of non-Sanskrit origin, which we first discover, to a certain extent, in the ancient Prākṛits, and which descended from them to the northern vernaculars, must (1) either have formed a part of the colloquial speech of the Āryas, which did not pass into their literary language; or (2) they have been derived from the language spoken by the aborigines, who had occupied the south as well as north of India before the Sanskrit-speaking race of the Āryas arrived; or (3) they most probably came partly from the one and partly from the other of these sources. Assuming that they spring in part, at least, from a non-Āryan source, we may suppose some such linguistic process as the following to have taken place. After the northern aborigines had been reduced to dependence by the Āryas, and both classes, Āryan and non-Āryan, had coalesced in one community (of which the former composed the upper, and the latter the lower ranks), the languages of both classes (which had

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previously been different) would begin to become assimilated and amalgamated; the Sanskrit-speaking Āryas would soon adopt many words belonging to the speech of the aborigines, while the aboriginal race would begin to borrow many words from the Sanskrit, the language of their masters. This process, however, would naturally lead to a great corruption and alteration of the Sanskrit. Many of the compound consonantal sounds in Sanskrit words, such as those in *strī*, *rakta*, *kshatriya*, seem to have been found such as the lower orders of people found it difficult to pronounce, and these compound sounds became accordingly broken up or simplified, or in some way modified. Thus *strī* became *istrī*, *rakta* became *ratta* or *rakat*, and *kshatriya* became *khatriya*, *khattia*, or *chhatriya*. In this manner both languages would become gradually changed, according to processes which are seen in operation in all countries. Caprice, alteration of physical circumstances, differences of education, and those varieties in the organs of speech which are peculiar to different races,—are all found to produce progressive modifications in language. Various forms of Prākṛit would spring up by degrees in different provinces, in which Sanskrit and aboriginal words and forms would be combined, though the more cultivated element, the Sanskrit, has, in either a pure or a modified shape, remained predominant. At the same time the Sanskrit language gradually ceased to be spoken in its then existing form, and becoming the language of books, and of the learned class exclusively, was more and more polished and settled by grammarians; and being exempted from the ordinary causes of alteration, continued thenceforward unchanged: just as was the case with the Latin language. It seems, at the same time, to be very probable that many words of indigenous origin, as well as words which, though of Sanskrit origin, had been modified in the Prākṛits, were incorporated in the Sanskrit; and that in this way the modern vocabulary of that language includes many words and roots which were unknown to it at an earlier period.[67]

[67] Dr. Stevenson says, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal As. Society, for January, 1859: "The Brahmans scattered through all the different provinces of Hindusthan no doubt adopted many of the words of the languages of the tribes among whom they resided, and introduced them into the sacred tongue." Professor Benfey has drawn attention to the introduction into Sanskrit of words which had become modified in the Prākṛits. See Lassen, Ind. Alt. ii. 1149, note 2; and

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SECT. III.—*On the origin and vernacular use of the Scenic Dialects.*

It has been doubted, however, whether the dramatic dialects were ever spoken languages. This view is thrown out as the most likely by Prof. H. H. Wilson in the introduction to his "Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus," pp. lxv, lxvi.

"There is one question of some interest attaching to our construction of the Prakrit, which merits a fuller inquiry than has been yet given to it, and on which this is not the place to dilate. Does it represent a dialect that was ever spoken, or is it an artificial modification of the Sanskrit language, devised to adapt the latter to peculiar branches of literature? The latter seems to be the most likely; for there would be no difficulty in the present day in writing it, although it is no longer spoken, and highly finished specimens are to be found in plays which are modern productions. The Vidagdha Mādhava, for instance, consists more than half of high Prakrit, and it was written less than three centuries ago. On the other hand, many of the modifications are to be found in the spoken dialects of Hindusthan, and the rules of Prakrit grammar account for changes which, without such aid, it is difficult to comprehend. The simplification of the grammatical construction by the disuse of the dual number, and the reduced number of verbal conjugations, looks also like the spontaneous substitution of practical to theoretic perfection in actual speech, and may tempt us to think the Prakrit was once a spoken tongue. The subject

Benfey, article "Indien" (in Ersch and Gruber's Encycl.), p. 248. A paper on "The Dravidian elements in Sanskrit," by Dr. H. Gundert, has lately appeared in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1869, pp. 517 ff. The author remarks: "It was to be expected *à priori* that a number of Dravidian words must have found their way into Sanskrit. How, further, could the Aryan people have spread itself over the whole of India, without adopting very much from the aboriginal population which they found there, and which has submitted to them partly in a peaceable manner, and partly under compulsion, and yet even to this day only imperfectly?" And in opposition to the Brahmanical grammarians who would derive such words from Āryan roots, or declare Dravidian roots to be Sanskrit, the writer appeals to the nature of the case, and urges that: "where peoples speaking different languages live in constant mutual intercourse, traffic or fight with one another, suffer and enjoy together, they take over much from each other without examination or scrutiny; and this process must have gone on in the earliest times, when their mutual relations were still of a naïf character. We thus expect *à priori* that as the Aryans penetrated southwards, they would become acquainted with new objects under Dravidian appellations, and with them adopt their names."

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is interesting, not only in a philological, but in a historical view; for the sacred dialects of the Bauddhas and the Jainas are nothing else than Prakrit, and the period and circumstances of its transfer to Ceylon and to Nepal are connected with the rise and progress of that religion which is professed by the principal nations to the north and east of Hindusthan."

Mr. Beames expresses himself still more strongly in the same sense: "In fact, there is much that requires clearing up in the relation between the Saurasenî, Braj, and the Modern Hindî dialects, and until we know more of the colloquial forms of early Prakrit, the mist cannot be dispelled. The Prakrit of the poets is clearly *not* a dialect that ever was spoken. How far it represents the characteristics of any spoken dialect is a question."—(Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1868, p. 498.)

To support the view which has been already expressed of the relation of the modern vernaculars to certain pre-existing Prākṛit, *i.e.* vernacular dialects, it is not necessary to assume that the dramatic Prākṛits are identical with the spoken Prākrits which existed at or anterior to the periods when the former were used for poetical purposes. In fact, it is clear from what Prof. Wilson says of the composition of dramas within the last few centuries, when the older Prākṛits had been superseded by the existing vernaculars, that the Prākṛits of the dramas have continued to be employed as the traditional dramatic language for females and for the lower classes long after these Prākṛits have, on any supposition, become obsolete. But it is possible that when they were originally so used they may have been identical with some contemporaneous vernaculars. It is, however, sufficient for my purpose to assume that the dramatic dialects were at one period closely akin to some contemporaneous vernaculars. This appears to be sufficiently established by the lists of words which I have given above, and which show that the modern vernaculars have naturally sprung out of forms of speech either identical with or akin to the dramatic Prākṛits. The same point is also proved by the relation in which, as we shall see, the latter stand to the Pāli.

I shall now introduce a quotation from Professor Lassen, who, in his Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ, pp. 39, ff., adopts the opposite side of the question from Prof. Wilson and Mr. Beames. His remarks

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will also be found to illustrate the process by which the Prākṛits arose out of Sanskrit.

"If the question regarding the origin of these dialects merely refer to the source whence they are derived, it admits of a very easy answer: for, as has been already stated, all the scenic dialects are drawn entirely from the Sanskrit.[68] If, however, the question means by what process these dialects have been drawn from the Sanskrit, it will be more difficult to answer. The difficulty does not consist in these languages containing any forms or words of which the Sanskrit archetypes are undiscoverable: for, on the contrary, both forms and words are deduced from that ancient source by undergoing certain mutations which all languages follow as they become altered and corrupted in the course of time; as, for example, has been the case with all the Germanic and Romanic dialects which have sprung from the Gothic and the Latin.

"The difficulty, however, consists in this, that these dramatic dialects, sprung from the Sanskrit, and bearing the names of different provinces, are different from the provincial languages which have the same name and origin; *e.g* the principal-Prakrit (which appears to have been called Mahārāshṭrī) differs from the modern Mahrattī, and the Saurasenī from the Brajbhākhā. Hence a doubt has been suggested whether the dramatic dialects were formerly the spoken tongues of the people of the several provinces, who at present use a form of speech which, though cognate, is yet different; or whether these dramatic dialects are anything more than artificial adaptations, either of Sanskrit, or of the provincial tongues, to dramatic purposes. The latter opinion has appeared to Wilson the most probable, for this reason, that the modern dialects of the Mahratta country, of Mathurā, and Behar, are different from those which were employed on the stage under the same names. He assigns another reason, viz., that these dramatic dialects can be composed even now. But is not the case precisely the same with the Sanskrit or the Latin? both of which can in our day be written by men who are skilled in them, though they have long ceased to be used in daily life, or to be spoken, except by a few scholars. Wilson's first reason is equally inconclusive: for, to use what I may call an argumentum ad hominem, the learned Pro-

[68] See, however, what has been said on this subject above, in pp. 26, ff.

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fessor would scarcely succeed in making himself understood, if he were to address his countrymen in the Anglo-Saxon tongue. His argument would, indeed, be sound, if it could be proved that in the age when the dramatic dialects were first brought upon the stage, the Mahārāshṭrī, or any other form of contemporaneous speech, was different from the dialect introduced into the dramas under the same name. For it must be recollected that succeeding dramatic poets, following the example of their predecessors, did not change the dramatic varieties of speech, but retained them in their original forms; whilst, on the other hand, the popular dialects continued to undergo great alterations, as is the fate of all languages which are subjected to the wear and tear of constant use. These scenic dialects can be taught even now by grammatical tuition, just as the Sanskrit can, though neither the one nor the other can be learned by the Indians from a nurse. All change in the scenic dialects was guarded against (just as in the case of the Sanskrit) from the period when their forms and laws had been fixed by grammarians; and, consequently, the argument drawn from the diversity of the dramatic and modern provincial dialects is of no force, unless it can be shown that the provincial dialects also have remained unchanged, from the commencement to the present day. This, however, can neither be shown, nor was it possible. On the other hand, the existing condition of the provincial dialects cannot be explained unless we suppose them to have had another form, more ancient than the present, and more conformable to the Sanskrit.

"Since, then, it cannot be proved that the provincial dialects were originally different from the scenic, I shall add some arguments by which it will be made probable that the latter (the scenic) were actually current in the provinces from which they derived their names. And, first, I shall make use of the names themselves as an argument: for the names Mahārāshṭrī, Śaurasenī, would be absurd if they were not referred to provincial dialects; seeing that the names cannot be deduced from any orders of men so called, nor from any peculiarities in those dialects. The same may be said of the Māgadhī, for though I am aware that the word Māgadha denotes an order of bards, still the Māgadhī dialect is employed on the stage by other classes of men, and the bards themselves derive their appellation from the province which gave its name to the dialect.

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"In the next place, I argue that the nature of dramatic poetry renders it scarcely credible that dramas composed in a language different from that of common life should have been exhibited on the stage. This, however, is a different matter from the supposition that the dramatic dialects have subsequently ceased to be spoken, and have become obsolete, while yet they maintained their place on the stage. The same thing holds good of the employment of Sanskrit itself in dramas written in a comparatively modern period.

"If these considerations be duly weighed, it appears to follow that the use of different dialects on the stage was the result of a peculiar condition of Indian life, at the time when the laws of dramatic art were first fixed by the Indian poets.

"To these arguments it must be added that there is so close an affinity between the primary dramatic dialect and the Pali, as to leave scarcely any doubt of their being originally identical. So much is undoubted that the sacred language of the Jains is not different from the primary Prakrit. This language would certainly not have been adopted by the adherents of a sect which is strongly opposed to the Brahmans and their opinions, if the dramatic dialect had had no other foundation than the fertile and subtle genius of the Brahmans. The Jains could, however, have no difficulty in appropriating it to their own uses, if it was the language of daily life. How it happened that the Mahārāshṭrī dialect in particular came to be selected both by the dramatic poets and by the Jains, is a point to be explained from the history of the Indian stage, and of the Buddhist religion, out of which the sect of the Jains sprang. To attempt this here would be out of place.

"The primary argument, however, is to be drawn from the structure of the languages themselves. This structure is the same, as regards principles and general rules, in all the provincial languages of Sanskrit origin, while it is different (though very similar), if the individual forms and the elements of these be regarded. I shall therefore do sufficient justice to the plan I have in view, if I examine more minutely some of these languages, and show what their grammatical character is. In doing so, however, I am prevented by the limits of my book from exhibiting their entire grammar, nor would it better serve the end I have in view if I were to do so. I propose, there-

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fore, to inquire into the scheme of declensions peculiar to these languages, which follows the same analogy as the laws of conjugation. I pass over the permutations of sounds, which are too various to be treated here; nor, if I did treat them, would it conduce to my object, which is so to describe the structure of the provincial dialects as to exhibit the differences between them and the dramatic languages. For the changes in their elements undergone by the Sanskrit words which have been received into the modern dialects, follow two very different laws, which, if not carefully distinguished, might be used to demonstrate contrary conclusions. One sort of mutation prevails in those words which had been received into the provincial dialects which were anciently formed, or rather corrupted, from the Sanskrit; such as the Brajbhākhā 'pōthī,' a book, which in Prakrit is 'pōthaö,' and in Sanskrit 'pustaka,' and numerous others, which would lead us to conclude that the same changes in the elements of words have taken place in the modern vernaculars as in the dramatic dialects; and that the forms of words in the former are derived from, and find their explanation in, the latter. This I by no means deny. But there is another kind of words to be found in the modern dialects, which come nearer to the original Sanskrit words than do the forms used in the dramatic Prakrits. The following are some examples from the Braibhākhā, Panjābī, Mahrattī, and Bengālī:

	Brajbhākhā.	Panjābī.	Mahrattī.	Bengālī.
	Putra,[69] *Putrī*	*Prakās*	*Kartā, Pruthuwī*	*Dīp, Prithivī.*
Prakrit	*Putta, Puttī*	*Pakāsa*	*Kattā, Puhavī*	*Dība, Puhavī.*
Sanskrit	*Putra, Putrī*	*Prakāśa*	*Kartā, Pṛithivī*	*Dīpa, Pṛithivī.*

"To these might be added numerous other instances. And if such words alone were regarded, it would not be absurd to conclude that the modern dialects retain a greater number of Sanskrit words in their genuine form than the Prakrits do. But this would be an unsound conclusion; for the modern vernaculars, especially when spoken by men who are learned in Sanskrit, and as they are seen in books written by such persons (from which the manuals, grammars, and lexicons of such dialects which we use, have been derived), are con-

[69 *Put, son,* is, however, also used in this dialect, as in the phrase, *bāp put, father and son.*—J.M.]

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tinually recurring to their sacred and ancient source (the Sanskrit), not only when they want words expressive of recondite ideas, and required for elegance of diction, but also when the vernacular form of the word is more corrupt than learned men would wish to introduce into their writings. Hence it happens that twofold forms of the same Sanskrit words are found in the same provincial language, one more Sanskrit, the other Prakrit; for the parent Sanskrit has never ceased to exercise an influence on the vernacular dialects of India, just as the Latin does on the Romanic tongues; while, on the other hand, the Sanskrit has exercised no influence on the forms of the dramatic dialects from the period when the dramatic poets, and the grammarians following their guidance, had assigned to these dialects certain fixed forms. It has hence resulted that these dramatic dialects have undergone no change whatever, and are just the same in dramas composed within the last three centuries as in the far more ancient Mṛichhakaṭī. For the language of the stage is continually borrowing Sanskrit words, but alters and inflects them according to rules peculiar to itself; the vernacular dialects, on the other hand, continue similarly to borrow words from the Sanskrit, but leave them unaltered,[70] while those words which they had long ago adopted had been altered according to natural laws common to them with the Prakrits. In this way the occurrence of pure Sanskrit words in the vernaculars, such as, *e.g. tīkshṇa*, *tiraskṛita*, in the Bengalī, is to be explained."—Pp. 39–45.

Professor Lassen then proceeds to examine the forms of declension employed in some of the modern vernaculars. He then goes on to remark as follows:—

[In the modern vernaculars] "we find the structure of the Sanskrit and Prakrit declension quite destroyed, the same inflexions applied to the singular and the plural, and a new difference introduced in certain declensions between the direct and the oblique cases. This proves that the provincial declensions are of a later date than those of

[70] It is also to be observed, that many of the Sanskrit words which have been borrowed and modified in the Pāli and Prākṛit, are, in the modern dialects, replaced, as far as the common people are concerned, by words of aboriginal, or, at least, colloquial, origin; such as *beṭā*, instead of *putra*, for son; while words like the latter are used chiefly by Brahmans, and other high-caste persons.—J. M.]

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the dialects used in the dramas, which are derived from the Sanskrit by certain fixed rules, and involve only a few innovations. In the provincial inflections there remain, indeed, some traces, partly distinct, partly somewhat obscured, of Sanskrit and Prakrit declension; but in other points there are great innovations which reveal to us a total dissolution of the old grammatical structure, and its reconstruction by means of new instruments.

"As this state of things is perceptible in the whole grammar of the provincial dialects which owe their origin to the Sanskrit, I conclude that they are of later origin than the scenic dialects. Between the Sanskrit language and its existing daughters [the modern vernaculars], there is so great a diversity of grammatical structure as to make it certain that the pristine language cannot have sunk by one fall, so to speak, into that condition in which we find the provincial dialects. It follows of necessity that there must have been an intermediate condition between the pristine and the modern speech. This intermediate condition was no doubt very various, and approached at first more nearly to the Sanskrit, and subsequently to the provincial tongues.

"If we except the Pali [and, I would add, the Gāthā dialect in the Buddhist books, J.M.], the earliest form of the Sanskrit after it began to degenerate and to alter its character is that which we find in the dramas; from which dramatic dialect, therefore, we are to suppose that the first mutation of the Sanskrit, which eventually gave rise to the modern vernaculars, was not very different. I contend that, though not identical, this earliest corruption of Sanskrit was very similar to that which we find in the dramas. If this opinion be correct, there is nothing to prevent our believing that the scenic dialects were formerly the current speech of the different provinces. The names which these scenic dialects have received from the grammarians, and the conditions of dramatic poetry, lead us to the same conclusion.

"Here, however, I conceive I must stop, for I could not adduce detailed arguments to prove this opinion without examining the whole field, both of the scenic and the provincial dialects. I think, however, that I ought distinctly to add that I should not be disposed to dissent from any one who should assert that the scenic dialects were not exactly the pure forms of speech which were contemporaneously

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current in the different provinces, but were a little modified, so as better to harmonise with the character of the persons who were to employ them. The principal argument for this conclusion is that two forms are sometimes found to occur in the dramatic dialects, one having a closer resemblance to the provincial language, and another which is softer and, so to speak, more feminine.

"To bring this disquisition to a close: there are two families of degenerate Sanskrit extant; the first more ancient, and not much corrupted, to which class the Pali and the scenic dialects belong; the second of more recent origin, and dispersed at the present day over the [northern] provinces of India, which is more diverse from the parent language. The members of the former family are daughters of the Sanskrit; those of the latter are its granddaughters, though it is in some degree doubtful whether they are daughters of the first family or granddaughters descended from sisters. As regards the age of these two classes, it is proved by the history of the Buddhist religion, and of the Indian stage, that the former arose prior to the commencement of the Christian era; while it can be made out with considerable probability that the latter (*i.e.* the modern provincial vernaculars) were formed before the year 1000 of the Christian era." —Pp. 57–60.

I subjoin some further remarks on the distinction between the older Prākṛits and the modern vernaculars, from the Indische Alterthumskunde of the same author, Vol. ii. pp. 1149, 1150.

"We must draw a distinct line of demarcation between the Indian languages of the middle age (under which denomination we may fittingly class the Pali, the languages of the dramas, and those employed in the oldest inscriptions) and the new Indian, or existing vernacular dialects. The former had not, so to speak, crossed the Rubicon, nor entirely renounced obedience to the laws of their mother-language. They conform, it is true, but little to the ancient phonetic laws, and are regulated for the most part by such as are of a later date; but their grammatical forms, though corrupted and stunted, are inherited immediately from their parent. The modern dialects of India, on the other hand, have almost entirely ceased to obey the phonetic rules of the Sanskrit. They conform in part to the phonetic laws of the Prakrit dialects, but in addition to these the modern

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dialects have peculiar phonetic laws of their own, and their words, when not borrowed immediately from the Sanskrit to enlarge their vocabulary, often manifest more extreme contractions, and greater deviations from the original words, than do the corresponding words in the Prakrit. The grammatical forms of the modern dialects are, with rare exceptions, newly constructed; for the case-terminations are chiefly indicated by post-positions, the old personal terminations have, for the most part, entirely disappeared, and the tenses are marked in quite a different manner than in the Prakrit dialects, the past tenses being commonly shown by participles, with the three personal pronouns in the instrumental case. Even the lowest of the dramatic Prakrits, the Apabhraṅśa, has not transgressed this line of demarcation, and stands much nearer to the Sanskrit than the modern vernaculars do."

SECT. IV.—*Views of the Indian Grammarians on the relation of the Prākṛits to Sanskrit, and on the other elements in their composition.*

Vararuchi,[71] the oldest extant grammarian who treats of the Prākṛit forms of speech, and his commentator Bhāmaha (in his Manoramā), distinctly assert their derivation, mediate or immediate, from Sanskrit. The former describes in his "Prākṛita-prakāśa" four dialects of this description, viz.: 1st, Mahārāshṭrī, or Prākṛit generally so called; 2nd, Paiśāchī; 3rdly, Māgadhī; and 4thly, Śaurasenī.[72] After having in the first nine chapters laid down the rules for the formation of the Prākṛit, properly so called, from Sanskrit, he proceeds to the others; and at the commencement of Chapter X. he lays it down that "the root of the Paiśāchī is the Śaurasenī." *Paiśāchī | prakṛitiḥ Śaurasenī|* On which the commentator Bhāmaha remarks that Paiśāchī is the language of the Piśāchas.[73] The Māgadhī also is delared by Vararuchi in Chapter XI. "to be derived from the same Śaurasenī." *Māgadhī | prakṛitiḥ Śaurasenī |*[74] The Śaurasenī dialect itself is spoken of at the

[71] See on his age, Lassen, Instit. Pracr. 4. 5; Addenda, p. 65; and Indische Alterthumskunde, ii. p. 1160, where he is declared to have flourished about the middle of the first century A.D.

[72] See Lassen, Instit. Pracr. 7 f.; and Cowell, Prākṛita-prakāśa, p. xvii.

[73] *Piśāchānām bhāshā Paiśāchī | asyāḥ Paiśāchyāḥ prakṛitiḥ Śaurasenī |* Cowell. p. 86, and Lassen, Instit. Pracr. 7. 439.

[74] Cowell, p. 89, and Lassen, pp. 8. 391.

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commencement of Chapter XII. as derived immediately from the Sanskrit. *Śaurasenī| prakṛitiḥ Sanskṛitam|*[75] At the end of the Chapter on the Śaurasenī, it is stated that "in other points" (which have not been specifically touched upon) "it is like the Mahārāshṭrī dialect." *Śesham mahārāshṭrīvat |*[76] From this and from some other quotations which will be found below, it appears that the ancient Mahārāshṭrī, and the dialect called by way of eminence "the Prākṛit," are the same.[77] In another work called the "Shaḍbhāshā Chandrikā," by Lakshmīdhara, it is stated that the "Prākṛita dialect had its origin in Mahārāshṭra." *Prākṛitam Mahārāshṭrodbhavām |*[78] As the Śaurasenī is said to be derived from the Sanskrit, the same must *a fortiori* be true of the Mahārāshṭrī, or principal Prākṛit, as the greater part of Vararuchi's work is devoted to showing how it is formed by modifications of the Sanskrit. And, in fact, at the close of Vararuchi's ninth section on this dialect we have it thus stated in the following Sūtra, the 18th: "The rest is [to be learned] from the Sanskrit:" *śeshaḥ Saṁskṛitāt ||*[79] On which the commentator remarks, "The rest means all that has not been already referred to. The remaining rules for affixes, compounds, taddhitas, genders, etc., must be learned from the Sanskrit." *uktād anyaḥ śeshaḥ | pratyaya-samāsa-taddhita-linga-varṇakādi-vidhiḥ śeshaḥ saṁskṛitād avagantavgaḥ |* The derivation of Prākṛit from Sanskrit is here implied, and, in fact, as has already been intimated, the same thing results from the whole series of rules for forming Prākṛit words, which are nothing but explanations of the manner in which the Sanskrit forms are modified in Prākṛit. The same origin is ascribed to Prākṛit by Hemachandra, who says, *Prakṛitiḥ saṁskṛitam | tatra-bhavaṁ tataḥ āgatam vā Prākṛitam |*[80] "It has its origin in Sanskrit. Prākṛit is that which springs, or comes, from Sanskrit." Of the Prākṛits handled by Vararuchi we thus see that three derive their names from three provinces of India, viz., Mahārāshṭra, Magadha, and the country of the Śūrasenas, the region round

[75] Cowell, p. 93, and Lassen, pp. 8 and 49 of Appendix.

[76] Cowell, p. 96, and Lassen, pp. 8 and 50 of Appendix.

[77] That the Mahārāshṭrī of that period was not the same as the modern Mahrattī appears (I need scarcely say) from the character of the former, as shown in the dramatic works in which the Prākṛits are employed.

[78] Lassen, p. 12.

[79] Cowell, pp. 85 and 176.

[80] Cowell, p. xvii.; Lassen, p. 26.

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Mathura. This, as we have already seen above, p. 37, is considered by Lassen as a strong proof that they were spoken dialects.

Four kinds of Prākṛit only, as we have thus seen, are mentioned by Vararuchi, the oldest authority on Prākṛit Grammar, viz., Mahārāshṭrī (or the principal Prākṛit), Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, and Paiśāchī. Though many other dialectic varieties are referred to by later grammarians, it is not necessary for my purpose to give a detailed account of any of these.

Vararuchi devotes nine chapters, containing in all 424 aphorisms, to the Mahārāshṭrī; one chapter containing 32 aphorisms to the peculiarities of the Śaurasenī; another chapter containing 17 aphorisms to the Māgadhī; and a third chapter containing 14 aphorisms to the Paiśāchī.

It is clear from this mode of treatment alone, that the points in which these four dialects, and especially the Mahārāshṭrī and the Śaurasenī, agree with each other, must be much more numerous than those in which they differ; and this conclusion is confirmed by a comparison of the specimens of the several dialects which are extant in the dramas. Accordingly, Professor Lassen remarks (Instit. Prac. p. 377), that "the principal dialect, and the Śaurasenī, coincide in most respects." The technical distinction made between these two dialects by the grammarians is, that the one (the Śaurasenī) is the language used in prose, while the Mahārāshṭri is appropriated to verse (Lassen, p. 384). The same author remarks of the Māgadhī, that it does not depart much further from the Sanskrit than the principal Prākṛit does (p. 387); and that the Indian grammarians are wrong in deriving the Māgadhī from the Śaurasenī, as the former is as directly descended from the Sanskrit as the latter; and that the two derivatives coincide with each other in most respects (p. 437). The Paiśāchī (a dialect employed by barbarous hill tribes) Lassen supposes, in like manner, to have been derived directly from the Sanskrit, but by a process peculiar to itself (p. 447).

In regard to these Prākṛit dialects generally, Lassen remarks (p. 386) as follows: "that the Sanskritic languages of Hindusthan proper were formerly less different from each other than they now are, is to be inferred from the fact, that at that earlier period they had not departed so far from their common fountain."

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The following passage, quoted by Lassen, Instit. Linguæ Pracrit., p. 17, from a work called Prākṛitadīpikā, by Chandīdeva, seems also to show that Prākṛit was a language in current use, as well as employed in the dramas: *etad api lokānusārād nāṭakadau mahākaviprayoga-darśanāt Prākṛitam mahārāshṭradeśīyam prakṛishṭa-bhāshaṇam | tathā cha Daṇḍī "mahārāshtrāśrayām bhāshām prakṛishṭam Prākṛitaṁ viduṛ" iti |* "This Prākṛit of the Mahārāshṭra country [so called], from its conformity to popular usage, and from its being employed by great poets in dramas and other poems, is the most excellent form of speech. Thus Daṇḍī says, 'The Prākṛit which prevails in Mahārāshṭra is considered the best.'" Rāma Tarkavagīśa, in his Prākṛitakalpataru, declares "the Mahārāshṭrī dialect to be the root of the others;" *sarvāsu bhāshāsv iha hetubhūtām bhāshām mahārāshṭra-bhavām purastāt | nirudayishyāmi* (sic) *yathopadeśaṁ srī-Rāmaśarmā 'ham imām prayatnāt |*[61] and affirms that "the Śaurasenī is derived from it." *Virachyate samprati Śaurasenī pūrvaiva bhāshā prakṛitiḥ kilāsyāḥ |*[62] The Māgadhī is said to be derived from these two: *Atha iha Māgadhy anuśishyate . . . asyāḥ mahārāshṭraka-Śaurasena-bhāshe pravīnaiḥ prakṛitī nirukte |*[63] These languages, together with the Ardhamāgadhī and the Dākshiṇātya, are called *bhāshās*. The author then refers to the second class, called *vibhāshas*, the dialects called Śakārī or Chaṇḍālikā, Śābarī, Abhīrikā, Drāviḍā, and Utkalī, which, he says, "though characterized by rusticity (apabhranśatā), are yet not to be ranked in the class of apabhranśas if they are employed in dramas." *Śakkārakoḍra-draviḍādi-vācho-'pabhraṁśatāṁ yadyapi saṁśrayanti | syād nāṭakādau yadi samprayogo naitāsv apabhraṁśatayā tathaishaḥ |*[64] On the other hand, the forms of those *vibhāshas* which are not used in the dramas are reckoned by the author among the *apabhranśa* dialects, under which name he understands the provincial languages, such as the Bengalī, Guzarātī, etc.[65] A third class of languages is called by this author the Paiśāchī.

[61] Prākṛitakalpataru, quoted by Lassen, p. 20.
[62] Ibid., 2nd Śākhā, 1st Stavaka.
[63] Ibid., 2nd Stavaka.
[64] Ibid., 3rd Stavaka (Lassen, p. 21).
[65] Lassen, p. 22.

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The Kāvyachandrikā, a work on poetry, has the following remarks on language:

Tad eva vāṅmayaṁ vidyāt saṁskṛitam prākṛitaṁ tathā | apabhraṁśaś cha miśraś cha tasya bhedāś chaturvidhāḥ | saṁskṛitaṁ devatā-vaṇī kathitā muni-pungavaiḥ | tadbhavaṁ tatsamaṁ deśīty anekam prākṛitaṁ viduḥ |

"In regard to language, let it be understood that there are four kinds, viz., Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṁśa, and mixed. The Munis call Sanskrit the language of the gods; and consider that there are several kinds of Prākṛit, viz. (*Tadbhava*), that which is derived from, and (*Tatsama*) that which corresponds with, Sanskrit, and (*Deśi*) the provincial."[86] On this passage the scholiast remarks:

"Tadbhavaḥ" saṁskṛita-bhavaḥ khaggādi-śabdaḥ | "tatsamaḥ" saṁskṛita-prākṛitayoḥ samaḥ hiṇḍīra-haṇḍe ityādi-śabdaḥ | "deśi" iti mahārashṭrīyādi | "apabhraṁśas" tv Abhīrādi-vākyam | "miśrakam" nāṭakādikam |

"The word *tadbhava* means 'derived from Sanskrit,' like the word *khagga*, etc., for *khaḍga*. *Tatsama* means the words which are 'alike in Sanskrit and Prākṛit,' like *hiṇḍīra*, *haṇḍe*, etc.[87] *Deśi* means the Mahārāshṭrī, etc. *Apabhraṁśa* is the speech of the Abhīras, etc. The mixed dialect is that of the dramas, etc."[88] Here it is to be remarked that though the Mahārāshṭri is generally recognized as the principal Prākṛit, it is in this passage called *Deśi*, or provincial, by the scholiast. To the same effect is the following passage from the Kavyādarśa of Daṇḍī:

Tad eva vāṅmayam bhūyaḥ saṁskṛitam prākṛitaṁ tathā | apabhraṁśaṁ cha miśraṁ chety āhur āptāś chaturvidham | saṁskṛitaṁ nāma daivī vāg anvākhyātā maharshibhiḥ | tatsamaḥ tadbhavo deśīty anekaḥ prākṛitaḥ kramaḥ | mahārāshṭrāśrayām bhāshām prakṛishṭam prākṛitaṁ viduḥ | sāgaraḥ śukti-ratnānāṁ Setubandhādi-yanmayam (?) | Śaurasenī cha nāṭī cha Gauḍī chānyā cha tādṛiśī | yāti prākṛitam ity eshu vyavahāreshu[89] *saṁvidhim | Abhīrādi-giraḥ kāvyeshv "apabhraṁśaḥ" iti sthitiḥ | śāstreshu saṁskṛitād anyad apabhraṁśatayoditam |*

[86] Kāvyachandrikā, quoted by Lassen, p. 32.

[87] See Prof. Benfey's review of the 1st edit. of this volume in the Gött. Gel. Anzeigen for 23rd January, 1861, p. 132.

[88] Scholiast on the same passage, ibid.

[89] Tattaddeśīya-vyavahāreshu naṭakādishu, marginal gloss, quoted by Lassen.

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"Writers of authority say that there are four kinds of language: Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhranśa, and mixed. Great Rishis denominate Sanskrit the language of the gods. There are several orders of Prākṛit, viz., (*tadbhava*) that which is derived from, and (*tatsama*) that which corresponds with, Sanskrit, and the provincial (*deśi*). The language of Mahārāshṭra is called the principal Prākṛit, and it is an ocean of pearls and gems, such as the Setubandha, etc. [This line is corrupt; and the above sense is assigned as a conjecture. The allusion appears to be to the ancient Prākṛit poem called 'Setubandha,'[90] though there may also be a reference to the reef of Setubandha, a line of rocks between India and Ceylon, in the vicinity of the Ceylonese pearl fisheries.] The Saurasenī, the Nāṭī (dramatic?), the Gauḍī, and such like dialects, follow the law of the Prākṛit according to their several provincial usages. The speech of the Ābhīras, and other such tribes, when occurring in poems, is called *Apabhranśa*. In books on grammar, whatever differs from Sanskrit is called Apabhranśa."[91]

In his note to the introduction to Campbell's Telugu Grammar, p. 15, Mr. F. W. Ellis remarks as follows on the Shaḍbhāshā Chandrika of Lakshmīdhara, above referred to (p. 54): "The work here noticed is confined to these dialects [the Mahārāshṭrī, Saurasenī, Māgadhī, Paiśāchi, Chulikā-paiśāchī, and Apabhranśa], as they now exist in the Nāṭakas [dramas], and treats therefore only of Tatsamam and Tadbhavam terms of Sanskrit origin; it is expressly stated, however, that each possessed its proper Deśyam, or native, terms; and it is probable, as many of these dialects prevailed in countries far distant from each other, that each was connected with Deśyam words of various derivations, in conjunction with which they produced spoken languages, differing considerably from each other. This in fact is declared to be the case with respect to Paiśāchi in the following passage:" *Piśācha-deśa-niyatam Piśāchī-dvitayaṁ viduḥ | Piśācha-desās tu vṛiddhair uktāḥ| Pāṇḍya-Kekaya-Vāhlīka-Sahya-Nepāla-Kuntalāḥ | Sudhesha-Bhota-Gāndhāra-Haiva-Kanojanās taṫhā | ete Paiśācha-deśāḥ syus taddeśyās tad-guṇo bhavet* | [*i.e.* Two kinds of Paiśāchī are recognized, which depend on the different Piśācha countries. These are declared by the ancients to be the following, Pāṇḍya, Kekaya, Vāhlīka, Sahya,

[90] See note, p. x. and note 2, p. 26, in Cowell's Prākṛita-prakāśa.
[91] From the Kavyādarśa of Daṇḍī, as quoted by Lassen, pp. 32, 33.

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Nepāla, Kuntala, Sudhesha, Bhota, Gāndhāra, Haiva, and Kanojana. These are the Paiśācha countries; and the native of each country has his own particular qualities.] "The two Paiśāchī dialects are said to prevail in all the countries here mentioned, commencing with Pāṇḍyam at the southern extremity of India, and extending to Canoj (Canojana) in the north, . . . and it is added, These are the Paiśāchī countries, and the Deśyam terms of each have their own particular quality." The concluding phrase is more vague in the original than Mr. Ellis has rendered it; but as language is the subject which the author is treating, it is to be presumed that he here alludes to the peculiar character of the different provinces in respect of their varieties of speech.

It is irrelevant to my present purpose to inquire particularly whether the various distinctions adopted by Vararuchi and his successors, of the mediate or immediate derivation of the Prākṛits from Sanskrit, and their classifications of Prākṛit, into that which is properly so called, and Apabhraṅśa, and Paiśāchī, are merely arbitrary and factitious, or are founded on any rational principles. It is enough that I find the following facts, which are important to the conclusions I am seeking to establish, admitted by the native authorities I have just cited; viz., first, that the Prākṛits are derived from Sanskrit as their source; secondly, that they are composed of a threefold element: *Tatsamam*, pure Sanskrit; *Tadbhavam*, derived from Sanskrit; and *Deśi*, local. As this third element, *Deśi*, is distinguished both from pure Sanskrit and from words derived from Sanskrit but modified, it would appear, thirdly, that it denotes words which were regarded as having an origin different from Sanskrit. Such, at least, is indubitably the sense in which the word *Deśi* is used by Telugu writers.[92]

[92] See Campbell's Telugu Grammar (3rd edit., Madras, 1849), p. 37, where it is said:—"The words of the Teloogoo language . . . . are classed by Sanskrit grammarians under four distinct heads. 1st *Déshyumoo*, or, as it is more emphatically termed, *Utsu Déshyumoo*, the *pure* language of the land; 2nd *Tutsumumoo*, Sanskrit words assuming Teloogoo terminations; 3rd *Tudbhavumoo*, Teloogoo corruptions of Sanskrit words, formed by the substitution, the elision, or addition of letters; 4th *Grāmyumoo*, provincial terms, or words peculiar to the vulgar. To these we may also add *Unyu Déshyumoo*, or words from other countries, sometimes given as a subdivision of the first class, and comprising, according to the definition of ancient writers, words adopted from the dialects current in the Canarese, Mahratta, Guzerat, and Dravida provinces only, but now also including several of Persian, Hindoostanee, and English origin."

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To give an idea of the artificial manner in which the Indian critics classify the different Prākṛit dialects, and of the different classes of people to whom they conceive the dramatic writers ought to assign them, I quote a passage from the Sāhitya Darpaṇa :—

Puṛushāṇām anīchānāṁ saṁskṛitaṁ saṁskṛitātmanām | Śaurasenī prayoktavyā tādṛiśīnāṁ cha yoshitām | āsām eva tu gāthāsu Māhārāshṭrīm prayojayet | atroktā māgadhī bhāshā rājantaḥpura-chāriṇām | cheṭānāṁ rājaputrāṇāṁ śreshṭhināṁ chārdhamāgadhī | prāchyā vidūshakādīnām dhūrtānāṁ syād Avantikā | yodha-nāgarikādīnām dākshiṇātyā hi dīyatām | Śakarāṇāṁ Śakādīnāṁ śākārīṁ samprayojayet | Vāhlīkabhāshā divyānām drāviḍī Draviḍādishu | Ābhīreshu tathā "bhīrī chāṇḍālī Pukkasādishu | Ābhīrī Śāvarī chāpi kāshṭha-patropajīvishu | tathaivāṅgārakārādau Paiśāchī syāt Piśācha-vāk | cheṭīnām apy anīchānām api syāt Śaurasenikā | bālānāṁ shaṇḍakānāṁ cha nīchagrahavichāriṇām | unmattānām āturāṇāṁ saiva syāt saṁskṛitaṁ kvachit | aiśvaryeṇa pramattasya dāridryopaskṛitasya cha | bhikshu-bandhadharādīnām prākṛitaṁ samprayojayet | saṁskṛitaṁ samprayoktavyaṁ linginīshūttamāsu cha | devīmantriśutā-veśyāsv api kaiśchit tathoditam | yaddeśaṁ nīcha-pātraṁ tu tad-deśaṁ tesya bhāshitam | kāryataś chottamādīnāṁ kāryo bhāshā-viparyayaḥ | Yoshit-sakhī-bāla-veśyā-kitavāpsarasām tathā | vaidagdhyārtham pradātavyaṁ saṁskṛitaṁ chāntarāntarā |

"Let men of respectable rank and cultivated minds speak Sanskrit; and let women of the same description use Śaurasenī, except in the metrical parts, where they should talk Mahārāshṭrī. Persons living in kings' palaces should employ Māgadhī, and servants, kings' sons, and magistrates Ardhamāgadhī. The eastern dialect (which the scholiast says is Gauḍī, or Bengalī) should be spoken by buffoons; and the Avantī by crafty persons. Let Dākshiṇatyā (the language of Vidarbha, according to the scholiast) be employed by soldiers and citizens; and Śākārī by Śakāras, Śakas, and others. The Vāhlīka dialect is the one proper for celestial (?) personages, Drāviḍī for Draviḍas, etc., Ābhīrī for Ābhīras, Chāṇḍāli for Pukkasas, etc., the Ābhīrī and Śāvarī for those who live by cutting wood and gathering leaves, and Paiśāchī, the speech of Piśāchas, for charcoal-burners. Śaurasenī may be used also for female servants of the more respectable sort, for children, eunuchs, and low astrologers; the same, and occasionally Sanskrit, for madmen and sick persons. Prākṛit should be

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employed by those who are intoxicated by authority or affected by poverty, by mendicants and prisoners, etc. Sanskrit should be assigned to the better sort of female mendicants, and also, as some say, to queens, ministers' daughters, and harlots. A dialect belonging to the country from which each character of low origin comes should be assigned to him; and the language employed by the superior personages should vary according to their function. Sanskrit should be occasionally assigned to women, female friends, children, harlots, gamblers, and celestial nymphs, with the view of [showing their] cleverness."[93]

The rules here given are quite artificial, as it would be absurd to suppose that different classes of persons living in the same locality, as most at least of the dramatis personæ would do, could each speak different dialects, and that, too, the dialects of other and perhaps distant provinces.

I shall conclude this section by adding the substance of what Professor Lassen says about the Prākṛit dialects in the earlier portion of his work (pp. 22, 25–29).

"The word *prākṛita* comes from *prakṛiti* (procreatrix), 'nature,' and means 'derived;' the several Prākṛit dialects being regarded as derivatives of Sanskrit either directly or mediately. The original language from which any other springs is called its *prakriti*, or source. Thus Hemachandra says, 'Prakrit has its origin in Sanskrit; that which is derived, or comes from the latter, is called *prākṛita*.'[94] The expressions Sanskrit and Prakrit are opposed to each other in another sense, when the former word denotes men of cultivated minds, and the latter those who are uncultivated. The term Prakrit is therefore also applied to vulgar and provincial forms of speech.

"The grammarians concur in considering Mahārāshṭrī as in the strictest sense of the word Prakrit, the principal form or type of Prakrit. The Śaurasenī and the Māgadhī approach most nearly to the Mahārāshṭrī, and both derive their appellations from the names of provinces. By these three provincial designations, Mahārāshṭrī, Śaurasenī, and Māgadhī, the Indian grammarians appear to have

[93] Sāhitya Darpaṇa in Bibliotheca Indica, No. 53, pp. 172, 173. (See also Lassen, Instit. Linguæ Pracr., pp. 35, 36.)

[94] Hemachandra, viii. 1, Lassen, p. 26; quoted above, p. 44.

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understood the local varieties of language employed in those three several provinces, as well as the dramatic dialects severally so called. Vararuchi specifies only one inferior dialect, the Paiśāchī, and understands by it the form of speech employed by the lowest classes of men. This is to be distinguished from the speech of Piśāchas (goblins), which, when introduced on the stage, are said to use a gibberish totally ungrammatical. The word is to be understood as figuratively used to denote the contempt in which the lowest classes were held. Hemachandra mentions a variety of this dialect, the Chūlikā-paiśāchī, which denotes a form of speech lower than even the former. In fact two varieties of Paiśāchī appear to be distinguished by the grammarians,[95] both of them spoken by barbarous tribes, of which the one seems to belong to northern, the other to southern, India. Rāma Tarkavāgīśa also mentions two sorts of Paiśāchī, signifying by this name a rude mixture of language drawn from different idioms.

"The term *apabhraṅśa* is applied by the grammarians to those dialects which are the furthest removed from the pure Sanskrit original, and have undergone the greatest corruption. Hemachandra specifies two kinds, of which one has most affinity with the principal Prakrit, and the other with the Śaurasenī. The older writers assign this dialect to the people who dwell on the shores of the western ocean, especially the Ābhīras. Rāma Tarkavāgīśa, departing from the view of the earlier writers, ascribes the varieties of the local and provincial dialects to the *apabhraṅśa*, as their source. The same author seems also (when he uses (iii. 1) the words *nāgādikramāt*, "according to the manner of those who speak like *Nāgas*, or serpents, etc."), to assign a mythological name to the provincial dialects in the same way as the older writers talk of certain barbarous tribes as Piśāchas. This designation appears to have proceeded from the writers on rhetoric, who assign Sanskrit to the gods: Prakrit is then left for men; while those whom the Brahmans consider to be scarcely deserving of the name of men, Chaṇḍālas, Ābhīras, and such like, are only fit to utter the speech of goblins, or serpents.

"The Prakrit dialects employed in the dramas are rightly asserted by the grammarians to be of Sanskrit origin; for both the grammatical forms and the words, with very few exceptions, as well as the entire

[95] See the passage quoted in p. 48.

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structure of the Prakrits, and the character of their syntax, are derived from the Sanskrit. When, however, the more recent grammarians assert the same of the Canarese and other South-Indian dialects, they are in error, as, although these languages contain words formed from Sanskrit according to certain rules, their grammatical forms and primary words cannot by any possibility have been drawn from that source."

I will hereafter show (when I come to refer more particularly to the South-Indian languages) that the Indian grammarians of the south claim for the Telugu, and no doubt for the Tamul, Canarese, and Malayalim, also, an origin quite independent of the Sanskrit.[96]

SECT. V.—*The Pāli, and its Relations to Sanskrit and Prākṛit.*

The above tabular comparison of the Prākṛits with the modern vernaculars, will have abundantly shown, that the latter are derived from the former, or from some kindred sources, and that both are derived in great part from the Sanskrit, at some period of its history, the one mediately, the other more immediately. Although, however, it be sufficiently clear, both from the authority of the native grammarians and by a comparison of the Sanskrit and the Prākṛits, that the latter are derived from the former, yet the later Prākṛits do not represent the derivative form of speech which stands nearest to the Sanskrit; and we are in a position to point out a dialect which approaches yet more closely to the latter than the Prākṛits do. I mean the Pāli, or sacred language of the Buddhists; a language which is extinct in India, but in which numerous canonical books of the Bauddha religion, still extant in Burmah and Ceylon, are written.[97]

Though, however, this language has had the singular fate of having now disappeared from its native soil, to become a sacred language in foreign countries, it is yet nothing more than one of the ancient

[96] See Dr. Caldwell's Comp. Grammar of the Dravidian languages, pp. 30, 31; the Introduction to Campbell's Telugu Grammar, 3rd edit., Madras, 1849, pp. xv. ff.; and the Note, in the same work, by Mr. Ellis, to Mr. Campbell's Introduction, pp. 11–22.

[97] If any Brahmanical reader should think of studying these pages, I hope that the connexion of the Pāli language with the Buddhist religion will not deprive it of all interest in his eyes, much less induce him, with the author of the Nyāya mālā vistara, I. 3, 4, to regard it, though of pure Sanskrit original, as polluted, like cow's milk in a dog's skin (*nahi pūtaṁ syād gokshīram śva-dṛitau dhṛitam*), by the unholy contact of these heretics.

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vernacular dialects of Northern India. Mâgadhî is the appellation which the Buddhists of Ceylon themselves give to it. It is, indeed, true, as we are informed by Mr. Turnour, that the "Buddhists are impressed with the conviction that their sacred and classical language, the Mâgadhi or Pâli, is of greater antiquity than the Sanskrit; and that it had attained also a higher state of refinement than its rival tongue had acquired. In support of this belief they adduce various arguments, which in their judgment are quite conclusive. They observe that the very word 'Pâli' signifies, original, text, regularity; and there is scarcely a Buddhist Pâli scholar in Ceylon who, in the discussion of this question, will not quote, with an air of triumph, their favourite verse, *sâ Mâgadhî mûla-bhâsâ narâ yây'âdikappikâ | brahmâno ch'assutâlâpâ Sambuddhâ châpi bhâsare.* 'There is a language which is the root (of all languages); men and Brahmans at the commencement of the creation, who had never before heard or uttered a human accent, and even the supreme Buddhos spoke it: it is Mâgadhi.'[98] This verse[99] is a quotation from Kachchâyano's Grammar, the oldest referred to in the Pâli literature of Ceylon. The original is not extant in this island."[100] Mr. Turnour, however, is inclined to "entertain an opinion adverse to the claims of the Buddhists on this particular point [the priority of Pâli to Sanskrit]. The general results of the researches hitherto made by Europeans, both historical and philosophical, unquestionably converge," he thinks,

[98] Mahâwanso, Introduction, p. xxii; see also p. xxvii. Mr. Childers translates thus: "The Mâgadhî is the original language in which men of former Kalpas, and Brahmas by whom speech has not been heard, and supreme Buddhas speak." The "Brahmas" are, he thinks, the inhabitants of the upper Brahma worlds. The idea entertained by the Buddhists of the superiority of the Pâli to Sanskrit may also be learnt from the following passage of the commentary on the Grammar called Rûpasiddhi, describing the result of the composition of Kachchâyano's Grammar: *ewañ sati nânâdesa-bhâsâ-sakkatâdi-khalita-wachanam anâkûrañ jetwâ Tathâgatena wuttâya subhâwa niruttiyâ sukhena Buddha-wachanam uggañhissanti* | "This being done, men, overcoming the confusion and incorrectness of diction, arising from the mixture of Sanskrit and other dialects of various countries, will, by conformity to the rules of grammar propounded by the Tathâgata (Buddha), easily acquire the doctrine of Buddho."—Mahâwanso, Introd., pp. xxvi, xxvii.

[99] Preserved in the grammar called Payogasiddhi. Turnour, p. xxvii. Mr. Childers tells me that the verse does not occur in Kachchâyana.

[100] This grammar is now in the hands of scholars, and parts of it have been published by Mr. D'Alwis and Dr. Kuhn. Mr. Childers says that it is in the hands of every native scholar, and must have been so in Mr. Turnour's time.

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"to prove the greater antiquity of the Sanskrit. Even in this island," he proceeds, "all works on astronomy, medicine, and (such as they are) on chemistry and mathematics, are exclusively written in Sanskrit: while the works on Buddhism, the histories subsequent to the advent of Gōtamo Buddho, and certain philological works alone, are composed in the Pāli language" (Mahāwanso, Introd. pp. xxii, xxiii). There is no question that Mr. Turnour is right, and that the priests of Ceylon, who are no philologists, are wrong. The Pāli bears as distinct traces of derivation from Sanskrit, in an early stage of its development, as any of the other northern dialects. Before, however, adducing the proofs of this, I must give some account of the manner in which the Pāli was introduced into Ceylon.

The appearance of Buddha as a religious reformer in Northern Hindustan seems to have taken place in the earlier part of the sixth century before Christ. He is said to have entered on his mission in the year 588, and to have died in 543 B.C. (Turnour, Introd. to Mahāw., p. xxix).[101] In strong contrast to the Brahmans, he and his followers strove to disseminate their new doctrines in a popular shape among all classes of society; and for this purpose employed, where necessary, the current vernacular dialects of their age and country, though, at the same time, they may have used both Sanskrit and Māgadhī in the composition of their sacred works (Lassen, Ind. Alt. ii. 492, f.; 1147, f; Burnouf, Lotus de la Bonne Loi, p. 862).[102] Three Buddhist synods were held at different periods within 300 years after

[101] The grounds for preferring the Cingalese date of Buddha's death, 543 or 544 B.C., to that of the Northern Buddhists, are set forth by Lassen, Ind. Alt., vol. ii., pp. 51–61. See especially pp. 60, 61. The historical value of the Buddhist records is, according to Mr. Turnour (Introd., p. xxviii), assured in the following way:—"The age in which we now live is the Buddhōtpādo of Gotamo [the interval between the manifestation of one Buddho and the epoch when his religion becomes extinct]. His religion was destined to endure 5,000 years; of which 2,380 have now passed away (A.D. 1837) since his death, and 2,620 are yet to come. . . . By this fortunate fiction, a limitation has been prescribed to the mystification in which the Buddhistical creed has involved all the historical data contained in its literature *anterior* to the advent of Gotama. . . . The mystification of the Buddhistical data ceased a century at least prior to B.C. 588, when Prince Siddhattho attained Buddhohood, in the character of Gotamo Buddho."

[102] Benfey has expressed a different opinion on one point. He says (Indien, p. 194), the Buddhist books of Nepal composed in Sanskrit are, "as we shall hereafter show to be probable, merely translations from the Buddhist sources, which were originally composed in Pali."

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Buddha's death, for the collection and arrangement of the sacred works which expounded the doctrines and discipline of his religion; for the correction of errors and abuses; and for the purpose of propagating the new faith in foreign countries. The revelations of Buddha are stated by his followers "to have been orally pronounced in Pali, and orally perpetuated for upwards of four centuries, till the close of the Buddhistical age of inspiration." They consist of the Pitakattaya [in Sanskrit Piṭakatraya], or the three pitakas, which now form the Buddhistical Scriptures, divided into the Vinaya, Abhidharma, and Sūtra pitakas. A schism having arisen after Buddha's death, the first Buddhist council was held in 543, when the authenticity of this Pāli collection was established, and commentaries upon it, called Aṭṭhakatha, were promulgated. At the second council, in 443 B.C., the authority of the Pitakattaya was again vindicated, and the Aṭṭhakatha delivered on that occasion completed the history of Buddhism for the interval subsequent to the previous council. In the year 309 B.C., the third council was held in the reign of King Aśoka, who was a zealous promoter of Buddhism [Turnour, p. xxix]. Various missions were consequently undertaken.[103] Mahendra, the son of King Aśoka, was sent on a mission to Ceylon, for the conversion of that island.

The following account of his proceedings is given by the native authorities, as abstracted by Professor Lassen (Ind. Alt. ii. pp. 247–253):—Mahendra arrived in Ceylon in the year 245 B.C., was hospitably received by the king of the island, and began by his preaching to convert the inhabitants to the religion of Buddha. The king himself embraced the new doctrine. Relics of Buddha were transported to the island from Northern India, and the Bodhi tree, under which Buddha had attained the most perfect knowledge, was transplanted thither from Behar, and, according to the belief of the Buddhists, continues to flourish to the present time. Many miracles attended these transactions. The conversions to Buddhism continued; and many male and female devotees were consecrated to the Buddhist priesthood. Buddhism, thus introduced, has ever since remained the creed of Ceylon; and that island, the head-quarters of Southern Buddhism, and the seed-plot from which it was propagated into Burmah and other parts of Transgangetic India, is regarded in those countries as a holy

[103] See Lassen, Ind. Alt., ii., pp. 79, 86, 229, ff., and 234–240.

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land. In Ceylon there exists, as has been already mentioned, an extensive Buddhistic literature, which fills up an important blank in that of the Brahmans. This literature is, as has been stated, in Pali. At first, however, the principal sacred records of the Buddhists are said to have been handed down by oral tradition. Mr. Turnour (p. xxix) gives the following statement on this subject from the native authorities: The Pitakattaya, together with the Aṭṭhakatha, completed to the era of the third Council, were orally promulgated in Ceylon by Mahendra, the Pitakattaya in Pali, and the Aṭṭhakatha in Cingalese, with a further Aṭṭhakatha of his own. These works were, it is said, propounded orally by his inspired disciples and successors till the close of the period of inspiration, which occurred in Ceylon between 104 and 76 B.C. They were then committed to writing, the text (Pitakattaya) in Pali (in which it had before been handed down orally), and its commentaries in Cingalese. This event is thus celebrated in the Mahāwanso, chap 33, p. 207. *Pittaka-ttaya-pāliṁ cha tassā aṭṭhakathaṁ cha tam | mukha-pāṭhena ānesuṁ pubbe bhikkhū mahāmati | hāniṁ diswāna sattānaṁ tadā bhikkhū samāgatā | chiraṭṭhitattham dhammassa potthakesu likhāpayuṁ |* "The wise Bhikkhus of earlier times had handed down orally both the text (Pali) of the three pitakas, and their aṭṭhakatha. But at that period, perceiving the injury which would otherwise be sustained by the people, the Bhikkhus assembled and caused them to be written down in books for the more lasting stability of the faith." About 500 years later, in the period between 410 and 432 A.D., Buddhaghosa transferred the Cingalese Aṭṭhakatha into Pāli, as related in the 37th Chapter of the Mahāwanso. These Pāli versions of the Buddhist scriptures and their commentaries are those now extant in Ceylon, and they are identically the same with the Siamese and Burmese versions.

Such are the Buddhist traditions regarding the oral transmission of their sacred books, viz., the scriptures themselves in Pāli, and the commentaries, etc., in Cingalese, and their subsequent consignment to writing. It is to be remarked, however, that so much of this narrative as records the oral transmission of these works, is distinctly rejected by Mr. Turnour, who says, p. lvii., "although there can be no doubt as to the belief entertained by Buddhists here, that these scriptures were perpetuated orally for 453 years before they were reduced to writing,

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being founded on superstitious imposture, originating perhaps in the priesthood denying to all but their own order access to their scriptures, yet there is no reasonable ground for questioning the authority of the history thus obtained of the origin, recognition, and revisions of these Pali scriptures."

Regarding the introduction of Pāli into Ceylon, different views have been taken. In his "Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ," Professor Lassen remarks as follows (pp. 60, 61):—

"It is clear that the Pali is the sacred language of the Southern Buddhists, *i.e.* of those who departing, for the most part, from the shores of Kalinga, towards the south, carried with them, first of all, the doctrines of Buddhism into Ceylon, and eventually propagated them them in India beyond the Ganges."

And again:—

"While the Pali is connected with the emigration of Buddhism to the south, it was itself, without doubt, produced in India. It is by no means clear whether the Buddhists, when they travelled southwards, made use of the Pali language from the first or not; but indeed, as the commencement of the emigration to Ceylon can scarcely be placed earlier than from 628–543 before Christ, the application of the Pali dialect as a vehicle for communicating the Buddhist doctrines can hardly have taken place earlier than that period. How much more recent it may be, I leave to those who may be endeavouring to trace the history of this sect to discover."

In his later work, however, the "Indian Antiquities" (vol. ii., pp. 488–490), Lassen proposes the following theory on the subject, which I translate, with slight abridgements:—

"The Pali language is called by the Buddhists of Ceylon Māgadhī, and it ought consequently to have had its birthplace in Magadha. This, however, cannot have been the case, as, like the majority of the dramatic dialects, it does not possess the peculiarities of the Māgadhī. The Buddhists are also wrong when they declare the Pali to be the root of the Sanskrit, and assert that Kātyāyana restored it to its original perfection by purifying it from all intermixture of Sanskrit and the provincial dialects. We shall therefore have to seek for the birthplace of the Pali elsewhere than in Magadha. We must necessarily assume it to have been once a vernacular dialect, as it is other-

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wise impossible to perceive why it should have been selected as the language of the sacred writings. There is, besides, nothing in its character which is opposed to the supposition that it was once a spoken tongue. If we compare it with the language of the Western inscriptions, we find that, generally speaking, they stand both equally removed from the Sanskrit; for if the one presents some forms which are older, the other again has other forms which are more ancient.[104] The western inscriptions have, in addition to other differences, also the peculiar phonetic rule of changing *tvā* into *ptā* (e.g. *dasayitvā* [Sanskrit *darśayitvā*] into *dasayiptā*), which is unknown to the Pali, as well as to the dramatic dialects. These discrepancies render it impossible to identify the Pali with the language of the western inscriptions. It is besides to be observed, that Buddhism had not its principal seat on the western coast, where the dialect in question was vernacular."

Thus, according to Lassen, the Pāli is neither identifiable with the Māgadhī, the language of Eastern Hindustan, nor with the dialects of Western India, as made known by the western inscriptions.

"In the absence of any other circumstance to indicate the birthplace of the Pali (Professor Lassen proceeds), I propose the following conjecture on the subject. I assume that Kātyāyana selected the speech of the country in which he was engaged in propagating Buddhism, *i.e.* of Malwa. Of the Prakrits employed in the dramas, the Śaurasenī is the one most frequently employed, and is the variety used in the prose passages. Vararuchi derives it immediately from the Sanskrit, and from it the other dramatic dialects. He must therefore have considered it as the oldest, though he (as well as his successors), regards the dialect called Mahārāshṭrī as the principal. These two dialects stand the nearest to the Pali, though it is decidedly older than they are. I conjecture, therefore, that we may regard it as the oldest form

[104] Thus the language of the inscriptions preserves the *s* before *t* and *th*, as in *asti*, in *sesthe*, and in *usthāna*; and the *r* in *sarvva*, where the Pāli has *tth*, *ṭṭh*, and *vv*. The inscriptions, too, preserve the Sanskrit dative, for which the genitive is used in Pāli, though the grammarians recognize the existence of the dative. In Pāli the ablative in *smā*, as well as *mhā*, and the locative in *smiṁ* as well as *mhi*, are found, though they are rarely used in composition. In the inscriptions, on the other hand, the locative has the form *mhi*, while the ablative of words in *a* is *ā*, so that the pronominal declination of this case has not yet been transferred to the noun.

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which has been preserved of the vernacular language of Western India between the Jumna river and the Vindhya range, a tract which includes Malwa. The Śaurasenī would consequently present a later form of this language. From Ujjayani a knowledge of Kātyāyana's work was probably diffused over the Dekhan; and the Cingalese derived their acquaintance with the dialect of which it treated from the country of the Ḍamilas, *i.e.* the Tamilians, or the Cholas. In that country, Dīpankara, surnamed Buddhapriya, composed his new arrangement of that work, the oldest Pali grammar now extant.[105] As the canonical writings in Ceylon were not translated into this sacred dialect till the beginning of the fifth century A.D.,[106] the knowledge of it appears to have been only very slowly diffused towards the south. The grammar just referred to appears to be more ancient than that translation. A more accurate conclusion regarding this portion of the history of the languages of India will perhaps result from a complete investigation of the writings of the Southern Buddhists."

These remarks of Lassen afford, perhaps, scarcely sufficient grounds for denying that the Pāli was introduced into Ceylon from Magadha. The peculiarities which are enumerated by Vararuchi as the characteristics of the Māgadhī, as it existed in his day, such as the substitution of *ś* for *sh*, and *s*, *y* for *j*, *sk* for *ksh*, *l* for *r*, are, after all, of no great consequence, and would perhaps be regarded by learned persons, even

[105] "The oldest version of the compilation from Kachchāyano's Grammar," says, Mr. Turnour (Introd. to Mahāw. p. xxv.), "is acknowledged to be the Rūpasiddhi. I quote three passages . . . . The first of these extracts [from the conclusion of the Rūpasiddhi] . . . . proves the work to be of very considerable antiquity, from its having been composed in the Daksina, while Buddhism prevailed there as the religion of the state." This quotation is as follows:—*wikhyātānanda-therawhaya-waragurūnañ Tambapaṇṇi-ddhajānañ sisso Dīpankarākhyo Damila-wasumati dīpaladdha-ppakāso Bālādichchādi-wāsa-ddwitayam adhiwasan sāsanañ jotayī yo soyam Buddha-piyyawho yatī imam ujukañ Rūpasiddhim akāsi* | which, with the aid of Mr. Turnour's version, I translate as follows:—"The celebrated teacher Anāndo, who was a rallying point like a standard to Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon), had a disciple called Dīpankaro. The latter, who had obtained renown in the land of Damila, and was the superintendent of two religious houses, called Bālādichcha, etc., illustrated the religion of Buddha. He was the devotee who bore the appellation of Buddhapiyo, and composed this perfect Rūpasiddhi."

[106] This statement of Lassen disagrees with the account given by Mr. Turnour, on native authority (quoted above, p. 57), that the Pitakattaya had been handed down in Pāli from the first. See also the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1837, pp. 503, ff.

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in Magadha itself, rather as vulgar provinciálisms, than essential characteristics of their language. If so, such varieties would naturally be discarded by educated men acquainted with Sanskrit, when they came to form for themselves a literary language.

The early Buddhist teachers appear to have been in the habit of travelling over the whole of the central parts of Northern India, and must have been acquainted with the languages of its different provinces. When, therefore, they set themselves to compose works which were intended for circulation in all these different regions, they would naturally adopt the most correct and approved forms of speech which were current anywhere within those limits. The case is quite different in regard to the dramatic compositions of India, which would preserve the most salient points of every provincial patois, as works of this class derive a considerable part of their attraction from depicting, or even exaggerating local peculiarities.

I find it also difficult to concur in Lassen's opinion as to the period at which the Pāli, or Māgadhī, was introduced into Ceylon. Mahendra and his followers, who were no doubt numerous, must necessarily have carried with them the language of their native country; and not only so, but they may have been the bearers of numerous works written in that language. For it is not easy to receive literally the account given by the Ceylonese writers (which, as we have seen, p. 54, Mr. Turnour also rejects,) of the time at which their religious works were first committed to writing, or to suppose that the foreign propagators of Buddhism, who would at first be ignorant of Cingalese, should, at the period of their arrival, have had no records in their own language of the new religion which they were introducing, or that these records should not have been safely handed down to their successors.

M. Eugène Burnouf, in the course of a comparison which he is instituting between a paragraph extracted from a Pāli work, one of the books of the Buddhist canon, the Dīgha Nikāya, and a parallel passage from a Nepalese Sanskrit work, makes the following observation on the language in which the former is composed, from which it will be observed, that he does not controvert the derivation of the Pāli language from the dialect of Magadha:—

"It is quite possible that these two versions may have been nearly contemporaneous in India, and have been current there from the

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earliest period of Buddhism, before the events occurred which transported them to Ceylon. The Pali version would be popular among the inferior castes and the bulk of the people of Magadha and Oude, while the Sanskrit version was used by the Brahmans. Still, we should not be justified in supposing that we possessed in the Pali text the authentic version of this passage in its true Māgadhī form, since a comparison of the Indian inscriptions of Aśoka, and of the Pali of Ceylon, reveals to us certain differences between the forms of these two dialects. Still, while we allow for the degree of artificial regularity which the cultivation of the Pali in Ceylon may have introduced, we must hold that the Pali version of this passage approaches very closely to the form which it must have had in Māgadhī."—(*Lotus de la Bonne Loi.* App., p. 862.)

Professor Weber (in the course of a detailed notice of the Lotus de la Bonne Loi, in his Indische Studien, iii., 176, ff.) remarks as follows on this passage:—"This last explanation [that the Pali was elaborated in Ceylon] does not appear to me satisfactory, because a language carried by a few persons along with them into a foreign country ordinarily retains its ancient character unchanged. It is further very questionable whether the cultivation of the Pali commenced in Ceylon, and probability speaks rather in favour of the supposition that the grammar of the language was fixed in the country which was its home." Weber proceeds to observe, that the Cingalese tradition ascribes the origin of their grammar to India; and thinks it may be doubtful whether Pāli was used at all in Ceylon before the arrival there of Buddhaghosa in 420 A.D. For though a translation of the Sūtras is said to have been made into the Cingalese sixty years earlier (which seems to prove that the Pāli was understood all along), yet it is improbable, he conceives, that, if it had been earnestly studied before Buddhaghosa, the translation of the work called Aṭṭhakatha would have been so long deferred. At any rate, he thinks the arrival of this teacher appears to have given a new impulse to the study of Pāli, as is attested by the composition of the Mahāvansa in that language, fifty years later. It is clear, however, that Weber maintains the essential identity of Pāli with the vernacular dialect of Magadha, in the sixth century B.C., as he explains the more archaic character of the language of the Pāli books, the Aṭṭhakatha

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and Tripitaka, as compared with the language of the Indian inscriptions of Aśoka, by supposing that (while the popular dialect had undergone great alterations in the 300 years which intervened between Buddha's death and the date of the inscriptions) the followers of Buddha may have made it a rule to retain, as far as possible, the dialect in which Buddha himself spoke, as the language of all the discourses which actually emanated from him, or were ascribed to him, as well as of all the narratives of which he formed the subject.

I quote two other authorities on the subject of the early introduction of Pāli into Ceylon. The first is Professor Spiegel, who remarks as follows, in the Preface to the Kammavākya (a short Buddhist work edited by him, and translated into Latin):—"It appears reasonable to believe that the Pali was introduced by the Buddhists into Ceylon, and carried thence into Transgangetic India An extensive intercourse existed between the continent of India and Ceylon from the earliest period, and the mention of this island in the Rāmāyana is well known. Six Brahmanical kings are enumerated in the Mahāvansa, who, as they lived before the age of Aśoka, must no doubt have employed another language. That this was the case is proved by the multitude of words which have been transferred from Sanskrit, not from Pali, into the Cingalese language, and which appear to have been introduced in consequence of that previous intercourse to which reference has been made. Thus we find in Cingalese, *karṇa*, not *kaṇṇa*, ear, *vaira*, not *vera*, enmity, the use of the visarga, which has nearly disappeared from Pali, as well as the vowels *ṛi*, *ṛī*, *ḷṛi*, *ḷṛī*." Spiegel proceeds:—"We find from the Cingalese books, that the Buddhists arrived in Ceylon, bringing with them the Pali language, in the time of Devānampiyatissa, the contemporary of Aśoka, who reigned from 260–219 B.C. It is probable that the Pali was called Māgadhī in consequence of the mission of Aśoka's son Mahendra to introduce Buddhism into Ceylon. In fact, a comparison of the Pali with the language of the inscriptions which have descended to our own time, leaves no doubt that the two forms of speech are most closely connected. Both are but comparatively little removed from the Sanskrit, since in neither of them is elision of letters practised, nor, with few exceptions, are aspirated letters commuted into *h*, as in the Prakrit."

The other authority I shall quote is Professor Benfey, who thus

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writes in his article on India (in Ersch and Gruber's German Encyclopædia, p. 194):—

"The place exterior to India, where Buddhism became first established as a state religion (about 240 years before Christ) under the especial auspices of Aśoka, Emperor of India, was Ceylon. It is therefore to be assumed that at that period all which was of importance on the subject of Buddhism, was brought to Ceylon in the form in which it then existed. Besides, so close a connexion existed between Ceylon and the head-quarters of the Indian empire, viz., the regions lying on the Bay of Bengal (Bengal itself and the adjoining provinces), that the Ceylonese took at least a passive share in the development of Buddhism. Hence their books appear to me to be authorities of the greatest consequence. It is further to be observed that these works are composed in Pali, which is the sacred language of the Buddhist in Ceylon, and in the countries converted to Buddhism by the Ceylonese, and which was the predominating popular dialect of central India."

I quote another passage, to a similar effect, from p. 250 of the same work; and although there, at the close, the author speaks doubtfully of the derivation of Pāli from the province of Magadha, and of the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon from the shores of the Bay of Bengal, he is not to be understood as throwing any uncertainty on the connexion of Pāli or of Buddhism with Northern India in general.

He characterizes the Pāli as "the sacred language of the Buddhist writings found in Ceylon and Transgangetic India, . . . which is shown both by internal and external indications to have been the vernacular dialect of central India, and which was diffused along with the Buddhist religion in the countries above named, where it soon acquired the same sacredness in the eyes of the Buddhists, which Sanskrit possessed, and still possesses, for the Brahmans. This language," he continues, "(though distinct proof cannot yet be adduced of the assertion), is one of the very oldest of the Indian vernaculars, and was already in popular use at the period of the rise of Buddhism. It was probably the dialect of a considerable, I mean the western, portion of Bengal. It was from this point, from Banga or Kalinga, that, according to the Ceylonese account, Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon: and yet again this conjecture becomes uncertain, owing to the fact that the language of Magadha, which was spoken only a

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little to the north of the Bay of Bengal, and which (as Aśoka's inscription in Cuttack seems to have been composed in it) appears also to have extended towards the south, varies essentially from the Pali in several particulars." Again, in p. 246, Benfey speaks of "the Pali, as varying in many particulars from the language of Magadha, and approximating to the principal Prakrit or Mahārāshṭrī, dialect."

But it matters little in what particular province we suppose the Pāli to have originated, whether in Magadha, or in some country further to the westward: as the fact remains in any case indubitable that, perhaps with some modifications, it represents one of the oldest Prākṛitic dialects of northern India.

The Buddhist writers assert, as we have already seen, that the Pāli is not derived from the Sanskrit; but that, on the contrary, it is the primitive language from which all others are descended. These Buddhist grammarians were no doubt led away by their prejudice in favour of the dialect which they or their predecessors had adopted as the depositary of their sacred literature; and by a prejudice against the Sanskrit, which was venerated by their rivals, the Brahmans. Even Mr. Clough says (Pāli Grammar, Advertisement, p. iii.), without determining the question, "it has long been a contested point whether the Pali or Sanskrit be the more ancient language of India;" and contents himself with the remark that, "it is certain that Pali was the popular dialect of the native country of Buddho, namely, Magadha, before the powerful sect, founded by him, was expelled from the continent of India, an event prior to the Christian era."

The following is the conclusion at which Mr. James D'Alwis arrives after a long investigation of the subject in his introduction to Kachchāyana's Grammar (published at Colombo, in 1863), p. cxxxii:—

"When, therefore, we consider the high state of refinement to which the Pali had in very early times attained as a language,—its copiousness, elegance and harmony, combined with its high antiquity, and its comparative simplicity, both verbally and grammatically,—its relationship to the oldest language of the Brahmans, from which their present dialect has been *Sanskritized*,—its claims to be considered the Vyavahārika-vāk of the Brahmans to which the Rig Veda refers,—its concurrence with some of the Indo-European languages in some forms which differ from the Sanskrit,—its identification with the only

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original Prākrita dialect, which was 'similar to the Sanskrit,'—the absence of any statement in old Brahman writers to the effect that that Prākrita dialect was a derivative of the Sanskrit,—the great improbability of a derivative being denominated the [Prakriti] Prākrita,—the palpable inaccuracy of the definition by which in modern times it is called the 'derived, the vulgar, or the ungrammatical,'—the absence in it of many a peculiarity which distinguishes derivative tongues,—and the probability that it had issued from the same ancient seat (Bactria or Punjab) from whence the Sanskrit itself had taken an easterly direction,—I believe it may be concluded that the Pali and the Sanskrit are, at least, two dialects of high antiquity, contemporaneously derived from a source of which few, if any, traces can be discovered at the present day."

In a review of Mr. D'Alwis's work in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1865, vol. xix., pp. 658, ff., Prof. Weber notices thus the remarks of that writer:—

"The long investigation which the author then institutes (pp. lxxiii–cxxxii) regarding the antiquity of the Pāli and its relation to the Sanskrit conducts him rightly to the conclusion that both dialects were 'contemporaneously' evolved from one source (viz., the Vedic language). He here shows himself to be a warm, patriotic admirer of the Pāli, but allows himself here and there to be carried away by this feeling beyond the proper limits into a depreciation of the Sanskrit, and specifically to assumptions respecting its purely arbitrary formation, which must appear to the European reader highly peculiar," etc. "Nevertheless, we owe even to this part of his labour the acknowledgment that he has striven to the best of his power to arrange and sketch the results and views both of native and European scholars, and that he has in general succeeded well in doing so. It can now in fact no longer be denied that it is better to understand the name Prākṛita in the sense of 'natural,' 'original,' 'normal,' 'common,' 'general,' and in the signification perhaps secondarily deduced therefrom, of 'common,' 'low,' than in the sense of 'derived' (*saṁskṛitam prakṛitir yasya*) assigned to the word by the grammarians.[107] And yet

[107] In order to make this clause more intelligible, I quote Mr. D'Alwis's interpretation of the word Prākṛita from an earlier page of his introduction, p. xcii, where he writes thus: "Prakriti is therefore that which is natural, or the nature itself of a

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the assumption that the Pāli, and so the Prākṛit, are derived from the Sanskrit, deserves the preference over the converse view to which D'Alwis appears here and there to be not indisposed, viz., that the Pāli, as being the most ancient Prākṛit which has been handed down to us, stands higher in point of originality and independence than the Sanskrit. For it is clear that the Sanskrit, both in its phonetic system and flexions, stands much closer to the common mother of it and the Pāli than the latter does,[103] and has consequently a far superior right than it to be regarded as the representative of that parent language. A perplexing circumstance connected with this question, and one which leads to many sorts of mistakes, is that we have unfortunately no proper name for that stage of the language which lies at the foundation of both the 'sister dialects,' the Pāli (and Prākṛit) and the Saṇskrit, *i.e.* for the Vedic vulgar speech; for the names *bhāshā* and *vyāvahārikī* are not sufficiently pregnant; and one is consequently

'thing—that which is pre-eminent—that which is the natural or quiescent state of anything—'not made.' Hence it is clear that the correct and primary sense of the word *Prākṛita*,—indeed that which was originally assigned to it, despite the so-called 'common acceptation,'—was 'original,' 'root,' 'natural.' By the Prākrit was therefore at first meant the original Indian language, as distinguished from the apabhransa, 'the ungrammatical,' and the Sanskrit, signifying [from *sam* 'altogether', or 'together,' and *kṛita* 'done'='altogether,' or 'completely made, done, or formed'] that 'which has been composed or formed by art, adorned, embellished, purified, highly cultivated or polished,' and regularly inflected as a language." See in opposition to this view of the sense of the word *prākṛita*, Hemachandra's interpretation of it given above in p. 44, and Lassen's explanation, quoted in p. 51. In a review of Prof. Weber's Ind. Literaturgeschichte, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1853, p. 605, Prof. Roth thus expresses himself on this question: "Prākṛit (according to the derivation which seems to me the correct one) signifies that which has its foundation in another thing, 'the derived,' or the 'to be derived.' The expression is one formed by grammarians, and has a grammatical sense. The grammarians say *e.g. saṁhitā pada-prākṛitis*; the Sanhitā texts have for their foundation the words, *i.e.* that form of speaking and writing the texts in which the end and beginning of the words which follow one another in a sentence are brought into harmony with the general phonetic laws of Sanskrit has for its foundation the single words conceived in their original form. The Sanhitā text is thus *prākṛitā* in relation to the word-text, the *pada-pāṭha*: it is a derived text made for a scientific purpose. I would understand the word *prākṛita* in the same sense, when it is applied to the dialects." In Böhtlingk and Roth's Sanskrit Lexicon the sense "customary," "common," is assigned to the word *prākṛita* when generally used, while of the dialect so called it is said: "The 'common' speech is that spoken by the people, which the grammarians derive from Sanskrit."

[103] This, however, can afford us no reason to deny that the Pāli has actually preserved older forms than the Sanskrit. [Note of Prof. Weber.]

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at a loss how to designate it. Benfey's excellent remarks at p. 245 of his article Indien (which unfortunately has not yet been re-written), regarding the dying out of the Sanskrit as a vernacular language in the sixth century B.C. labour under this disadvantage, that they apply the name Sanskrit for a period for which it is in no way applicable."

The views of Burnouf and Lassen on the relation of the Pāli to Sanskrit are thus stated in their Essai sur le Pali, pp. 138, ff:

"The Pali is derived from the Sanskrit, according to certain rules, for the most part euphonic, which do not allow the derivative language to admit certain sounds and combinations of consonants, common in the parent tongue. These modifications apply equally to the substantive portions of the words and to their terminations and inflections. It hence results that there is no grammatical form to be found in Pali of which the origin may not be discovered in Sanskrit; and that there is no occasion to call in the influence of any foreign idiom to explain the modifications to which the Pali has subjected the Sanskrit.

"When the Pali, as a derivative from Sanskrit, is compared with other dialects having the same origin, it is found to approach far more closely than any of those others to that common source. It stands, so to speak, on the first step of the ladder of departure from Sanskrit, and is the first of the series of dialects which break up that rich and fertile language. But it appears that the Pali, which contained in itself the germs of alteration already greatly developed, was arrested in its progress all at once, and fixed in the condition in which we now find it, *i.e.*, in a state of almost immediate connexion with the language from which it proceeded. In fact the greater part of the words which form the basis of the one, are found without modification in the other; those which are modified can all be traced to their Sanskrit root; in short, no words of foreign origin are to be found in Pali."

Again:—

"We shall not enter into new details regarding the manner in which the Pali has been derived from the Sanskrit. The laws which have guided the formation of that language are the same which we find at work in other idioms in different ages and countries; these laws are general, because they are necessary. Whether we compare the lan-

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guages which are derived from Latin with the Latin itself, or the later Teutonic dialects with the ancient languages of the same stock, or the modern with the ancient Greek, or the numerous popular dialects of India with the Sanskrit, we shall see the same principles developed, the same laws applied. The organic inflections of the parent languages are seen to exist in part, but in a state of evident alteration. More commonly they will be found to have disappeared, and to have been replaced, the case-terminations by particles, and the tenses by auxiliary verbs. The processes vary in different languages, but the principle is the same; it is always analytic, whether the reason of this be that a synthetic language happens all at once to become the speech of barbarians who do not understand its structure, and therefore suppress its inflections, and replace them by other signs; or whether it be that when abandoned to its natural course, and as a necessity of its cultivation, it tends to decompose and to subdivide the representative signs of ideas and relations, just as it unceasingly decomposes and subdivides the ideas and the relations themselves. The Pali appears to have undergone this last sort of alteration; it is Sanskrit, not such as it would be spoken by a strange population, to whom it would be new; but pure Sanskrit, becoming altered and modified in proportion as it becomes popular. In this manner it still preserves its declension, instead of replacing it by particles, as the modern dialects of India do. One form only, the ablative in *to* might pass for the commencement of the analytic declension; but it is already found in the parent language. A great number of Pali forms might be cited to prove that the modifications, which it has made in the Sanskrit, are of the same kind as those which the Italian, among other tongues, has made in the Latin. Thus the assimilation of consonants, which in Italian makes *letto* from *lectus*, and *scritto* for *scriptus*, is one of the principles of Pali."

The Pāli, in the precise form in which we find it in the Ceylonese books, could scarcely have been a vernacular language. At least, it exhibits a variety of refinements which could hardly have been employed in common speech; but seem likely to have been confined to the language of composition, or introduced after the Pāli had ceased to be the spoken tongue of the followers of Buddha, and had become consecrated to the service of religion and literature: just as the gram-

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mar of the Sanskrit itself became regulated by more fixed and rigid rules, after it had been removed from the deteriorating influences of vernacular use. Such a peculiarity is the use of interpolated, or the retention of otherwise disused, consonants to obviate the inharmonious sounds which would arise from the collision of vowels. No less than nine letters, y, v, m, d, n, t, r, l, and g, are employed for this purpose, as is shown in the following examples, viz.:

1.	*y* — na	+ imassa	becomes	na*y*imassa.
2.	*v* — ti	+ angikam	„	ti*v*angikam.
3.	*m* — lahu-	+ essati	„	lahu*m*essati.
4.	*d* — atta	+ attham	„	atta*d*attham.
5.	*n* — ito	+ āyati	„	ito*n*āyati.
6.	*t* — tasmā	+ iha	„	tasmā*t*iha.
7.	*r* — sabbhi	+ eva	„	sabbhi*r*eva.
8.	*l* — cha	+ abhiṉṉa	„	cha*l*abhiṉṉa.
9.	*g* — putha	+ eva	„	putha*g*eva.[109]

This peculiarity of attention to euphony is common to the Pāli with the Sanskrit; and though the means they use are for the most part

[109] Clough's Pāli Grammar, p. 11. On this subject I translate the following remarks made by Dr. Kuhn in a review of the first edition of this volume, in his Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Sprachforschung u.s.w. vol. iii. p. 241, f.; "As regards the interpolation of euphonic letters treated of in p. 82, I cannot entirely agree with the author when he claims them for the written language alone: the greater part of them show that they are by no means what are called interpolations, but the old *auslaut*" (i.e. concluding consonant) "which the preceding words had in an earlier stage of the language. I have briefly treated of them in the first volume of these Beiträge, p. 126, and here only repeat that I now regard only the y and the v in na-y-imassa, and ti-v-angikam as real euphonic interpolations; and that I look upon the latter as having proceeded from y." I subjoin a translation of the remarks referred to by the writer as having been previously made by him in the 1st vol. of the Beiträge, p. 126:—"A comparison with the Sanskrit shows that only a few of those apparently interpolated consonants are due to an actual interpolation, as the others are remains of an earlier condition of the language. The Pali has almost entirely rejected the final mutes, and the few cases in which such are found are to be regarded as exceptions. When for instance *etad eva* is found in place of the ordinary *etam eva*, this is an archaism which Lassen rightly explains by the close juxtaposition of the following *eva* to the preceding *etad*. In the same way we are to explain *tasmāt iha* from the Sanskrit *tasmād iha*, *sabbhir eva* from *sadbhir eva*, *chhalabhiññā* from *shalabhijñās*, which as a technical designation preserved the old form (see Turnour, Mahavānso, p. 31, 1, and elsewhere), *puthageva* from *pṛithag eva*, *prageva* from *prāg eva*. Of the remaining instances *nayimassa*, *tivangikam*, and *itonayati* are indeed to be regarded as cases of consonantal interpolation, whilst *lahum essati* and *attadattham* may still remain doubtful. Clough further states, in p. 14, that m̃ is sometimes introduced as an augment before both vowels and consonants; that thus *chakkhuṁ anichchaṁ* (Sanskrit *chakshur anityam*) stands for *chakkhu anicchcham*, *avaṁsiro* for *ava siro*; but in the first case, as in that of *lahum essati*, perhaps another

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different, yet in neither case could the refinements employed in writing have been practised in the language of ordinary life. The Pāli has other characteristics (borrowed from the Sanskrit) which could scarcely have been very common in the vernacular dialects of Northern India, supposed to have been contemporary with it; such as the use of desiderative, and nominal verbs; like *jighachchhati*, he wishes to eat; *pabbatāyati*, he resembles a mountain; *puttiyati*, he treats like a son.[110]

Fausböll observes in his introduction to the Dhammapada (p. vi.) that the antiquity of that work is proved by the character of its language, which approaches closely to the Sanskrit, even in some of its oldest forms, and differs widely from the diction of the prose Sūtras,

explanation is possible, whilst in the second case, the assumption of an interpolation appears decidedly wrong, as the final mute of the Sanskrit was probably nasalized. Nevertheless, Clough's rule appears to be correct, since at least Turnour's text shows some other examples of this interpolation. Thus in p. 50, line 14, *ewañ te-m attano nāmañ katwā janapadañ bahuñ*, unless perhaps *te-m* is here mutilated (*verstümmelt*) from the Sanskrit *te ime;* and in p. 52, line 4, *yatra-m-ichchasi tam aññatra yakkhehi wijite mama*, where, however, certainly the metre declares itself (*spricht*) not only against the interpolation of *m*, but also in favour of the elision of the final *a* of *yatra*." It is to be observed that the same interpolation (if I am right in so calling it) of more than one letter (as in *yatha-r-iva* for *yathā-iva*), is to be found in the language of the Gāthās in the Lalita vistara, which will be treated of further on. This shows that the process did not begin in Ceylon.

The following are instances collected from the Lalita vistara of the euphonic insertion of consonants between vowels which may be compared with the cases of a similar character which have been adduced in the text as occurring in Pāli.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.
Lalita vistara, 428.	*vartishye 'sya*	*vartishyam asya*
,, 63.	*yathā eva*	*yatha+r+iva*
,, 195.	*tvayā iha*	*tvam iha*
,, 154.	*avamānam, akhilāḥ*	*avamānu,+r+akhilā*
	sa upagataḥ	*cha rūpagatu*
,, 220.	*śabdānubhāvena*	*śabda+r+anubhāva*
,, 215.	*śrutvā idam*	*śrutva+m+idam*
,, 355.	*muchye itaḥ*	*muchye+m+itah*
,, 239.	*lābhā ehi*	*lābhī+m+ehi*
,, 370.	*svake ātmani*	*svaki+m+ātmani*
,, 398.	*tatra asi*	*tatra+m+asi*
,, 471.	*tava upaimi*	*tava+m+upemu*
,, 430.	*dṛishṭvā imām*	*dṛishṭvā+n+imām*
,, 3.	*sva ushṇīsha*	*sa+v+ushṇīsha*

[110] Some desiderative verbs and nouns must, however, have been in ordinary use in the Prākṛits; as we find in the modern vernaculars some words which have their origin in desideratives. Thus the Hindī *bhūkh*, hunger, must come from *bubhukkhā*, a Prākṛit corruption of *bubhukshā*. The Hindī *piyās*, thirst, too, is probably derived from *pipāsā*, though it may also have been compounded of *pī* + *āśā*, a desire to drink.

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and of the commentary of Buddhoghosa. Thus we find in the Dhammapada such forms as these, viz., the nominative of the present participle in *am*, as *gaṉayam*, *rodam* (instead of *gaṉayanto*, etc.); the third person plural of the present middle in *ăre* as *sochare*, *upapajjare*; and the dative form of the infinitive, as *netave*, *pahātave*, which is usually found only in the Vedas, etc. It is clear from this that the Pāli appears in various phases of greater or less antiquity.

Professor Aufrecht has favoured me with the following notices of of Vedic forms which occur in Pāli:—"Besides the infinitive in *tave*, used after verbs, expressing wish or desire, as well as *tum*, the Pāli uses, in agreement with the Prākṛit and Mahratta an indeclinable participle in *tvāna*, and contracted, *tūna*. *Katvāna* or *kātūna gachchhati* =*kṛitvā gachchhati*. ["Having done he goes."][111] These forms agree with ancient forms which are mentioned by Pāṉini as Vaidic, namely *pītvānam*=*pītvā*, *ishṭvīnaṁ devān*=*ishṭvā devān*, Pāṉini vii. 1, 48. Yāska Nirukta vi. 7, assumes that *asme* can stand for all cases of *vayam*. The Pāli declines *amhe*=*asme* in all cases. Nom. *amhe*, acc. *amhe* or *amhākam* (=*asmākam*), instr. *amhebhi* or *amhehi*, gen. *amhākam*.

"Further, the Pāli has preserved the instrumental in *ebhis*. It says *buddhebhi* or *buddhehi* = *buddhaiḥ*; *bhi* or *hi* in all declensions; for the declension of *go*, it has in the gen. pl. *gavaṁ* or *guṉṉaṁ* or *goṉāṁ*, the last form being the Vaidic *gonāṁ*. Neuters in *a*, *i*, *u*, like *phala*, *aṭhṭhi* (*asthi*), *madhu*, have either the regular plur. nom. acc. *phalāni*, *aṭṭhīni*, *madhūni* or *phalā*, *aṭṭhī*, *madhū*, just as in the Vedas.

"There is one more modern form that is found in the Veda. The Pāli has *assa* (*asya*) or *imassa* (*imasya*), so also the Prākṛit *imassa*, etc. Now we find in Rig Veda, viii. 13, 21, *imasya pāhi andhasaḥ* for *asya*. This is more curious than to find in the Matsyapurāṉa *imaïr vidvāṁsaiḥ* for *ebhir vidvadbhiḥ*."

Notwithstanding the introduction of various refinements into the Pāli, after it became the sacred language of the Buddhist religion, there can be no doubt, as Burnouf considers (Lotus, App. 862), that it substantially represents to us the language which was in vernacular use in Behar, and in all the central parts of Northern India, at the era when Buddhism was first introduced, *i.e.*, in the third, fourth, and fifth

[111] Some further specimens of this form will be given in the Tables which follow.

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centuries B.C. Such being the case, we should naturally expect to find that it bears a strong resemblance to the Prākṛit dialects; which, as we have already seen (in the preceding section) were either spoken, or closely resembled dialects which were spoken, in the same provinces in the first centuries of the Christian era. That such was actually the case, is put beyond a doubt by a comparison of these dialects with the Pāli. I shall immediately proceed to prove, by some comparative lists of nouns, pronouns, verbs, and particles, first, that an extensive class of Sanskrit words undergoes precisely the same modifications in the Pāli as in the Prākṛit; and secondly, that in some respects the modification of Sanskrit words and forms of inflection had not proceeded so far in Pāli as it afterwards did in Prākṛit. From this comparison it will result that the Pāli stands nearer to the Sanskrit, and represents a more ancient phase of the vernacular speech of Northern India than is exhibited in the Prākṛit.

The following is a comparative scheme of the declension corresponding to the Sanskrit one in *ă*, in which it will be seen that the Pāli is somewhat nearer than the Prākṛit to the Sanskrit forms. (Clough, p. 19; Cowell, p. xxiv.)

Singular.		*Plural.*	
PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.
1. Buddhō.	Buddho.	1. Buddhā.	Buddhā.
2. Buddham.	Buddham.	2. Buddhe.	Buddhe. Buddhā.
3. Buddhena.	Buddheṇa.	3. Buddhehi. Buddhebhi.	Buddhehi.
4. Buddhāya. Buddhassa.	Same as 6th case.	4. Buddhānam.	Same as 6th case.
5. Buddhasmā. Buddhā. Buddhamhā.	Buddhādō. Buddhā. Buddhāhi.	5. Buddhehi. Buddhebhi.	Buddhāhinto. Buddhāsunto
6. Buddhassa.	Buddhassa.	6. Buddhānam.	Buddhāṇam.
7. Buddhasmiṇ. Buddhe. Buddhamhi.	Buddhe. Buddhammi.	7. Buddhesu.	Buddhesu.

The first personal pronoun in the two languages is as follows: (Clough, p. 61; Cowell, p. xxviii.).—In most cases the Pāli is nearest to the Sanskrit.

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Singular.		*Plural.*	
PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.
1. aham.	aham.	1. mayam. amhe.	vaam. amhe.
2. mam. mamam.	mam. mamam.	2. amhākam. amhe.	no. amhe.
3. mayā.	me. maë.	3. amhebhi. amhehi.	amhehiṇ.
{4. mama. {6. mayham. amham. mamam.	me. mama. majjh. maha.	4.} 6.} amhākam.	amhāṇam.
5. mayā.	matto.	5. amhebhi. amhehi.	amhāhinto. amhāsunto.
7. mayi.	mayi. mamammi.	7. amhesu.	amhesu.

The second personal pronoun, as it appears in both dialects will be given in a following Table.

The Pāli verb seems to be far more complete than the Pākṛit. The following are some of its principal tenses, as compared with those of the latter: (Clough, p. 100, ff. · Cowell, p. xxix.)

PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.
Parasmai-pada, or active mood.		Ātmane-pada, or middle-mood.	
Singular.	*Singular.*	*Singular.*	*Singular.*
1. pachāmi.	1. pachāmi. pachami.	1. pache.	(wanting.)
2. pachasi.	2. pachasi.	2. pachase.	2. pachase.
3. pachati.	3. pachadi. pachaï.	3. pachate.	3. pachade. pachae.
Plural.	*Plural.*	*Plural.*	*Plural.*
1. pachāma.	1. pachāmo. pachimo, etc.	1. pachāmhe.	(wanting.)
2. pachatha.	2. pachaha. pachitthā.	2. pachaṿhe.	ditto.
3. pachanti.	3. pachanti.	3. pachante.	ditto.

The Pāli has also, like the Sanskrit, a potential mood, and three past tenses, which in the parasmai-pada or active mood, are as follows:

Singular.	*Plural.*	*Singular.*	*Plural.*
I. Potential.		II. Reduplicated perfect.	
1. pacheyyāmi.	1. pacheyyāma.	1. papacha.	1. papachimha.
2. pacheyyāsi.	2. pacheyyātha.	2. papache.	2. papachittha.
3. pache. pacheyya.	3. pacheyyum.	3. papacha.	3. papachu.
III. Imperfect.		IV. Third preterite.	
1. apacha.	1. apachamhā.	1. apachim.	1. apachimhā.
2. apacho.	2. apachattha.	2. apacho.	2. apachittha.
3. apachā.	3. apachū.	3. apachi.	3. apachum. apachimsu.

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In Prākṛit, on the other hand, few traces appear to remain of any past tenses at all. Mr. Cowell says, p. xxix, "The only tenses of the active voice which remain seem to be the present, the second future, and the imperative." In the 23rd, 24th, and 25th aphorisms of Chapter VII., and in the 17th aphorism of Chapter VIII. of Vararuchi, however (Cowell, pp. 162, 163), mention is made of a past tense, of which the instances, *huvīa*, *hohīa*, *āsi*,[112] 'he was,' *hasīa*, 'he laughed,' *kāhīa*, 'he did,' are given. Few instances of the past tense in Prākṛit, however, seem to occur in the dramas; but it is inconceivable that in the Prākṛit dialects which were currently spoken in the long interval between the disuse of the Pāli and the rise of the modern vernaculars (in both of which we find past tenses), there should have been no grammatical forms in daily use for expressing past time. It is not, however, necessary to pursue this subject further: as the details and explanations which I have already furnished, together with the tables which follow, are amply sufficient to show the place which the Pāli and the Prākṛit dialects respectively occupied in the history of North-Indian speech.[113]

[112] The form *āsa*, "was," occurs in Hāla's Saptaśataka 128, p. 114, of Weber's edition.

[113] The following note in p. 107 of the first edition should have been placed in p. 55 of the present edition, as an addition to note 101.

[Professor Müller considers the data—derived from Buddhist sources—on which the death of Buddha is placed in 543 B.C., and on which the occurrence of any Buddhist synods before the one in Aśoka's time, is asserted, to be fictitious and unsatisfactory. Though he does not try to bring down Buddha's death below 477 B.C., he regards all the Buddhist dates before Chandragupta as merely hypothetical. See his "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," received while this Section was in the press, pp. 260–300.]

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Table No. III.

Containing a List of words which are identical, or nearly so, in Pāli and Prākṛit.

[The authorities for the Pāli words in these Lists are the Dhammapada, a Pāli work edited by Fausböll, the Pāli Grammar of the Rev. B. Clough (Ceylon, 1824), Burnouf and Lassen's Essai sur le Pali, Spiegel's Kammavākya, and Anecdota Palica, containing the Rasavāhinī, etc., and Turnour's Mahāwanso (Ceylon, 1837). The authorities for the Prākṛit words are partly given in the previous List, No. I., p. 15, ff. In the present edition the lists have been greatly enlarged, and parallel words from the Gāthā dialect in the Lalita Vistara (Lv.) are occasionally introduced. The Pāli column has had the advantage of being revised by Mr. Childers, and the additional Prākṛit words are taken from the Bālarāmāyaṇa (Br.) the Prasannarāghava (Pr.), and the Saptaśalaka (Śś.) A good many Prākṛit words, for which no Pāli equivalents have been found, are left in the list; as they will at least show the mutations which the Sanskrit undergoes in the former dialect.]

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Dham. 43. Clough, 15. Mrichh. 44. Var. xii. 22.	*strī*	*istri, istrī, istriya, istrikā*	*itthī* / *itthi*	*itthī, itthiyā*	a woman.
Clough 39. Var. iii. 10.	*dṛishṭi*		*diṭṭhi*	*diṭṭhi*	sight.
Bālarāmāyaṇa, 215. Br. 210.	*dṛishṭa*		*diṭṭha*	*diḍa*	seen.
Clough, 39. Br. 73.	*vṛishṭi* / *sṛishṭi*		*vuṭṭhi* / *saṭṭhi*	*viṭṭhi* / *sishṭhī*	rain. / discharge.
Br. 238, 245, 248, 267, 287. Pr. 44.	*pṛishṭha*		*piṭṭhi* / *piṭṭha*	*puṭhṭhi, puṭhṭha, piṭhṭha, vaṭhṭha, vaṭṭa, veṭha*	the back.
Br. 178. Pr. 41.	*mishṭā*			*miṭhṭhā, miṭṭhī*	sweet (fem.)
Dham. 5. Br. 79, 113, 144. Cl. 37.	*śreshṭha* / *jyeshṭha*		*seṭṭha* / *jeṭṭha*	*seṭṭha* / *jeṭṭha, jeṭhṭha*	best. / eldest.
Br. 113, 223, 225. Br. 6, 122, 225.	*kanishṭha* / *varishṭha*		*kaniṭṭha*	*kaniṭṭa, kaniṭṭha, kaniṭhṭha*	youngest.
Clough, 39. Var. iii. 10.	*tushṭi*		*tuṭṭhi*	*variṭhṭha* / *tuṭṭhi*	best. / satisfaction.
Br. 224. Clough, 27. Br. 56, 194, f. Br. 270.	*garishṭha* / *mushṭi* / *dushṭa* / *dashṭa*		*muṭṭhi* / *duṭṭha* / *daṭṭha*	*gariṭhṭha* / *muṭṭhi* / *duṭhṭha* / *daṭhṭha*	heaviest. / the fist. / wicked. / bitten.
Br. 34.	*nivishṭa*		*niviṭṭha*	*niviṭhṭha*	entered, placed.
B. & Las. 166. Br. 6. Pr. 20.	*śishṭaḥ* / *diśhṭyā* / *pravishṭa*		*siṭṭho* / *diṭṭhā* / *paviṭṭha*	*siṭṭho* / *diṭhṭhiā* / *paviṭhṭha*	instructed. / by good luck. / entered.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 86.	*sushṭha*		*suṭṭhu*	*suṭhṭhu*.	well.
Br. 203, 270.	*nishṭhura*		*niṭṭhura*	*niṭhṭhura*	severe.
Br. 179, 242, 294.	*goshṭhī*			*goṭhṭhī*	assembly.
Br. 270, 278. Clough, 2.	*oshṭha*		*oṭṭha*	*oṭhṭha*	lip.
Br. 259, 270.	*damshṭrā*		*dāṭhā*	*dāḍhā*	tusk.
Mrich. 18, 30.	*kāshṭha*		*kaṭṭha*	*kaṭṭha*	wood.
Dham. 3. 50.	*vṛiksham*		*rukkham*	*rukkham, ukkham*	tree.
Pr. 84. Br. 155, 219.	*vṛittānta*		*vuttanta*	*vuttanta*	intelligence.
Pr. 114 f, 125. Br. 216.	*vṛittānta*			*uttanta*	intelligence.
Pr. 84, Br. 53, 56.	*saṁvṛitta*		*saṁvaṭṭa*	*saṁvutta*	happened.
Pr. 303.	*nivṛitta*		*nivatta*	*nivutta*	ceased.
Pr. 44.	*vṛishabha*		*usabha*	*vusaha*	bull.
Pr. 91.	*tṛina*		*tiṇa*	*tuṇa*	grass.
Mrichh. 3, 126.	*ghṛita*		*ghata*	*ghia*	ghee.
Pr. 19.	*prakshyāmi*		*pucchissāmi*	*putsissam*	I shall ask.
Var. i. 29. Lass. 293. Vikr. 45. Ss. ind. 244.	*prāvṛish*		*pāvusā*	*pāusa*	rainy season.
Br. 157, 163. Var. i. 27.	*vṛiddha*		*vuddha* / *vuḍḍha* / *buḍḍha*	*buḍḍha* / *viḍḍha* / *vaḍḍha*	old.
Dham. 52. Var. i. 27.	*smṛiti*		*sati*	. . .	recollection.
Mrich. 94 f.	*mṛittikā*		*mattikā*	*maṭṭiā*	earth.
Br. 131.	*ṛitu*		*utu*	*riḍu*	season.
Br. 199.	*kṛitānta*			*kayanta*	fate.
Mrich. 14, 95, 116, 141, Var. iv. 32. Br. 178, 164 f.	*gṛiha*		*gaha* / *ghara*	*ghala, ghara* / *giha, haraa*	house.
Pr. 303.	*gṛihiṇī*		*gharaṇī*	*gharinī*	wife.
Pr. 33, 35, 38, 41.	*gṛihiṇītva*			*gharinittaṇa*	state of a wife.
Dham. 13.	*gṛihī*		*gihī*	*giha* (house)	householder.
Dham 46.	*artham*		*attham*	*attham*	meaning.
Dham. 47.	*sarva*		*sabba*	*sabba, savva*	all.
Dham. 1.	*pūrva*		*pubba*	*pubba, puvva*	first.
Br. 169, 231, 238.	*śīrsha*		*sīsa*	*sīsa*	head.
Br. 168, 235, 262, 270.	*dīrgha*		*dīgha*	*dīha*	long.
Br. 126, 198, 267, 293.	*mārga*		*magga*	*magga*	road.
Br. 7, 36, 70.	*sarga, nisarga*		*sagga* / *nisagga*	*sagga* / *nisagga*	section. nature.
Dham. 23.	*svarga*		*sagga*	*sagga*	heaven.
Br. 10. Cl. 2.	*varga*		*vagga*	*vagga*	class.
Br. 199.	*durga*		*dugga*	*dugga*	inaccessible.
Br. 293.	*nirgama*		*niggama*	*niggama*	going out (noun).

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 55, 76, 178, 276. Pr. 134.	*garbha*		*gabbha*	*gabbha* / *gabhbha*	womb.
Pr. 34.	*nirghosha*		*nigghosa*	*nighghosa*	sound.
Pr. 33. Br. 69, 87, 198. 288.	*ardha*		*addha, aḍḍha*	*addha*	half.
Pr. 48. Br. 267, 298. Bur. and Lass. 166.	*dharma*		*dhamma*	*dhamma*	righteousness
Br. 94.	*karma*		*kamma*	*kamma*	work.
Dham. 43.	*karmakāra* / *charmakāra*		*kammakāra* / *kammāra* / *chammakāra*	*chammāra*	blacksmith; leather cutter
Br. 64, 72, 94.	*nirmāṇa*		*nimmāna*	*ṇimmāṇa*	construction.
Br. 7.	*charmachakshuḥ*			*chammachakkhū*	leather-eyed.
Br. 246.	*kūrma*		*kumma*	*kumma*	tortoise.
Pr. 126.	*avatīrṇa*		*otiṇṇa*	*avatiṇṇa*	descended.
Br. 200.	*uttīrṇa*		*uttiṇṇa*	*uttiṇa*	crossed.
Pr. 46, 48.	*tarkayāmi*		*takkemi*	*takkemi*	I reason.
Pr. 12, 48. Br. 238, 245.	*karṇa*		*kaṇṇa*	*kaṇṇa*	ear.
Br. 200.	*sampūrṇa*		*sampuṇṇa*	*sampuṇṇa*	full.
Br. 298.	*parṇa*		*paṇṇa*	*paṇṇa*	feather.
Br. 264.	*Tāmraparṇi*		*Tambapaṇṇi*	*Tambavaṇṇī*	Ceylon.
Br. 142, 198. Bur. & Ls. 166.	*varṇa*		*vaṇṇa*	*vaṇṇa*	colour.
Br. 291.	*suvarṇa*		*suvaṇṇa, soṇṇa*	*suvaṇṇa*	gold.
Br.	*udgīrṇa*			*udgiṇṇa*	vomited.
Br. 240, 243.	*kīrṇa*		*kiṇṇa*	*kiṇṇa*	crowded.
Br. 127, 200, 278.	*chūrṇa*		*chuṇṇa*	*chuṇṇa*	crushed.
Br. 267.	*nirvāṇa*		*nibbāna*	*ṇivvāṇa*	extinction.
Br. 209, 289, 307.	*kīrtti*		*kitti*	*kitti*	renown.
Br. 198, 278.	*marttaṇḍa*			*mattaṇḍa*	the sun.
Br. 129, 198, 287.	*nirvighna*		*nibbigga*	*ṇivviggha* / *ṇivvighgha* / *nivvigghgha*	without obstacles.
Br. 241.	*nirjhara*		*nijjhara*	*ṇijjhara*	a cascade.
Br. 154.	*nirvāhana*		*nibbāhana*	*ṇivvāhaṇa*	effecting.
Br. 153 ff.	*duryaśaḥ*			*dujjasa*	bad repute.
Br. 86, 179.	*darpa*		*dappa*	*dappa*	pride.
Br. 216.	*upasarpāmaḥ*		*upasappāma*	*uvasappamha*	we approach.
Br. 5, 179.	*kandarpa*			*kandappa*	the god of love.
Br. 129, 194.	*darpaṇa*		*dappaṇa*	*dappaṇa*	a mirror.
Br. 142, 178.	*karpūra*		*kappūra*	*kappūra*	camphor.
Br. 221.	*kārpāsa*		*kappāsa*	*kappāsa*	cotton.
Br. 218.	*paraspara*			*paroppara*	mutual.
Br. 239.	*kūrpara*		*kappara*	*kuppara*	elbow, knee.
Br. 236.	*karkara*			*kakkara*	limestone.
Br. 239.	*śarkarā*		*sakkhara*	*sakkara*	gravel.
Śak. 25.	*kharjūra*		*khajjūrī*	*khajjūra*	date tree.
Br. 240.	*kardama*		*kaddama*	*kaddama*	mud.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 243. Br. 203.	*paryasta nirlūna*		*pallattha*	*pallattha nillūna*	thrown down cut.,
Pr.144. Br.52.	*durlabha*		*dullabha*	*dullaha*	difficult to obtain.
Pr. 16, 48. Dham. 56.	*samarpita*		*samappita*	*samappida*	entrusted.
Br. 178.	*muhūrta*		*muhutta*	*muhutta*	moment.
Br. 136, 215.	*vārtā*		*vāttā*	*vattā*	intelligence.
Br. 242, 266, 147.	*sārtha*		*sattha*	*sattha*	a band of travellers.
Br. 198.	*tīrtha*		*tittha*	*tittha*	place of pilgrimage.
Br. 234.	*sammarda*			*sammadda*	friction.
Br. 265, 267.	*vimarda*			*vimadda*	
Br. 181, 194.	*parvata*		*pabbata*	*pavvada*	mountain.
Br. 179.	*Pārvatī*		*Pabbatī*	*Pabbadī*	Pārvatī.
Br. 113, Pr. 114, 137.	*ārya*		*ariya, ayya*	*ajja*	respectable person.
Br. 94.	*sammārjita*		*sammajjita*	*samajjida*	cleansed.
Br. 209.	*garjita*		*gajjita*	*gajjida*	thundered.
Cl. 19. Br. 73.	*chandra*		*chanda*	*chanda*	moon.
Br.36,130 f, 148, 299. Clough, 27.	*granthi*		*ganthi*	*ganthi*	a knot.
Br. 113, 144, 223. Mrichh. 72. Var. v. 35.	*bhrātā, bhrātuḥ*		*bhātā*	*bhāda, bhāā, bhāduno*	brother (nom. and gen.).
Br. 238.	*graha*		*gaha*	*gāha*	taking.
Br. 308.	*śighra*		*sīgha*	*siggha*	quickly.
Br. 149.	*yātrā*		*yātrā*	*jattā*	journey.
Br. 34, 52.	*chitra*		*chitta, chitra*	*chitta*	variegated.
Br. 8, 53, 69, 86, 98, 267.	*gotra*		*gotta*	*gotta*	family, clan.
Br. 86.	*kshuraprā*		*khurappā*	*khurappā*	a kind of arrow.
Pr. 122.	*bhadra*		*bhadda, bhadra*	*bhadda*	good.
Br. 145, 198.	*tatkāla*		*takkāla*	*takkāla*	that time.
Br. 86, 98. Pr. 10, 21.	*sahasra*		*sahassa*	*sahassa*	a thousand.
Br. 121.	*vaktra*		*vatta*	*vakka*	mouth.
Pr. 140.	*vakra*		*vaṅka*	*vakka*	crooked.
Pr. 14.	*chakra*		*chakka*	*chakka*	wheel.
Br. 20, 120, 198, 245. Pr. 16.	*chakravartti*		*cakkavatti*	*chakkavaṭṭi, chakkavatti*	emperor.
Br. 198. Dham. 59.	*srotas*		*sota*	*sota, sotta*	stream.
Br. 5, 71, 293. Cl. 52. Bur. & Las. 165.	*patra, pātra*		*patta*	*patta*	leaf, vessel.
Br. 132.	*sāmagrī*		*sāmaggī*	*sāmagg*	implements.
Br. 87, 243. B. & Las. 85.	*rātra, rātri*		*ratta, ratti*	*ratta, ranti*	night.
Br. 67, 75.	*netra*		*netta*	*netta*	eye.
B. & Las. 91. Br. 24, 247.	*mitra*		*mitta*	*mitta*	friend.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GATHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 35, 65, 75.	*mātra*		*matta*	*metta*	measure.
Br. 270.	*bhrukuṭī*			*bhiuḍī*	frown.
Br. 71, 182.	*bhrū*		*bhū*	*bhū*	eyebrow.
Br. 209.	*mantra*		*manta*	*manta*	advice.
Br. 221.	*yantra*		*yanta*	*yantra*	an engine.
Br. 20.	*abhra*		*abbha*	*abhbha*	cloud.
Br. 221, 267.	*sūtra*		*sutta*	*sutta*	thread.
Pr.21. Br.165, 167, 174, 297.	*putra*		*putta*	*putta*	son.
Pr. 65.	*jāgrat*		*jāgaram*	*jagganta*	waking.
Pr. 45.	*prāghuṇasya*		*pāhuṇassa*	*pāhuṇassa*	guest (gen.
Br. 156, 279.	*aśru*		*assu*	*asu*	a tear. [sing.)
Br. 26. Cl. 51.	*vyāghrasya*		*vyagghassa*	*vaghghassa*	tiger (gen. s.)
Br. 267.	*krodha*		*kodha*	*kodha*	anger.
Br. 113, 126.	*vikrāma*		*vikkama*	*vikkama*	valour.
Br. 67,88,113.	*parākrama*		*parakkama*	*parakkamma*, *parakkama*	valour.
Br. 55, 113.	*vibhrama*		*vibbhama*	*vibbhama*	flurry.
B. & Las. 166.	*nigraha*		*niggaha*	*niggaha*	control.
Br. 64.	*pariśrama*		*parissama*	*parissama*	toil.
Br.21,113,276	*miśra*		*missa*	*missa*	mixed.
Br. 278.	*viśrāma*		*vissama*	*vissāma*	rest.
Br. 94.	*grāma*		*gāma*	*gama*	village.
Br.279.Dh.44.	*prāṇa*		*pāṇa*	*pāṇa*	life.
Br. 294.	*adri*		*addi*	*addi*	a mountain.
Br. 189, 202, 237, 290.	*samudra*		*samudda*	*samudda*	the ocean.
Br. 220, 223, 267.	*nidrā*		*niddā*	*ṉiddā*	sleep.
Br. 165.	*daridra*		*dalidda*	*daridda*, *dalidda*	poor.
Br. 297.	*Rudra*		*Rudda*	*Rudda*	Rudra.
Br. 142.	*mudrā*		*muddā*	*muddā*	a seal.
Dham 24. Var. iii. 3.	*priyam*		*piyam*		dear.
Br. 48. Pr. 13, 46, 119. Clough, 26.	*agni*		*aggi*, *aggini*, *gini*	*aggi*	fire.
Br. 218.	*budhna*			*buddha*	bottom.
Dham. 25. Var. iii. 2.	*nagna*		*nagga*	*ṉagga*	naked.
Br. 82,126,130	*bhagna*		*bhagga*	*bhagga*	broken.
Br. 137.	*vijñāna*		*viññāṇa*	*viṉṉāṉa*	knowledge.
Br. 293.	*jñāna*		*ñāṇa*	*jāṉa*	
Br. 227.	*ājñā*		*āṉā*, *aññā*	*aṉṉā*	command.
Br.168,176. Śś. ind. 255.	*snushā*		*sunisā*, *suṉhā*	*suṉā*, *susā*, *soṉhā*	daughter-in-law.
Br. 281.	*patnīnām*		*patānīnam*	*padīṉam*	of wives
B. & Las. 166.	*jñātam*		*ñātam*	*ṉātam*	known.
Br. 35,80,145.	*kārya*		*kāriya*	*kajja*	work.
Bur. 58, 157. Pr. 46.	*rājya*		*rajja*	*rajja*	kingdom.
Dh. 44, Cl. 10. Br. 86, 202.	*vidyā*, *avidyā*		*vijjā*, *avijjā*	*vijjā*, *avijjā*	knowledge. ignorance.
Dham. 62.	*madhya*		*majjha*	*majjha*	middle.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Dham. 33.	*dhyānam*		*jhānam*	*jhāṇaṁ*	contemplation
Br. 262, 264. Pr. 137.	*vidyādhara*			*vijjāhara*	a sort of deity.
Mahāv. 182. Br. 50. Lv. 204.	*vidyut*	*viayu*	*vijju, vijjutā*	*vijju, vijjulī*	lightning.
Br. 136. Br. 131, 269.	*vaidyatva*		*vejjatta*	*vejjattaṇa*	profession of a physician.
Pr. 32, 55, 114, 134, 144 Dham. 58.	*adya*		*ajja*	*ajja*	to-day.
Br. 125. Pr. 32.	*udyāna*		*uyyāna*	*ujjāna*	a garden.
Br. 147, 262.	*niravadya*		*niravajja*	*ṇiravajja*	blameless.
Br. 147.	*vādyat*		*vajjamāna*	*vajjanta*	sounding.
	vādyamāna				
	udbhidyamāna		*ubbhijjamāna*	*ubbhijjanta*	being split.
	nibadhyamāna		*nibajjhamāna*	*ṇivajjhanta*	being stopped.
Br. 58, 169, 181, 198.	*Vindhya*		*Viñjha*	*Vinjha*	Vindhya mountains.
Clough, 37.	*bandhyā*		*vañjhā*	*vaṇjhā*[114]	barren woman.
Br. 226.	*bandhyībhūta*			*vaṇjhjhībhūda*	become barren.
Br. 245.	*adhyavasya*			*ajhjhavasia*	having striven.
Br. 144. 150.	*Ayodhyā*			*Aojjhā*	Ayodhyā.
Br. 135.	*sandhyā*		*sanjha*	*sanjhā*	evening.
Kam. 3. Var. ii. viii. 25, etc. Br. 185 ff.	*upādhyāya*		*upajjhāya* *upajjha*	*uvajjhāa* *uajjhā, ojhāa*	religious teacher.
Br. 69.	*nidhyāyantī*			*ṇijjhāantī*	meditating.
Br. 121.	*aparādhyati*		*aparajjhati*	*aparajjhaï*	he offends.
Br. 20, 105.	*sādhvasa*			*sajjhasa*	fear.
Br. 168, 180, 216 f.	*yuddha*		*yujjha*	*jujjha*	battle.
Br. 105.	*yujyate*		*yujjati*	*jujjadi*	it is proper.
Br.	*pratyūsha*		*pachchūsa*	*pachchūsa*	morning.
Br. 71.	*pāṇḍitya*		*paṇḍichcha*	*paṇḍichcha*	learning.
Dham. 3, 24. Var. iii. 27.	*pretya*		*pechcha*		after death.
Br. 20, 100, 182	*satya*		*sachcha*	*sachcha*	true.
B. & Las. 167.	*kṛitya*		*kichcha*	*kichcha*	duty.
Br. 181, 198, 278, 291.	*nitya*		*nichcha*	*nichcha*	continual.
Br. 98, 147.	*rathyā*		*rachchhā*	*rachchhā, ratthā*	road.
Var. i. 15, 28. iii. 41.	*vṛischika*		*vichchhika*	*vichchua, vinchua*	scorpion.
Dham. 55, 74. Br. 6, 22.	*paśchāt*		*pachchhā*	*pachchhā*	after.
Br. 287.	*paśchima*		*pachchima*	*pachchhima*	west.
Br. 6, 53. Var. iii. 18.	*āścharya*		*achchhera*	*achchhèra, achcharia*	wonderful.
Br. 242. Vikr. 9.	*āścharya*		*achchhariya*	*achcharīa, achchharia*	wonderful.

[114] See above, p. 17, note 18.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 87.	*niśchita*		*nichchhita*	*nichchhida*	ascertained.
Br. 218.	*apsarasaḥ*		*achchharā*	*achchharāũ̃*	nymphs.
Br. 202.	*apsarobhiḥ*		*achchharāhi*	*achchharāhiṁ̃*	by nymphs.
Br. 43, 64, 144. Pr. 47, 113.	*asti, astu*		*atthi, atthu*	*atthi, atthu*	is; let there be.
Pr. 20, 47.	*nāsti*		*n'atthi*	*ṇatthi*	is not.
Br. 122.	*vastuni*		*vatthuni*	*vatthuṇi*	thing (loc.).
Br. 154.	*avastambha*			*avaṭṭhamha*	stoppage.
Br. 154, 191.	*vistareṇa*		*vitthārena*	*vitthareṇa*	diffusion (instr.).
Br. 238, 243.	*vistaranti*		*vittharanti*	*vittharanti*	they spread.
Pr. 19.	*mastakāni*		*matthakāni*	*matthaāïṁ̃*	heads.
Br. 76, 238. Pr. 84.	*stana*		*thana*	*thaṇa*	breast.
Br. 49, 76.	*stanita*		*thanita*	*thaṇida*	sounded.
Dham. 65. Br. 158. Pr. 26, 36, 110.	*hasta*		*hattha*	*hattha*	hand.
Clough, 29. Br. 266.	*hasti*		*hatthi*	*hatthi*	elephant.
Pr. 12.Br.278.	*sthala*		*ṭhala*	*thala*	ground.
Dham. 55. Br. 71, 56, 278, 294.	*sthāna*		*ṭhāna*	*ṭhāṇa*	place.
Br. 164.	*susthāna*			*suṭṭāna*	a good place.
Br. 131.	*sthānastha*		*ṭhānaṭṭha*	*thānaṭṭha*	standing in the place.
Br. 220.	*adhishṭhāna*		*adhiṭṭhāna*	*ahiṭhṭhāna*	support
Br. 164, 178. 220.	*sthita*		*ṭhita*	*ṭhida, thida, ṭida*	standing.
Br. 157.	*prasthita*		*paṭṭhita*	*patthida*	proceeded.
Br. 238.	*prasthāna*		*paṭṭhāna*	*ppaṭhṭhāṇa*	departure.
Br. 97.	*anushṭhita*		*anuṭṭhita*	*anuṭhṭhida*	practised.
Br. 209, 263.	*adhishṭhita*		*adhiṭṭhita*	*ahiṭṭia adhiṭhida*	governed.
Br. 199.	*upasthita*		*upaṭṭhita*	*uvaṭhṭhida*	arrived.
Dham. 27. Var. iii. 11.	*asthi*		*aṭṭhi*	*aṭṭhi*	a bone.
Br. 220.	*avasthā*		*avaṭṭhā*	*avatthā*	condition.
Br. 293.	*sthira*		*thira*	*thira*	firm.
Br. 154.	*susthita*		*suṭṭhita*	*sutthiḍa*	well placed.
Br. 217, 218.	*saṁsthita utthita*		*saṇṭhita uṭṭhita*	*saṇṭhia uḍida*	placed. risen.
Br. 198, 268, 296.	*Agastya*			*Agaṭṭhi*	name of a ṛishi.
Br. 52.	*Pulastya*			*Pulattha*	a propername.
Var. i. 20. iii. 20.	*pustaka*		*potthaka*	*potthaa*	book.
Br. 236.	*prastara*			*patthara*	a stone.
Dham.9.Var. iii. 27. Br.96.	*mṛityu*		*machchu*	*machcha* (mortal)	death.
Br. 112, 150, 153, 310. Pr. 35. Dham. 50.	*vatsa*		*vachchha*	*vachchha*	a child.
Sś. 249(index)	*vatsala*			*vachchhala*	affectionate.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Pr. 35.	*vātsalya*			*vachchhattaṇa*	affection.
Dh.28.Br.195.	*matsya*[115]		*machchha*	*machchha*	a fish.
Br. 228.	*udgāraiḥ*		*uggārehi*	*uggārehiṁ*	vomitings.
Br. 182.	*udghāṭana*		*ugghaṭana*	*ugghaṭṭaṇa*	opening.
Br. 125. Sś. 236.	*grīshma*		*gimha*	*gimha*	hot season.
Dham. 41.	*tushṇīm*		*tuṇhī*	*tuṇhīm*	silent.
Br. 48. Bur. & Las. 166.	*ushmā*		*umhā*,[116] *usmā*, *usumā*	*umhā*	heat.
Dham. 59, 61.	*tṛishṇā*		*taṇhā*, *tasinā*	*taṇhā*	thirst.
Br. 125, 135. Sś. 233.	*ushṇa*, *anushṇa*		*uṇha*	*uṇha*, *uṇṇa* *aṇunha*	hot. not hot.
Dham. 16. Br. 141.	*kṛishṇa*		*kaṇha*	*kaṇha*,[117] *kisaṇa* *kasaṇa*	black.
Br. 67, 125.	*pakshmala*		*pakhuma*, *pamha* (eyelash).	*pamhala*	with long eyelashes, or filaments.
Pr. 137.	*vismaya*		*vimhaya*	*vimhaa*	astonishment.
Pr. 47, 124. Sś. 238.	*jyotsnā* *jyautsnā*		*juṇhā*	*joṇhā* *jauṇha*	light. lustrous.
Br. 231, 245.	*khadga*		*khagga*	*khagga*	sword.
Pr. 33, 37, 46.	*jalpa*		*jappa*	*jappa*	chatter.
Br. 265, 278.	*kalpa*		*kappa*	*kappa*	wish.
Br. 265.	*analpa*		*anappa*	*aṇappa*	not little.
Br. 158, 167.	*valkala*		*vakkhala*	*vakkala*	bark.
Var. iii. 29. Mṛi. 54. Dh.71	*pushka*		*pokkhara*	*pokkhara*	pond.
Br. 234.	*pushkala*			*pukkala*	excellent, much.
Mṛich. 18, 21.	*śushka*		*sukkha*	*sukkha*, *śukkha*	dry.
Br. 54, 80.	*dushkara*		*dukkara*	*dukkara*	difficult.
Br. 202.	*anugraha*		*anuggaha*	*aṇuggaha*	kindness.
Br. 34, 82.	*pāṇigrahaṇa*		*pāṇiggáhaṇa*	*paṇiggahaṇa*	hand-taking, marriage.
Br. 246.	*hastagrāha*		*hatthaggāha*	*hatthaggaha*	hand-taking.
Br. 36.	*nāmagrahaṇa*		*nāmaggahaṇa*	*ṇāmaggahaṇa*	name-taking.
Br. 20.	*S'ankaraprasāda*			*Sankarappasāda*	S'ankaras' favour.
Br. 198.	*prabhāprasara*			*pabhāppasara*	diffusion of splendour.
Br. 10.	*pārśvaprasara*			*pāsappapsara*	diffusion of, or from, the side.
Dham. 29. Var. iii.32.[118]	*aśmanmayam*		*amhamayam*	. . .	stony.
Br. 279.	*nishkaruṇa*		*nikkaruṇa*	*nikkaruṇa*	merciless.

[115] The form *machchha* is also given as correct Sanskrit in Wilson's Dictionary, as well as by Böhtlingk and Roth; but it may have been introduced from Prākṛit.

[116] Mr. Childers regards *umhā* as a doubtful Pāli form.

[117] See p. 15, note 17, above. *Kaṇha* means in Prākṛit the God Krishṇa.

[118] The rule here quoted strictly applies only to the mutation of *shma* and *sma*, and does not mention *śma*.

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REFERENCES.	SANṢKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 156, 281. Var. iii. 35,38. Lassen, 209.	*vāshpa*		*bappa*	*vāppha, vappha, vāha*	moisture.
Var. iii. 35. Br. 293. Dham. 10.	*pushpa*		*puppha*	*puppha*	flower.
Br. 285.	*nṛitya*			*naṭṭa*	dancing.
Br. 247. Ra. 27.	*nṛitya*		*nachcha*	*nachcha*	dancing.
Br. 147.	*nṛityat*		*nachcham, nachchanto*	*nachchanta*	dancing (part.).
Br. 248.	*nartitum*		*nachchitum*	*nachchidum*	to dance.
Br. 242. Pr. 12, 38.	*sphurat*		*phuram, phuranta*	*phuranta*	throbbing
Br. 209.	*visphurita*			*vipphuria*	quivered.
Br. 235.	*visphuranti*			*vipphuranti*	quiver.
Br. 235. Pr. 13.	*sphulinga*		*phulinga*	*pphulinga*	a spark.
Br. 242.	*saṁsphuṭita*			*saṁpphuḍida*	blossomed.
Br. 204.	*sphāra*			*phāra*	quivering.
Br. 218.	*āsphālya*			*ăpphălia*	having touched.
Br. 202.	*sparśa, parisparśa*		*phassa*	*phaṁsa, paripphaṁsa*	touch.
Br. 310.	*parisyanda*			*paripphanda*	dropping.
Br. 245.	*utprerita*			*uppherida*	sent up.
Br. 262.	*parisphuranti*			*navipphuranti*	they quiver.
Pr. 10.	*sphaṭika*		*phaḷika*	*phaḍia*	crystal.
Br. 195, 268.	*skandha*		*khandha*	*khandha*	shoulder.
Var. iii. 14, 50. Mṛich. 40.	*stambha*		*thambha*	*khambha*	a post.
Br. 153. Sś. 254.	*śvaśrū*		*sassu*	*sāsue, sāsū*	mother-in-law.
Br. 158.	*śvaśrūṇām*		*sassūnam*	*sāsūṇăm*	of mothers-in-law.
Br. 166, 163, 303.	*śvaśurā*		*sasura*	*sasura*	father-in-law
Br. 142, 209, 292.	*pakva*		*pakka*	*pakka, pikka*	mature.
Br. 143, 263.	*jvālā*		*jālā*	*jālā*	flame.
Br. 235.	*prajvalanti*		*pajjalanti*	*pajjalanti*	they burn.
Pr. 119.	*prajvālaya*		*pajjālehi*	*pajjālehi*	burn (*causal imperative*).
Br. 48.	*jvālāli*			*jālāli*	?
Br. 213. 215.	*svāminī*		*sāminī*	*sāmiṇī*	mistress.
Br. 216.	*tvarita*		*turita*	*turia*	quick.
Pr. 48.	*tattva*			*tatta*	truth.
Br. 238.	*aśva*		*assa*	*assa*	horse.
Br. 147.	*svachha*			*sachchha*	clear.
Br. 6.	*dvidhā*		*dvidhā, dvedhā*	*dudhā*	in two ways.
Br. 168.	*jihvā*		*jivhā*	*jīhā*	tongue.
Br. 203.	*mālya*		*mālya*	*malla*	garland.
Pr. 48.	*puṇya*		*puñña*	*puṇṇa*	merit.
Br. 200. Pr. 45.	*śūnya*		*suñña*	*suṇa, sunna*	empty.
Bur. & Lass. 166.	*araṇya*		*araññа*	*araṇṇa*	forest.
Clough, 36. Var. x. 10.	*kanyā*		*kañña*	*kañjā*	a girl.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKṚIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 247.	*svādīkṛita*		*sādīkata*	*saddīkuda*	sweetened.
Br. 230, 244.	*divya*		*dibba*	*divva*	divine.
Br. 22, 64, 144, 162.	*yogya*		*yogga*	*jogga*	fit.
Br. 72, 85, 100, 105.	*śishya*		*sissa*	*sissa*	disciple.
Br. 100, 120, 139, 229.	*anya, anyathā, anyataḥ*		*aññathā*	*anna, annadhā, annado*	other, otherwise, etc.
Br. 276.	*kāṁsya*		*kaṁsa*	*kaṁsa*	bell metal.
Br. 132. Rasav. 17.	*palyanka, paryanka*		*pallanka, pariyanka*	*pallanka*	bed.
Br. 155.	*śalya*		*salla*	*salla*	dart.
Br. 68, 76, 246.	*tiryak*		*tiriyaṁ*	*tirichchha*	oblique.
Pr. 65. Dham. 6, 56.	*supta, gupta*		*sutta, gutta*	*sutta, gutta*	asleep, protected.
Pr. 21, 46, 114.	*prāpta*		*patta*	*patta*	obtained.
Br. 279.	*vidhvaṁsana*		*viddhaṁsana*	*vidhdhaṁsana*	destruction.
Br. 198, 259.	*vilupta*		*vilutta*	*vilutta*	disappeared.
Br. 240.	*vilipta*		*vilitta*	*vilidda*	smeared.
Dham. 54.	*tapta*		*tatta*	*tatta*	burnt.
Br. 218, 245.	*kshipta*		*khitta*	*khitta*	thrown.
Clough, 39.	*tṛipti*		*titti*	*titti*	satisfaction.
Br. 76, 154, 198	*samutpatti, utpanna*		*samuppatti, uppanna*	*samuppatti, uppanna*	birth, born.
Br. 243.	*samutposhita*		*samupposita*	*samupposida*	cherished.
Br. 217.	*utkshipya*		*ukkhippa*	*ujjhia*	having thrown upwards.
Br. 228.	*janma*			*jamma*	birth.
Br. 236.	*pippala*		*pipphala*	*pīpala*	ficus Indica.
Br. 198.	*sikta*		*sitta*	*sitta*	sprinkled.
Br. 227.	*vaktukāma*		*vattukāma*	*vattukāma*	wishing to speak.
Br. 113, 120.	*punarukti*		*punarutti*	*punaruṭṭi*	repetition.
Dham. 54.	*bhukta*		*bhutta*	*bhutta*	eaten.
Var. iii. 1.	*bhakta*		*bhatta*	*bhatta*	rice boiled or in husk.
Br. 195, 227, 264, 298.	*muktā, mauktika*		*muttā*	*motā, muttā, mottia*	pearl.
Clough, 39. Var. iii. 1.	*yukti, mukti*		*yutti, mutti*	*jutti, mutti*	propriety, redemption.
Pr. 35, 91. Br. 10, 24, 168, 170, 195, 231.	*mukta*		*mutta*	*mukka*	freed.
Br. 35, 98, 141.	*yukta*		*yutta*	*jutta*	fit.
Br. 67, 204.	*rakta*		*ratta*	*ratta*	red, blood.
Br. 75.	*sakta*		*satta*	*satta*	attached.
Mṛichh. 120. Var. iii. 29.	*kshetra*		*khetta*	*khetta*	field.
Br. 87.	*abhiyoktum*		*abhiyuñjitum*	*abhijujjidum*	to accuse.
Br. 76, 238, 242, 259, 294. Pr. 45.	*akshi*		*achchhi, akkhi*	*achchhi*	eye.
Br. 307.	*akshi*			*akkhi*	eye.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GATHA.	PALI.	PRAKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 238, 244, 259.	*vakshaḥsthala*			*vachchha-tthala*	breast.
Br. 199, 134, 294. Pr. 11, 41	*Lakshmī*		*Lakkhī*	*Lachhī, Lachchhī*	goddess of fortune.
Br. 113.	*yashṭi*		*yaṭṭhi, laṭṭhi*	*lachchhi*	a club.
Br. 76, 243.	*vikshobha*		*vikkhobha*	*vichchhoha*	agitation.
Br. 49, 93. Pr. 10, 35.	*prekshasva*		*pekkhassa, pekkha*	*pekkha*	look (thou).
Br. 68, Pr. 21.	*prekshasva*			*pechchha*	look (thou).
Br. 220.	*prekshya*		*pekkhiya*	*vekkhia*	having looked
Br. 48, 198, 226.	*prakshālana*		*pakkhālana*	*pakkhālaṇa*	washing.
Pr. 35, 124.	*prakshālitam*		*pakkhālitam*	*pachchāliam*	washed.
Br. 139.	*avakshipāmi*		*okkhipāmi*	*avakkhivāmi*	I distract.
Br. 202, 221, 250.	*ṛiksha*		*ikka, achchha*	*rikkha*	a bear.
Pr. 19.	*nikshipyante*		*nikhipīyanti*	*nikhkhipyanti*	are thrown
Br. 92.	*lakshya*			*lakkha*	a mark. [out.
Br. 67, 77, 86 Cl. 51. Pr. 46	*kshatriya*		*khattiya*	*khattia*	a kshatriya.
Br. 199.	*laksha*		*lakkha*	*lakkha*	100,000.
Br. 48, 69, 71. Pr. 84.	*khaṇa*		*khaṇa, chhana*	*khaṇa*	a moment, festival.
Clough. 38.	*kshamā*		*khamā*	*khamā*	pardon.
Bur. & Lass. 166. Br. 112.	*lakshaṇa*		*lakkhaṇa*	*lakkhaṇa*	a mark.
Br. 180.	*kshīṇa*		*khīṇa*	*khīṇa*	decayed.
Br. 86, 141, 266.	*paksha*		*pakkha*	*pakkha*	side, wing.
Br. 20, 52. Pr. 19.	*rākshasa*		*rakkhasa*	*rakkhasa*	a Rākshasa.
Br. 52.	*rakshā*		*rakkhā*	*rakkhā*	deliverance.
Pr. 19.	*rakshitvā*		*rakkhitvā*	*rakkhia*	having delivered.
Pr. 12, 84.	*dakshiṇa*		*dakkhiṇa*	*dakkhiṇa*	south.
Br. 249.	*dākshiṇa*		*dakkhiṇa*	*dāhiṇa*	right (side).
Br. 198.	*sākshin*		*sakkhī*	*sakkhi*	witness.
Br. 290.	*kshīra*		*khīra*	*khīra*	milk.
Br. 221.	*kshauma*		*khoma*	*khoma*	of linen.
Br. 121.	*akshara*		*akkhara*	*akkhara*	letter.
Br. 246, 248.	*kaksha*		*kaccha*	*kakkha*	side.
Br. 215.	*chakshushaḥ*		*chakkhuno*	*chakkhuṇo*	of the eye.
Br. 103, 165 f.	*śikshita*		*sikkhita*	*sikkhida*	learnt.
Br. 75.	*vikshepa*		*vikkhepa*	*vikkheva*	perplexity.
But. & Lass. 167.	*moksha*		*mokkha*	*mokkha*	deliverance.
Dham. 46.	*kshema*		*khema*	*khema*	prosperity.
Dham. 23.	*antarikshe*		*antalikkhe*		atmosphere.
Br. 7, 179, 234 245. Pr. 34, 90	*śabda*		*sadda*	*sadda*	sound.
Br. 66, 121, 266. Pr. 10, 35, 41.	*mugdha*		*muddha*	*muddha*	bewildered.
Br. 76, 194. Pr. 10, 41.	*dugdha*		*duddha*	*duddha*	milk.
Br. 290.	*dugdha*		*duddha*	*dudda*	milk.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Pr. 10. Br. 72, 266.	*snigdha*		*siniddha*	*siṇiddha*	affectionate.
Pr. 36.	*vidagdha*			*vidaddha*	clever.
Br. 20.	*laodha*		*laddha*	*laddha*	obtained.
Br. 131.	*lubdha*		*luddha*	*luddha*	covetous.
Br. 67, 226, 278, 287. Pr. 134.	*paryanta*		*pariyanta*	*peranta*	limit.
Br. 176.	*prānta*		*pānta*	*peranta*	vicinity.
Var. i. 8.	*mayūra*		*mayūra*, *mora*	*maūra*, *mora*	peacock.
Var. i. 7.	*lavaṇa*		*lavana*, *loṇa*	*loṇa*	salt.
Mṛichh. 120.	*vīja*		*bīja*	*vīa*	seed.
Mṛichh. 77.	*vaṇik*		*vāṇija*	*bāṇia*, *vāṇia*	merchant.
Mṛichh. 78.	*kāyastha*		*kāyaṭṭha*	*kāathaa*	kāyasth.
Mṛich. 296, 151. Lass. 172, 218.	*devālaya*, *devakula*		*devālaya*	*devala*	temple.
Var. iv. 1.	*rājakula*		*rājakula*	*rāaūla*, *rāula*	royal race.
Mṛichh. 30, 38 f.	*dyūtakara*		*jūtakara*	*jūdiara*, *jūdiaru*, *jūdiala*	gambler.
	snāna		*nahāna*, *sināna*	*ṇhāna*	bathing.
Var. iii. 33.	*vahni*			*vaṇhi*	fire.
Br. 289.	*Vishṇu*			*Viṇhu*	Vishṇu.
	ślakshṇa		*saṇha*	*saṁha*	gentle.
	tīkshṇa		*tikhiṇa*, *tiṇha*	*tikkha*, *tiṁhd*	sharp.
Mṛichh. 6.	*daridratā*		*daliddatā*	*daliddadā*	poverty.
Var. v. 24.	*haridrā*		*haliddā*	*haladdā*, *haladdī*	turmeric.
Var. iii. 25.	*gartta*			*gaḍḍa*	hole
Var. iv. 31.	*malina*		*malina*	*maliṇa*, *maīla*	dirty.
Var. iii. 30.	*makshikā*		*makkhikā*	*machchhīā*	a fly.
Var iv. 33.	*duhitā*, *dhīdā*		*duhitā*, *dhītā*	*dhūdā*, *dhīā*	daughter. maiden.
Var. iv. 25.	*dhanavat*, *śabdavat*, *mālāvat*		*dhanavā*	*dhaṇāla*, *saddāla*, *mālāilla*	wealthy. sounding. having a garland.
Var. iii. 17,19. Clough, 19.	*sūrya*		*suriya*	*sujja*, *sūra*	sun.
Var. iii. 12.	*mastaka* [119]		*matthaka*	*matthaa*	head.
Mṛichh. 18.	*samasta*		*samattha*	*samattha*	all.
	stuti		*thuti*	*thuī*	praise.
Br. 195, 264.	*śukti*		*sutti*, *sippī*	*sippi*	shell.
Br. 259, 270,	*lalāṭa*		*lalāṭa*, *nalāṭa* (fem.)	*lalāḍa*, *niḍola*	forehead.
Br. 66.	*Draviḍa*		*Ḍamila*	*Damida*	the Draviḍa country.
Br. 242. Lv. 372.	*kamalinī*, *pushkariṇī*	*paḍinī* [120]	*puṇḍarīkinī*	*puḍaiṇī*	lotus-pond.

[119] This word has been repeated by mistake. See p. 82.

[120] According to another reading, *pushkariṇī*.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 245.	*peśalā (vyaktā?[121])*		*vyattā*	*veaṭṭī*	clever.
Lalitavista. 305 f., and n. 2, p. 402.	*adambhī, anāśchāryavān vā*	*achchhambhī*	*achchhambhī* [122]		without arrogance, or without wonder [according to the commentary.] Undaunted. [In Pāli].
B. & Las. 99.	*purushaḥ*		*puriso*	*puriso*	man.
B. & Las. 86.	*avakāśaḥ*		*okāso*	*okāso*	leisure.
B. & Las. 166.	*manushyaḥ*		*manusso*	*manusso*	man.
Lv. 153.	*avalambhate*	*olambate*	*olambati*		he hangs.
Lv. 245.	*ālambayata, avalambayata?*	*olambayātha*			hang.
Lv. 272.	*ābhāsitā, avabhāsitā?*	*obhāsitā*	*obhāsitā*		illuminated.
Lv. 270.	*prasvāpitāḥ avasvāpitāḥ?*	*osvāpitā*			put to sleep.
Lv. 292.	*prasvāpanam avasvāpanam?*	*osvāpanam*			putting to sleep.
Lv. 292, 456.	*praṇamantaḥ avanamantaḥ?*	*onamanta*	*onamanto*		bowing down.
Lv. 300, 338.	*avaruhya*	*oruhitvā oruhyā*	*oruhitvā oruyha*		having descended.
Pr.	*sambhāvayāmi*		*sambhāvemi*	*sambhāvemi*	I conjecture.
Br. 58.	*sampādayāmaḥ*		*sampādema*	*sampādemha*	we fulfil.
Pr. 44.	*āropayasi*		*āropesi*	*ārovesi*	thou stretchest.
Pr. 34.	*nirūpayāmaḥ*			*nirūvemha*	we fix.
Pr. 126.	*ālingayāmi*		*ālingayāma, ālingema*	*ālingemi*	I embrace.
Br. 221.	*sajjayata, ānayata*		*sajjetha ānetha*	*sajjeha ānedha*	prepare ye. bring ye.
Br. 112.	*dhārayasi*		*dhārayasi dhāresi*	*dhāresi*	thou upholdest.
Lv. 324.	*dhārayanti*	*dhārenti*	*dhārayanti dhārenti*	*dharenti*	they hold.
Br. 20, 88.	*mantrayathaḥ*		*mantetha*	*mantedha*	ye advise.
Br. 121.	*niyamanti*				they restrain.
Lv. 157.	*vineshyati*	*vinenti*	*vinenti*	*nimenti*	he, they, lead, or will lead.
Br. 221.	*uttambhayata*			*uttambheha*	support ye.
Lv. 352.	*darśayanti*	*darśenti*	*dassenti*		they show.
Br. 36.	*śithilayāmi*			*siḍhilemi*	I slacken.
Lv. 148.	*nivartayati*	*nivarteti*	*nivatteti*		he stops..
Lv. 84, 157, 180, 204.	*āyānti*	*enti*	*enti*		they come.
	upayanti	*upenti*	*upenti*		they approach.
Lv. 14, 186, 189.	*chodayanti*	*chodenti*	*chodenti*		they impel.
Lv. 214.	*sthāpaya*	*sthape, sthapehi*	*ṭhapehi*		place thou.

[121] One of the senses assigned in Wilson's Dictionary to *vyakta* is "wise, learned."

[122] Mr. Childers thinks this word is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *astambhin*, "not paralyzed with fear." The word "*achambhā*" is well known in Hindī, where it means "astonishment."

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Lv. 223.	*pūraya*	*pūrehi*	*pūrehi*		fill thou.
Lv. 90.	*yashṭidhārakān*	*ishṭikān*			mace-bearers.
Lv. 158, 181.	*na api*	*năpi*	*nāpi*		not even.
Lv. 231, 288.	*tathā'pi*	*tathăpi*	*tathāpi*		nevertheless.
Lv. 421.	*punar api*	*punopi*	*puna pi* *puno pi*		again, so.
Pr. 19, 39. Pr. 89. Br. 94.	*kim api*		*kim pi*	*kiṁ pi, kim vi* *kimpi*	anything.
Pr. 19, 151.	*kim iti*		*kin ti*	*kiṁ ti*	what, so.
Pr. 84.	*kasminn api*		*kasmim pi*	*kassiṁ pi*	in any.
Pr. 47. Lv. 227, 304.	*tvam api*	*tubhyampi* *vayampi*	*tvam pi*	*tumaṁ vi*	thou, we, so.
Pr. ? Lv. 387.	*ayam iti*	*ahaṁ ti*	*aham pi*	*imotti*	this, I, so.
Br. 198.	*mitratva*			*mitrattaṇa*	friendship.
Br. 79.	*bālatva*			*bālattaṇa*	childhood.
Lv. 231, 302.	*vidvadbhiḥ*	*vidubhiḥ*	*vidūhi*		by learned men.
Br. 87.	*manasā*		*manasā, manena*	*maṇeṇa*	with the mind
Br. 246, 270.	*śirasā*		*sirasā, sireṇa*	*sireṇa*	with the head
Lv. 148, 204.	*nabhasi*	*nabhe*	*nabhasi, nabhe*		in the heaven

NOTE.—For the greater part of the words in Table II. pp. 27–29 above, Mr. Childers knows no Pāli equivalents, nor for the following additional words which I have noted in the Bālarāmāyana and Prasannarāghava, viz., *kadraṇo* "monkeys" (Br. 238), *nilukkana* "abode," *nilukkanta* "issued forth" (Br. 266 f.), *vellira* "moving" (Br. 203), *halahavallāvā* "whispers" (Br. 160), *visaṭṭa, vissaṭṭanta, visaṭṭanti* "clear," "blown," or "blowing (as a flower)," and "they issue forth," (Br.). I find in the Br. 221, a verb *ḍhoeha*, rendered in the comm. by *vahata*, "carry ye," = the Hindī *ḍhonā*, "to carry a load," and in the Lalita Vistara 261, a noun *osa*, dew, = Hindī *os*, which has the same sense. These two words belong to Table II. p. 27, ff.

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Table No. IV.

The following Table of ordinals and numerals will show that in some cases the Pāli and Prākṛit words are identical; but that in most cases the Pāli words are nearer to the Sanskrit than the corresponding Prākṛit words are.

In the cases where the Prākṛit words are omitted, I have been unable to supply them.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Dham. 4. Mṛichh. 98. Lassen, 209.	*prathamaḥ*	*paṭhamo*	*paṭhumo, paḍhamo*	first.
Dham. 6. Mṛichh. 69.	*dvitīyaḥ*	*dutiyo*	*dudio*	second.
Dham. 8. Mṛichh. 69.	*tṛitīyaḥ*	*tatiyo*	*taio*	third.
Dham. 35, Bur. & Las. 90. Var. vi. 58.	*chatvāraḥ*	*chattāro*	*chattāro*	four.
Dham. 11. Var. i. 9. Mṛich. 69.	*chaturthaḥ*	*chatuttho*	*cha,uttho, cha,uṭṭho*	fourth.
Dham. 14. Mṛich. 70.	*panchamaḥ*	*panchamo*	*panchamo*	fifth.
Bur. & Las. 87. Las. 320. Dham. 16. Mṛi. 70.	*shaṭ*	*cha*	*chhā*	six.
	shashṭhaḥ	*chhaṭṭho*	*chhaṭṭho*	sixth.
Dham. 18. Mṛichh. 71.	*saptamaḥ*	*sattamo*	*sattamo*	seventh.
Dham. 21. Mṛichh. 72.	*ashṭamaḥ*	*aṭṭhamo*	*aṭṭhamo*	eighth.
Dham. 23. Mṛich. 100	*navamaḥ*	*navamo*	*ṇavamo*	ninth.
Dham. 26. Lass. 320.	*daśamaḥ*	*dasamo*	*dasamo*	tenth.
Dham. 28. Var. ii. 14.	*ekādaśan*	*ekādasa*	*cāraha*	eleven.
Dham. 30. Var. ii. 14.	*dvādaśan*	*dvādasa, bārasa*	*vāraha*	twelve.
Dham. 32. Var. ii. 14.	*trayodaśan*	*terasa, telasa*	*teraha*	thirteen.
Dham. 76. Var. i. 9, and ii. 14,	*chaturdaśan*	*chatuddasa, chuddasa, choddasa*	*cha,uddaha*	fourteen.
Dham. 38. Var iii. 44.	*panchadaśan*	*pañcadasa, pannarasa*	*pannaraho*	fifteen.
Dham. 39. Lass. 320.	*shoḍaśan*	*soḷasa*	*soḷaha* (?)	sixteen.
Dham. 42. Lass. 320.	*saptadaśan*	*sattarasa*	*sattaraha* (?)	seventeen.
Dham. 45. Lass. 320.	*ashṭādasan*	*aṭṭhārasa*	*aṭṭhāraha*	eighteen.
Dham. 48.	*ūnaviṁśati*	*ekūnavīsati*	. . .	nineteen.
Dham. 51. Lass. 320.	*viṁśati*	*vīsati*	*vīsa,i*	twenty.
Dham. 54, 76.	*ekaviṁśati*	*ekavīsati*	. . .	twenty-one.
Dham. 56, 76.	*dvāviṁsati*	*dvāvīsati, bāvīsati, dvāvīsaṁ*	. . .	twenty-two.
Dham. 59, 76.	*trayoviṁśati*	*tevīsati, tevīsa*	. . .	twenty-three.
Dham. 64.	*chaturviṁśati*	*chatuvīsati*	. . .	twenty-four.
Dham. 68.	*panchaviṁśati*	*panchavīsati*	. . .	twenty-five.
Dham. 75.	*shaḍviṁśati*	*chhabbīsati*	. . .	twenty-six.
Dham. 76.	*chatvāriṁśat*	*chattālisaṁ*	. . .	forty.

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Table No. V.

Comparative list of particles and pronouns, etc., in Pāli and Prākṛit, with a few corresponding words in the Gāthā dialect.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀṬHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 20, 149.	*atha*		*atha*	*aha*	now.
Cl. 74, Br. 282.	*athavā*		*athavā*	*adhavā*	or.
Br. 48, ff. Cl. 68.	*itaḥ*		*ito, ato*	*ido*	hence.
Br. 20. Cl. 69.	*iha*		*iha, idha*	*idha*	here.
Br. 35, 92, 121, 139, 157, 169, 178. Cl. 69. Pr. 43.	*atra*		*ettha*	*ettha*	here.
Pr. 35.	*atra*			*etta*	here.
Pr. 113, Cl. 68 f.	*atra*		*atra, attha*	*attha*	here.
Pr. 19.	*atra*			*atto*	here.
Br. 156. Pr. 119. Clough 69.	*yatra*		*yatra, yattha*	*jattha*	where.
Br. 96, 149, 238.	*tatra*		*tatra, tattha*	*tattha*	there.
Br. 98, 149. Lv. 153, 191 f. Cl. 69.	*tatra*	*tahi*	*tahiṁ, taham*	*tahiṁ*	there.
Br. 246.	*tadā*			*tahiṁ*	then.
Br. 180, 213, 145, 148, 200, 210, 235. Lv. 56, 61, 464.	*yathā*	*jihmi, jihma, jaha*	*yathā*	*jahā, jahă, jahaṁ, jadhā*	as.
Br. 150.	*yat*		*yaṁ*	*jadhā*	that.
Br. 181, 210, 223.	*tathā*		*tathā*	*tahă*	so.
Br. 148, 278.	*tathā*			*tadhā*	so.
Br. 86, 122.	*yataḥ*		*yato*	*jado*	whence.
Br. 297.	*yataḥ*			*jatto*	whence.
Pr. 47.	*tataḥ*		*tato*	*tado*	thence.
Br. 88, 148. Pr. 20.	*yadi*		*yadi*	*jadi*	if.
Br. 70, 229. Pr. 17, 47.	*yadi*			*jaï*	if.
Br. 189.	*yadi*			*jahiṁ*	if.
Br. 77.	*yathechchham*		[*yathicchitaṁ* is used.]	*jahijjam*	as desired.
Br. 238.	*yathechchham*			*jahichchham*	as desired.
Br. 34, 97. Pr. 20, 34.	*katham*		*kathaṁ*	*kahaṁ*	how?
Br. 92, 154, 163, 167.	*katham*			*kadham*	how?
Br. 77.	*katham*			*kīsa*	how?
Br. 139, 169. Pr. 112.	*kva*	*kahiṁ* (Lv. 262, 283.)	*kuhiṁ, kuham*	*kahiṁ*	where?
Pr. 40. Cl. 69.	*kva*		*kva, kutra, kuttha*	*kaha*	where?
Br. 86.	*kutaḥ*		*kuto*	*kudo*	whence?
Br. 88.	*kim*		*kiṁ*	*kī*	why?
Br. 295. Cl. 52.	*katara*		*katara*	*kadara*	which?
Br. 20.	*kati*		*kati*	*kadi*	how many?
Br. 5, 181.	*tat*		*taṁ*	*tọm*	that.
Br. 34, 36, 65, 73 f, 113, 276, Pr. 19.	*tat*		*taṁ*	*tā*	that, therefore.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Pr. 19, 47. Br. 35, 79, 182.	*tarhi*		*tadā (tarahi)*	*tā*	then.
	yat		*yaṁ*	*jaṁ*	what.
Cowell, xxviii. Br. 70. Pr. 44. 122. Lv. 190, 196.	*tvăm*[123]	*tuma*	*tvam, tuvam*	*tumaṁ*	thou.
Pr. 41.	*tvām*		*tam, tavam, tvam, tuvam*	*tuṁam*	thee
Pr. 38.	*tubhyam*		*tava, tuyham, tumham*	*tuha*	to thee.
Br. 120, 181. Br. 35, 113.	*tava* / *te (tava)*	*ti*	*tava, tuyham, tumham*	*tuha, tumma, tumha, tujjha, te, de*	of thee.
Br. 56, 181, 224, 145, 165, 170, 177, 153.	*tvayā*		*tvayā, tayā*	*tue, tumaë, tāë, tume, te, de, tīe*	by thee.
Pr. ? Pr. 124.	*tvayi*		*tayi*	*tumammi, tumhi, taï*	in thee.
Pr. 40. Lv. 173, 396.	*yūyam*	*yushme, yushmi*	*tumhe*	*tumhe, tujhe*	you.
Cowell, xxviii.	*yushmān*		*tumhākam, tumhe*	*tujjhe, tumhe, vo*	you (accus.)
	yushmābhiḥ		*tumhebhi, tumhehi*	*tujjhehiṁ, tumhehiṁ, tummehiṁ*	by you.
	yushmat		*tumhebhi, tumhehi*	*tumhāhinto tumhāsunto*	from you.
	yushmākam		*tumhākam*	*vo, bhe, tujjhāṇaṁ, tumhāṇaṁ*	of you.
	yushmāsu		*tumhesu*	*tujjhesu, tumhesu*	in you.
Br. 283. Pr. 41, 138.	*tasyāḥ*		*tissāya, tissā, tassā, tāya*	*tissă, tīe, tāë*	of her.
Pr. 134.	*tayā*		*tāya*	*tāë*	by her.
Pr. 45, 47.	*ayam*		*ayam*	*imo*	this (masc.)
Pr. 26, 47, 120, 125. Br. 36, 55, 66, 72, 100. Lv. 396.	*asya, imasya (vedic)*	*imasya*	*assa, imassa*	*imassa, se*	of this (masc.)
Pr. 120. Br. 35. Lv. 454.	*anena*	*ena*	*anena, iminā*	*iminā*	by this (masc.)
Pr. 38.	*anayā*		*imāya*	*imāë*	by this (fem.)
Br. 65, 67, 70.	*asmin*		*asmiṁ, imasmiṁ, imamhi*	*imassiṁ*	in this (masc)
Pr. 13.	*eshām*		*esaṁ, esānaṁ, imesaṁ, imesānaṁ*	*imāṇam*	of these.
Pr. 36.	*ebhiḥ*		*ebhi, imebhi, ehi, imehi*	*imehiṁ*	by these.
Pr. 134.	*kasyāḥ*			*kīe*	of whom? (f.)

[123] A comparative statement of the first personal pronoun will be found further on in the text.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKṚIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 35.	*idam*		*idam, imam*	*iṇam*	this (neuter).
Br. 5.	*etat*		*etam, ṭad*	*edam*	this.
Br. 50.	*ete*		*ete*	*ede*	these (masc.)
Br. 44 f.	*etāḥ*		*etā, etāyo*	*edāo*	these (fem.)
Br. 57.	*te*		*ne, te*	*de*	they.
Br. 35.	*etāvat*		(inst. *ettāvatā*, "so far"	*edaha*	so much.
Br. 213.	*etāvat*		*etto* and *ettako* (adj.) "so much"	*ettia*	so much.
Pr. 19.	*iyanti*			*ettiāiṁ*	(so much (pl. neuter).
Br. 29, 293.	*yena*		*yena*	*jeṇa*	(by which or whom,
Br. 8.	*yasmin*		*yasmiṁ, yamhi*	*jassiṁ*	(in which or whom.
Br. 87.	*yeshām*		*yesaṁ*	*jāṇam*	of whom.
Br. 56.	*teshām*		*tesam, tesānam*	*tāṇam*	of them.
Br. 55.	*sadṛiśa*		*nesam, nesānam*		
Br. 35, 113, 289. Pr. 12, 16, 44.	*sadṛiśa*		*sadisa, sādisa*	*sadisa*	like.
Br. 55, 76, 80, 292. Pr. 41.	*sadṛikshа*		*sārisa*	*sarisa*	
Br. 35.	*īdṛiśa*		(*sādikkha, sarikkha*	*sarichehha*	
Pr. 43, 46.	*īdṛiśa*		*īdisa*	*īdisa*	like this.
Pr. 16, 19, 48.	*īdṛiśa*		*īrisa*	*īrisa*	
Br. 53, 57, 164, 218.	*kīdṛiśa*		*edisa, erisa*	*erisa*	
Br. 88. Pr. 113.	*kīdṛiśa*		*kīdisa*	*kīdisa*	like what.
Pr. 91.	*tādṛiśa*		*kīrisa*	*kīrisa, kerisa*	like what?
Pr. 112.	*anyādṛiśa*		*tādisa, tārisa*	*tārisa*	like that.
Br. 299.	*asmādṛiśam*			*annārisa*	like another.
Br. 120. Clough, 70.	*idānim*		*amhādisa*	*amhārisa*	like us.
Br. 77, 138. Pr. 25. Dham. 29.	*ātmānam* *ātmānam*		(*dāni, idāni, etarahi*	*eṇhiṁ*	now.
Karpūramanjarī, in Bālar. p. 5. Br. 122.	*ātmā* *māhātmya*		*attānam, ātumānaṁ*	*attāṇam* *appāṇam*	himself.
			attā	*appā*	
				māhappa	greatness.

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Table No. VI.

The following Table exhibits a list of Pāli words, some of which retain unaltered the Sanskrit form, while others are modified, but sometimes less than in Prākṛit.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Dham. 31, 55, 58. Clough, 21. Var. v. 36.	*rājā*		*rājā*	*rāā*	king.
Dham. 12. and Var. i. 17.	*jihvā*		*jivhā*	*jīhā*	tongue.
Clough, 39. and Var. ii. 32.	*yashti*		*yaṭṭhi, laṭṭhi*	*laṭṭhi*	staff.
Dham. 40. Var. ii. 27. & Mṛich.	*sādhum*		*sādhum, sāhum*	*sāhūm*	good.
Dham. 51. and Var. v. 35.	*pitā*		*pitā*	*piā*	father (nom.)
Dham. 52. and Var. v. 34.	*pitaram*		*pitaram*	*piaram*	father (accus.)
Rasa. 15.	*pitrā*		*pitarā*	*piduṇā*	father (instr.)
Dham. 26, 52, 71. & Var. iii. 8.	*brāhmaṇaḥ*		*brāhmaṇo*	*vamhaṇo*	Brahman.
Dham. 72. & Var. i. 18.	*gambhīra*		*gambhīra, gabhīra*	*gahira*	deep
Dham. 20, 24. & Var. iv. 5.	*jīvitam*		*jīvitam*	*jīvam, jīam*	life.
Dham. 27. Br. 242, 251.	*andhakāreṇa*		*andhakārena*	*andhaāreṇa*	darkness.
Dham. 28. Mṛichh. 43, 69.	*balīvardaḥ*		*balivaddo*	*baliddo, ba, illo*	ox.
Dham. 34. & Var. iii. 39.	*kārshāpaṇaḥ*		*kahāpaṇa*	*kahāvaṇo*	16 paṇas of cowries.
Dham. 44.	*samādhim*		*samādhim*[124]	. . .	meditation.
Dham. 46. and Var. iv. 15.	*yāvatā*		*yāvatā*	*jāva, jā*	as much.
	tāvatā		*tāvatā*	*tāo, tā*	so much.
Dham. 22, 68. Mṛichh. 11. Var. iv. 12.	*bhadram*		*bhadram, bhaddam*	*bhaddam*	good.
Clough, 40. Bṛ. 234, 267.	*śūkarī*		*sūkarī*	*sūarī*	a sow.
	śūkara		*sūkara*	*sūyara, sūara*	a boar.
Clough, 7. Var. ii. 27. v. 25, 27.	*madhu*		*madhu*	*mahu*	honey.
Dham. 36. Prabodha. 58. Pr. 38, 40.	*sukham*		*sukham*	*suham*	happiness.
Clough, 37. Var. ii. 27. Br. 156.	*sabhā*		*sabhā*	*sahā*	an assembly.
	gāthā		*gāthā*	*gāhā*	a verse.
Clough, 42. and Var. v. 32.	*mātā*		*mātā*	*māā*	mother (nom.)
	mātaram		*mātaram*	*māam*	mother (acc.)
Rasa. 22. Clou. 45. Var. ii. 27.	*mukham*		*mukham*	*muham*	face.

[124] I cannot say whether the Prākṛit form of this word is *samādhi* or *samāhi*, or any third form different from either.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Burn. & Lass. Var. ii. 2.	*lokaḥ*		*loko*	*loo*	world.
	gajaḥ		*gajo*	*gao*	elephant.
	rajatam		*rajatam*	*raadam*	silver.
Ditto, Var. i. 27.	*kṛitam*		*katam*	*kaam*	done.
Ditto, Var. iii. 58.	*trailokyam*		*telokkam*	*telloam*	the three worlds.
Ditto, Var. ii. 2.	*jīvam*		*jīvam*	*jīam*	life.
	vachanam		*vachanam*	*vaaṇam*	word.
Do., Var. ii. 2, 46.	*divasaḥ*		*divaso*	*divaho, diaho*	day.
Ditto, Var. i. 41.	*yauvanam*		*yobbanam*	*jovvanam*	youth.
Mahāvanso, p. xxvi. Mṛich. 44.	*samskṛitam*		*sakkatam*	*sakkadam*	Sanskrit.
Mahāvanso, 207 Var. i. 20.	*pustakam*		*potthakam*	*potthao*	book.
Rasa. 40. Pr. 97. Br. 143.	*bhaginī*		*bhaginī*	*vahiṇī, bahiṇī, bhaiṇī*	sister.
Mahāv. 250. Var iii. 26.	*gardabhaḥ*		*gadrabho*	*gaḍḍaho*	ass.
Rasa. 32. Var. i. 20.	*muktā*		*muttā*	*mottā*	pearl.
Rasa. 33. Mṛich. 16, 43, 44, 50. Br. 35, 221.	*dvāra*		*dvāra*	*duāraa, dūvāra, dūvāra*	door.
Br. 130, 284.	*śākhī*		*sākhī*	*sāhī*	a tree.
Br. 70.	*rekhā*		*rekhā*	*rehā*	a line.
Br. 113.	*sakhī*		*sakhī*	*sahī*	female friend
Br. 48, 76, 156, Pr. 36.	*śikhā*		*sikhā*	*sihā*	crest.
Br. 93, Pr. 10, 12.	*śikhara*		*sikhara*	*sihara*	summit.
Br. 73, 96, 156. Pr. 38.	*śekhara*		*sekhara*	*sehara*	crest.
Br. 52. Pr. 35, 38.	*śikhaṇḍa*		*sikhaṇḍa*	*sihaṇḍa*	peacock's tail
Pr. 12, 41.	*lekhā*		*lekhā*	*lehā*	a writing.
Pr. 36.	*nakha*		*nakha*	*ṇaha*	nail.
Pr. 36, Br. 6, 10, 92.	*likhita*		*likhita*	*lihida*	written.
Br. 221, 278.	*parikhā*		*parikhā*	*parihā*	ditch.
Br. 287.	*mekhalā*		*mekhalā*	*mehalā*	girdle.
Br. 215, 225.	*megha*		*megha*	*meha*	cloud.
Br. 50.	*sangha*		*saṅgha*	*saṁha*	assemblage.
Dham. 7, 66. Var. iii. 65. Mṛichh. 107.	*laghu*		*lahu*	*lahu*	light.
Br. 71, 199. Pr. 14.	*ratha*		*ratha*	*raha*	chariot.
Pr. 36.	*athavā*		*athavā*	*ahavā*	or.
Pr. 137, Br. 242, 297.	*mithuna*		*mithuna*	*mihuṇa*	pair.
Br. 308.	*Mithilā*		*Mithilā*	*Mihilā*	name of city.
Br. 298.	*atithi*		*atithi*	*adihi*	guest.
Br. 238.	*adhara*		*adhara*	*ahara*	lower lip.
Pr. 39, Br. 158. Br. 151, 153.	*vadhū*		*vadhū*	*vahū, vadhū*	wife.
Pr. 34, 39, Br. 70.	*madhura*		*madhura*	*mahura*	sweet.
Br. 244, Cl. 7, 51.	*madhu*		*madhu*	*mahu*	sweet.
Br. 10.	*vibudha*		*vibudha*	*vibuha*	wise man.
Br. 278.	*panchavidha*		*panchavidha*	*panchaviha*	fivefold.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 198, 221, 243.	*vividha*		*vividha*	*viviha*	various.
Br. 238.	*vĭdhura*		*vidhura*	*vihura*	agitated.
Br. 199.	*jaladhi*		*jaladhi*	*jalahi*	sea.
Br. 86, 203 f.	*rudhira*		*rudhira*	*ruhira*	blood.
Br. 250.	*dadhi*		*dadhi*	*dahi*	curds.
Br. 228.	*vadhira*		*badhira*	*bahira*	deaf.
Br. 289.	*mahīdhara*		*mahīdhara*	*mahīhara*	mountain.
Br. 167.	*ārādhaṇa*		*ārādhana*	*ārāhaṇa*	worship.
Br. 72, 292. / Clough 7, 24.	*phala*, / *saphala*		*phala*, / *saphala*	*ḥala, sahala*	fruit, / fruitful.
Pr. 137.	*rabhasa*			*rahasa*	speed.
Pr. 11.	*śobhante*		*sobhanti*	*sohanti*	they shine.
Pr. 36.	*abhilashanti*			*ahilasanti*	they desire.
Br. 123.	*labhate*		*labhati*	*lahaï*	he receives.
Br. 79, 156, 242, 259.	*vallabha*		*vallabha*	*vallaha*	beloved.
Br. 219.	*upalabdham*			*ualahium*	to understand.
Br. 73, 93, 297.	*vrishabha*		*usabha*	*vusaha*	bull.
Br. 202, 218.	*kshobha*		*khobha*	*khoha*	shaking.
Br. 224.	*vibhinna*		*vibhinna*	*vihiṇṇa*	divided.
Br. 238.	*surabhi*		*surabhi*	*surahi*	fragrant.
Br. 276.—	*dundabhi*		*dundubhi*	*dunduhi*	drum.
Br. 198.	*nābhi*		*nābhi*	*ṇāhi*	navel.
Br. 237.	*śaila*		*sèla*	*sella*	mountain.
Br. 86, 145.	*vairi*		*veri*	*veri*	enemy.
Br. 221, 240.	*taila*		*tela*	*tella*	oil.
Br. 264.	*dāha*		*dāha, ḍāha*	*ḍāha*	burning.
Pr. 104.	*sūchī*		*sūchi*	*sūī*	needle.
Br. 243.	*sūchita*		*sūchita*	*sūida*	indicated.
Br. 217 f.	*chhurikā*		*chhurikā*	*chhuriā*	knife.
Br. 150, 155.	*hṛidaya*		*hadaya*	*hiaa*	heart.
Br. 238.	*pādayoḥ*		*pādesu*	*pāesu*	at the feet.
Br. 235.	*dhūma*		*dhūma*	*dhūsa*	smoke.
Br. 199.	*padātikasya*			*pāikassa*	footman (gen.)
Br. 245, 251.	*mudgara*		*muggara*	*mogāra*	mallet.
Pr. 44.	*kubja*		*khujja*	*khujja*	bent.
Br. 125.	*śosha*		*sosa*	*sosa*	drying up.
Br. 50.	*ghosha*		*ghosa*	*ghosa*	noise.
Var. iii. 62. / Lv. 228.	*mlāna, glāna*	*gilāna*	*milāta, gilāna*	*milāṇa*	withered, / wearied.
Var. iii. 62. / Lv. 269.	*klānta*	*kilānta*	*kilanta*	*kilānta*	wearied.
Var. iii, 62. / Lv. 51, 60 f, 188.	*kleśa*	*kileśa*	*kilesa*	*kilesa*	trouble.
Dh. 50. Pr. 41. / Br. 36, 122, 278.	*sneha*		*sneha, sineha*	*siṇeha*	affection.
Cl. 39. Pr. 12. / Br. 129, 175 f.	*śrī*	*siri*	*sirī*	*sirī*	splendour
Dham. 44.	*hrī*	*hiri*	*hirī*	*hirī*	shame.
Pr. 12. Var. iii. 62.	*harsha*			*harasa, harisa*	joy.
Pr. 113, 114, 238. / Lalitavistara, 65, 235, 239, 399.	*svapna*	*supina*	*supina, soppa*	*siviṇa*	sleep.
Pr. 44, 48.	*mūrkha*			*murukha*	fool.
Pr. 35.	*vismṛita*			*visumarida*	forgotten.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 163, 278.	{*smaraṇa* / *smṛitvā*}		*sumariya*	*sumaraṇa* / *sumaria*	recollection. / having recollected.
Br. 198.	*utkarsha*		*ukkaṁsa*	*ukkarisa*	eminence.
Br. 246.	*karshanti*		*kaḍḍhanti*	*karisanti*	they draw.
Br. 20, 126, 276.	*varsha*		*vassa*	*varisa*	rain.
Br. 210.	*varshitum*		*vassituṁ*	*varisidum*	to rain.
Br. 296.	*varshartuh*			*vāsāratto*	rainy season.
Br. 144. Lv. 198.	{*bhāryā*, *nāryaḥ*}	*nāriyā*	{*bhariyā* / *nāriyā*}	*bhăriā*	{wife, of a woman.
Br. 310.	*S'atrughna*			*Sattuhaṇa*	proper name.
Cl. S. Lv. 56, 92, 132, 181, 188	*ratna*	*ratana*	*ratana*		gem.
Clough, 45, 51. Lv. 157.	*padma*	*paduma*	*paduma*		lotus.
Mṛichh. 30.	*grihāṇa*		*gaṇha*	*geṇha*	take thou.
Pr. 37, 87. Br. 236.	*parihṛitya*		*pariharitvā*	*pariharia*	{having removed.
Pr. 134.	*angīkṛitya*			*angīkaria*	{having assented.
Pr. 64.	*militvā*			*milia*	having met.
Br. 216. Pr. 84.	*samuttīrya* / *uttīrya*	*uttaritvă*	{*samuttaritvā* / *uttaritvā*}	*samottīria* / *uttaria*	having crossed.
Lv. 438.	*parāhatya*	*parāhania*			{having smitten.
Br. 87.	*chintayitvā*	*chintiyā*	{*cintetvā*, *cintiya*}	*chintia*	{having reflected.
Br. 87.	*anusandhāya*			*anusandhia*	{having ascertained.
Br. 235.	*avamatya*		*avamānetvā* / *avamāniya* (causal)	*avamaṇia*	{having despised.
Br. 7, 261.	*atikramya*		{*atikkamitvā* / *atikkamma*}	*adikkamia*	{having attacked.
Br. 241.	*utpāṭya*		*uppāṭetvā*	*uppāḍia*	{having rooted up.
Br. 96.	*uchyate*		{*uchchate* / *vuchchati*}	*uchchadi*	it is said.
Br. 9.	*varṇyate*		*vaṇṇīyati*	*vaṇṇīadi*	it is related.
Br. 6.	*paṭhyate*		*paṭhīyati*	*paḍhīadi*	it is read.
Br. 229.	*uttīryate* / *vibodhyate* / *nimajyate*		*uttarīyati*	*uttarīaï* / *vivohīaï* / *ṇimajjīaï*	it is crossed. / it is understood. / it is sunk.
Br. 113.	*sandhīyate*		*sandhīyati*	*sandhijjaï*	it is joined
Br. 120.	*vijñāpyate*		*viññāpiyati*	*viṇṇavīadi*	it is informed.
Br. 35.	*vistāryate*		*vitthāriyati*	*vitthāraï*	it is extended.
Pr. 44.	*bhajyate*			*bhaṇjīadi*	it is broken.
Br. 259.	*niveśyantūm*		*nivesiyantu*	*nivesīantu*	{let them be placed.
Br. 22, 36, 121.	{*vijñāpayāmi* / *vijñāpayati*}		*viññāpemi* / *viññāpeti*	*viṇṇavemi* / *viṇṇavedi*	I inform. / he informs.
Br. 263.	*pūryamāṇa*		*pūramāna*	*pūrijjamāṇa*	being filled.
Br. 241, 263.	*dahyamāna*		*dayhamāna*	*dahijjanta*	being burned
Br. 135.	*ramaṇīya*		{*ramaṇīya*, *ramaṇiyya*}	*ramaṇijja*	pleasant.

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Table No. VII.

The following Table contains a list of verbs and participles, in which it will be observed that the Pāli forms generally depart less from the Sanskrit than the Prākṛit ones do.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
B. & Las. 125. Del. 24. Br.101	*śṛiṇumaḥ*		*suṇoma*	*suṇamha*, *suṇimo*	we hear.
B. & Las. 125.	*śṛiṇoshi*		*suṇāsi, suṇosi*	. . .	thou hearest.
Cl. 109. Del. 24.	*śṛiṇoti*		*suṇoti*	*śunādi*	he hears.
B. & Las. 125. Delius, 24.	*śṛiṇotu*		*suṇātu*, *suṇotu*	*suṇādu*	let him hear.
B. & Lass. 121. Var. vii. 16, 17. Cowell, xxx. Delius, 24.	*śroshyāmi*, *śroshyati*	*śruṇishyi*, *śuṇishyati*	*sossāmi*	*sochchham*, *sochchhissam*, *suṇissam*	I, he, will hear.
B. & Lass. 131. Delius, 24.	*śrutaḥ*		*suto*	*sudo*	heard.
Dham. 15, 19. Rasa. 29. Del. 4. Var. iv. 23. Lv. 65 f. &c.	*śrutvā*	*śrutvā*, *śrutya*, *śuṇitya*, *śuṇitvā*, *śruṇitvā*, *śruṇitvā*	*sutvā*, *sutvāna*, *suṇitvā*	*suṇia, sō, ūn*	having heard.
Rasa.17. Del.24.	*śrotum*		*sotum*	*suṇidum*	to hear.
Pr. 14, 28. Br. 200, 234, 284, 287.	*śrūyate*	*śṛiṇute*	*sūyati*	*suṇīadi*, *suṇīai*	he is heard.
	śrūyante	*śravanti*	*sūyanti*	*suṇijjanti*	they are heard
Br. 122.	*śrūyantām*		*sūyantu*	*suṇīadu*	let them be heard.
Br. 179.	*śrūyate*			*ṇisuṇi*	he is heard.
Br. 202.	*śrūyamāṇa*		*suyamāna*	*sunijjanta*	being heard.
Br. 163.	*śrūyamānā*			*suvantī*	being heard (fem.)
Br. 280.	*śrāvayatu*		*sāvetu*	*suṇāvedu*	let him cause to hear.
Br. 166.	*śuśrūshaṇa*		*sussūsā*	*sussūsaṇa*	obedience.
B. & Las. 125. Delius, 17.	*dadāmi*	*dadāmi*, *dadāmī*	*dadāmi*, *demi*, *dajjāmi*	*demi*	I give.
Dham. 44. Cl. 134,135. Del.17	*dadāti*		*dadāti*, *deti*, *dajjati*	*dedi, deï*	he gives.
B. & Las. 127.	*adāt*		*adāsi, adā*	. . .	he gave.
B. & Lass. 121. Var. vii. 16. Del. 17.	*dāsyāmi*		*dassāmi*	*dāham*, *da, issam*	I will give.
Cl.25. Del. 17.	*dadat*		*dadam, danto, dento*	*dento*	giving.
Dh. 43. Br. 179.	*dadataḥ*		*dadato*	*dentassa*	of one giving.
Dham. 44. Var. viii. 62.	*dattam*		*dinnam*	*dinnam*	given.
Br. 22, 153, 218, 277. Lv. 89, 108, 215, 270.	*dehi*	*dehi, dadahi*, *dadahī*, *dadāhi*	*dehi*	*dehi, dejja*	give thou.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 67, 75, 137.	*dīyatām,*	*dīyatu*	*dīyatu, diyyatu*	*dijjadu*	let it be given
	dīyantām		*dīyantu, diyyantu*	*dijjantu*	let them be given.
Delius, 17.	*datvā*	*detī, dadia, dadiya*	*datvā*	*daïa, deïa, daūṇa*	having given
Rasa. 34.	*bhavitum*		*bhavitum, hotum*	*bhavidum*	to be.
Lv. 293. Dh. 42. B. & Las. 122. Del. 26.	*bhava*	*bhohi*	*bhava, hohi*	*hohi, hoï*	be (thou).
B. & Las. 161.	*bhavatu*		*hotu, bhavatu*	*bhodu, hodu*	let him be.
Dham. 44, 67. Cl., 8, 102. Var. viii. 3.	*bhavati*	*bhoti, bhavi*	*bhavati, hoti*	*bhodi, hodi, hoï, pabhava, i* (he overcomes).	he becomes.
Dham. 54, 61. B. & Las. 86.	*bhavanti*	*bhonti*	*bhavaṁti, honti*	*bhonti, honti*	they are.
Rasa. 22.	*prabhavāmi*	*prabhāmi*	*pabhavāmi, pahomi*	*pabhavami pabhavāmi*	I overcome.
Clough, 103.	*bhūyatām*		*bhūyatām*	. . .	let it be (passive.)
B. & Lass. 130.	*bhavan*		*honto, bhavam bhavanto*	. . .	being.
Dh. 11, 32. Del. 26. Var. viii. 2.	*bhūtaḥ*		*bhūto*	*bhūdo, hua*	been.
Rasa. 15. Del. 26.	*bhūtvā*	*bhavia, bhavitvā*	*hutvā*	*bhavia*	having been.
Cl. 15. Var. vii. 23	*abhavat*		*abhavi*	*huvīa*	he was.
B. & Las. 127. Var. vii. 24. Lv. 187.	*abhūt*	*abhūshi*	*ahosi, ahu*	*hohīa*	he was.
B. & Lass. 127.	*abhūvan*	*ababhūvan*	*ahosum*	. . .	they were.
	asthāt		*aṭṭhāsi*	. . .	he stood.
B. & Lass. 129.	*sthātum*		*ṭhātum*	. . .	to stand.
Dh. 60. Cl. 25. Del. 19. B. & L. 125. Var. vi. 63.	*tishṭhanti*		*tiṭṭhanti*	*ṭiṭṭhanti, chiṭṭhanti*	they stand.
Br. 219. Lv. 261.	*bhavishyāmi*	*bheshyi*	*bhavissāmi*	*bhavissam*	I shall be.
Br. 149, 179. Pr. 140, 142. Lv. 62, 127, 238	*bhavishyati*	*bheshyati bhavi*	*bhavissati hessati*	*bhavissudi havissadi*	he shall be.
Br. 20.	*paribhava*			*parihava*	excel thou.
Pr. 83, 140. Br. 86, 269.	*paribhūta*		*paribhūta*	*parihūda*	excelled.
	prabhūta		*pahūta*	*pabhūda*	strong.
	anubhūta			*aṇubhūda*	perceived.
Br. 169. Lv. 291.	*uttishṭha*	*utthi*	*uṭṭhaha*	*uṭhṭhehi*	rise thou.
Lv. 396, 406.	*utthāya*	*utthi, utthihitvā*	*uṭṭhāya, uṭṭhahitvā*		having risen.
Lv. 355.	*uttishṭhet*	*utthihet*	*uṭṭhaheyya*		he may rise.
Lv. 298.	*sthitvā*	*sthihiya*	*ṭhatvā*		having stood.
Dham. 31. Mṛi. 80. Var. viii. 69.	*paśyati*		*passati, dichchhati*	*paśsadi, dekhadi, pulaaï*, etc.	he sees.
Dham. 6. 101.	*prāpnoti*		*pappoti, pāpuṇāti*	*pāvidi*	he obtains.
Rasa. 22.	*prāpnuvanti*		*papponti, pāpuṇanti*	. . .	they obtain.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Dham. 24, 75. Del. 62.	*prāpto 'si*		*papto'si, patto*	*pāvido, patto*	obtained.
Rasa. 15, 23, 40 Delius, 62.	*prāpya*		*patvā, pāpuṇitvā*	*samāpia*	having obtained: finished.
Dham. 12. Del. 15	*vijānāti*		*vijānāti*	*jāṇādi, jāṇadi, viāṇādi*	knows.
Dham. 3, 50. B. & Las. 129.	*jnātvā*		*ñatvā, jānitvā*	*jāṇia*	having known.
Br. (?)	*jnātum*		*jānitum, ñātum*	*jāṇidum*	to know.
Dham. 6, 11, 41. Delius, 29.	*jnāyamāna* *jāgrataḥ*		*ñāyamāna* *jāgarato*	*jāṇijjanta* *jaggantassa*	being known waking (genitive.)
Dham. 40. Del. 70. Var. xii. 10.	*gatvā*	*gachchhitvā*	*gantvā*	*āgachhia, gaḍia, gaḍua*	having gone.
Br. 58, 25' 218.	*gataḥ*		*gata*	*gaḍo, gaũ*	gone.
Dh. 27, 60. Ma. 1. Del. 79. Br. 245.	*dṛishṭvā*		*disvā, disvāna, passitva*	*daṭṭhūna*	having seen.
Br. 243, 287, 305. Pr. 13, 35.	*dṛiśyante*		*dissanti*	*dīsanti*	they are seen.
Br. 150.	*dṛiśyate*		*dissati*	*dīsadi*	he is seen.
Br. 65.	*dṛiśyamāna*		*dissamāna*	*dīsamāṇa*	being seen.
Br. 6.	*darśana*		*dassana*	*daṁsana*	sight.
Delius, 79.	*darśayishyati*		*dassayissati*	*daṁsaïssadi*	he will show.
Br. 297.	*mṛitvā*		*maritvā*	*mariūṇa*	having died.
	uḍḍīya			*uḍḍiūṇa*	having flown
Dh. 52. Del. 62.	*hatvā*	*hanitvā*	*hantvā, hanitvā*	*āhaṇia*, etc.	having killed
Rasa. 22. Del. 18.	*pītvā*	*pitvā*	*pibitvā, pītvā, pivitvā*	*pibia, pāūṇa*	having drunk
Dh. 17. Lv. 284.	*hitvā*	*jahitvā*	*hitvā, jahitvā*	. . .	having left.
Dham. 32.	*jitvā*		*jetvā, jinitvā*	. . .	having conquered.
Dh. 50. Del. 55.	*chhitvā*	*chhinitvā*	*chhetvā*	*parichhidia*	having cut.
Dham. 8, 9. Var. viii. 55.	*viditvā*		*viditvā*	*vettūṇa*	having known.
Rasa. 30. Del. 59.	*baddhvā*	*baddhitvā*	*bandhitvā*	*bandhia*	having bound.
Dham. 58. Del. 26	*abhibhūya*		*abhibhuyya*		having overcome.
Dham. 58.	*vihāya, prahāya*	*vijahitvā, vijahya*	*pahāya, pajahitvā*	. . .	having left.
Dham. 24, 67. Del. 67. Br. 123.	*labhate*		*labhate*	*lahaḍe, lahaḍi, lahaï*	he receives.
Dham. 63. B. & Las. 137.	*asmi*		*labhati*		
			asmi, amhi	*mhi*	I am.
Dham. 51. Del. 86.	*santi*		*santi*	*santi, achchhanti*	they are.
Dham. 60. Var. viii. 51.	*patanti*		*patanti*	*paḍanti*	they fall.
Dham. 71. Cow. App. Sūtra 24. p. 99.	*bravīmi*		*bṛūmi*	*bollāmi* (?)	I speak.
B. & Las. 86. Delius, 53. Br. 113.	*kathayiṣyāmi* *kathayāmi*		*kathessāmi*	*kadhaïssam kahissam*	I will say.
Br. 117.	*kathayati iva*		*kathemi*	*kadhemi*	I say.
			katheti	*kahaïva*	he says as it were.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKṚIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 53, 164, 218. Pr. 123.	*kathaya*		*kathehi*	*kadhesu, kahesu, kahehi*	say thou.
Pr. 124.	*kathayishyati*		*kathessati*	*kahissadi*	he will say.
Br. 213.	*kathyatām*			*kahīadu*	let it be said.
Ras. 22. Del. 53.	*kathayitum*		*kathetum*	*kadhedum*	to say.
Dh. 36. Del. 77.	*jīvāmaḥ*		*jīvāma*	*jīāma, jīvāma*	we live.
Clough, 142.	*prichhanti, prichhyate*		*puchchhanti*	*puchhanti, puchchhīadi*	they ask; it is asked.
Dham. 43. Var. viii. 27.	*khādati*		*khāyati, khādati*	*khāi*	he eats.
Cl. 9. Var. vii. 25.	*āsīt*		*āsi*	*āsi*	he was.
Br. 289.	*āsan*		*āsuṁ*	*āsi*	they were.
Dham. 43, 67.	*asti*		*atthi*	*atti, achchhi*	he is.
Dham. 15.	*syāt*		*siyā, assa*	. . .	he may be.
Dham. 5.	*rakshati*		*rakkhati*	*rakkhadi*	he keeps.
Dham. 51, 52, 53. Var. viii. 48.	*budhyate*		*bujjhati*	*bujjhaï*	he understands.
Dham. 40. & Var.	*krudhyet*		*kujjheya*	*kujjh* (root)	let him be angry.
Dham. 40.	*dadyāt*		*dajjā*	. . .	let him give.
Dham. 101. Cl. 145. Del. 32.	*smarati*		*sumarati, sarati*	*sumaredi*	he recollects.
Pr. 12, 35. Br. 57, 86, 92.	*varte vartate*		*vattati*	*vaṭṭāmi, vaṭṭadi*	I am. he is.
Br. 5, 247.	*vardhamāna, vardhita*		*vaḍḍhamāna, vaḍḍhita*	*vaḍhḍhanta, baḍhḍhida*	increasing. increased.
Dham. 13. Var. viii. 44.	*varddhate*		*vaḍḍhati*	*vaḍḍhaï*	he increases.
Pr. 133.	*jayatu*		*jayatu, jetu*	*jedu*	let him conquer.
Dh. 64. Del. 21.	*jayati*		*jināti, jeti*	*jaadi, jiṇādi*	he conquers.
Clough, 5, 110. Dham. 54. Del. 27, 28.	*karomi*	*kurumi*	*karomi*	*karomi, karemi, kalemi*	I do.
Dham. 1, 7, 63. Cl. 100. Del. 28.	*karoti, kṛiṇoti (vedic)*		*karoti*	*karedi, karei, kuṇaï*	he does.
Dham. 9. Cl. 110	*kurute*		*kurute*	. . .	
Cl. 110. Br. 195.	*kurvanti, kṛiṇvanti (vedic)*	*karonti*	*karonti, kubbanti*	*karenti, kuṇanti*	they do.
B. & Las. 182.	*kurmaḥ*	*karoma, karomo*	*karoma*	*karemha, karamha*	we do.
B. & Las. 127. Clough, 110. Var. viii. 17.	*akārshīt*		*akāsi*	*kāhīa*	he did.
Clough, 110.	*akārshuḥ*		*akāsuṁ*	. . .	they did.
Delius, 28.	*karishyati*		*karissati, kāhati*	*karissadi kāhii*	he will do.
Var. viii. 17. Dh. 28, 322.	*karishyasi*		*kāhasi, karissasi*	. . .	thou wilt do.
Var. vii. 16.	*karishyāmi*		*karissāmi*	*kāham*	I will do.
Dham. 10, 12, 23, 39. Cl. 25. Delius, 28.	*kurvan, kurvataḥ, kurvantam, kurvantaḥ*		*kubbaṁ, kubbato, kubbānaṁ, karontā*	*karanto karento*	doing (different cases and numbers of) (pres. part.)

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Dh. 42. Del. 28.	*kuru*	*kurvahi*	*karohi, kuru*	*karehi, kalehi*	do (imper.)
Br. 69.	*kuru, kṛiṇu* (vedic)			*kuṇa*	do thou.
Pr. 84.	*kurushva iti*			*karesutti*	"do thou," thus.
Br. 200, 168.	*kuruta, kṛiṇuta* (vedic)			*kuṇaha, kuṇadha*	do ye.
Br. 20.	*kartum*		*kattuṁ, kātuṁ*	*kādum*	to do.
Br. 142, 200.	*kartavya*		*kattabbā, kātabba*	*kādavva, kāavva*	to be done.
Br. 72, 149 f.	*kṛita*		*kata*	*kida, kira*	done.
Br. 228.	*kriyate*		*karīyati, kayyati*	*kīraï*	it is done.
Br. 7, 224.	*kriyatām*			*karīadu, kīraü*	let it be done
Br. 221.	*pratikuruta, samīkuruta*		*paṭikarotha*	*paḍikareha, samīkareha*	oppose ye. lend ye.
Br. 86, 236. Pr. 47 f. Clough, 3.	*gṛihīta*		*gahita, gahīta*	*gahia, gahida*	taken.
Pr. 46.	*grahītum*		*gaṇhituṁ*	*gahīdum*	to take.
Br. 75.	*grāhya*		*gayha*	*gejjha*	to be taken.
Clough, 16.	*akurma*		*akaramhase*	. . .	we have done.
Dh. 24. Del. 28. Var. xii. 10, iv. 23.	*kṛitvā*	*karitya, kariyā, karitvā*	*katvā, karitvā*	*kādua, kadua kāuṇa*	having done.
Dham. 28.	*adhyagāt* (?)		*ajjhagā*	. . .	arrived.
Dham. 39. Del. 90.	*pratigṛihṇanti*		*patiganhanti*	*paḍigeṇhanti*	they receive.
Dh. 420. (com.)	*kalpayan*		*kappento*	*kappento* (?)	cutting.
Dham. 101.	*śaknoti*	*śakkitam*	*sakkuṇāti, sakkoti*	. . .	he can; possible.
Rasa. 22. Cow. 171, n. Del. 36.	*śaknomi*		*sakkomi, sakkuṇomi*	*sakkaṇomi*	I can.
Clough, 129. Var. viii. 50.	*mṛidnāti*		*maddati*	*maladi*	he treads.
Ras. 22. Del. 20.	*snātum*		*nahāyituṁ*	*ṇahādum*	to bathe.
Dham. 50. Vikr. 116.	*ārādhayet*		*ārādhaye*	*arāhaṇa*	let him reverence: reverencing (noun).
Pr. 10, 12.	*rājate*			*rehadi*	he shines.
Br. 22.	*sandadhāsi*		*sandadhāsi, sandahisi*	*sandhihisi*	thou appliest
Br. 178.	*paṭhishyāmi*		*paṭhissāmi*	*paḍhissam*	I shall read.
Br. 35, 52, 157, 179.	*manye*		*maññe*	*manne*	I think.
	manyadhvām		*maññatha*	*mannadha*	think ye.
Br. 178.	*svapsyāmi*		*supinissāmi*	*suvissam*	I shall sleep.
Br. 122.	*stumaḥ*			*thuṇimo*	we praise.
Br. 246.	*ghnanti*		*hananti*	*haṇanti*	they strike.
Br. 27.	*pratighnantu*		*paṭihanantu*	*paḍihaṇantu*	may they avert.
Pr. 11 ff, 41, 113, 115. Br. 76.	*vilokayan, vilokaya, vilokayāmaḥ*		*vilokayaṁ, vilokaya, vilokehi, vilokayāma, vilokema*	*pulovanto, pulovehi, puloesu, puloamha,*	looking. look (impera). we look.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Pr. 11 ff, 41, 113, 115. Br. 76.	*anālokayantī* *vilokayishye*		*anālokentī* *vilokayissaṁ*	*apuloantī* *pulovaïssam*	not looking. I shall look.
Br. 113, 179. 199, 202, 216, 245, 261.	*kṛishṭa*, *ākṛishṭa*		*kaḍḍhita* *ākaḍḍhita*	*kaṭṭhia*, *kaṭṭia*, *ākaṭṭhia*, *ākaṭṭhida*	drawn.
	kṛishyamāṇa *karshaṇa*		*kaḍḍhana*	*kaṭṭhijjanta*, *kaḍḍhaṇa*	being drawn. drawing.
Br. 49. P. 17.	*apasarati*,[125] *apasaranti*		*osaranti* (*ava-*) *otaranti*	*osaradi*, *osaranti*	he departs. they depart.
Br. 10, 50, 127.	*avataranti*, *avatāra*, *avatīrya*		*otāra*, *avatāra*	*odaranti*, *odāra*, *otchharia*?	they descend. descent. having descended.
Br. 174.	*hūryase*			*hīrasi*	thou art snatched away
Br. 176.	*kīrtyate*			*kīradi*	he is celebrated.
Br. 7, 178.	*pratyakshīkṛita*		*pachchakkhīkata*	*pachchakkhīkida*	manifested.
Br. 473.	*parityaja*		*parichchajassu* *parichchaja*	*parittaasu*	abandon thou.

[125] In pp. 38, 39, 126, 146, of the Prasannarāghava, and in pp. 76 and 162 of the Bālarāmāyaṇa, however, we find the forms *avagadamhi* (*avagatā 'smi*), *avasara*, *avatiṇṇa* (*avatīrṇa*), *avataraï* (*avatarati*), and *avadārassa* (*avatārasya*).

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SECT. VI.—*The Dialects of the Rock and Pillar Inscriptions of Aśoka.*

Our knowledge of the vernacular languages of India in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era is not, however, exclusively derived from the Pāli books of Ceylon. Certain inscriptions, dating from the second or third century B.C., containing edicts of king Priyadarśī or Aśoka[126] (whose name has been already mentioned above, p. 63, f.), and written in a corrupt Sanskrit, apparently the vernacular speech of that period, are still extant engraved on pillars and rocks in different parts of India.

I borrow the following particulars regarding them from the summary given by Lassen (Ind. Alt., ii. 215, ff.).[127] The inscriptions are engraved partly upon pillars, partly on rocks. The pillars are at Dehli, Allahabad, Mathiah, and Radhia. The inscriptions on these four pillars are partly uniform, while those of Dehli and Allahabad have additions peculiar to themselves. The rock inscriptions are: 1stly, those at Girnār, in Guzerat, divided into fourteen compartments; 2ndly, those at Dhauli, in Orissa, which for the most part agree in purport with those at Girnār, though the dialect is different; and 3rdly, those at Kapur di Giri, near Peshawar, which coincide in purport, though they often differ in expression, and in their greater or less diffuseness, from the Girnār inscriptions. Besides these, Aśoka appears to have caused other similar edicts to be promulgated in the same way Accordingly another inscription has been discovered at Bhabra, not far from Jaypur, which contains a fragment of an address to the Buddhist synod in Magadha.

These inscriptions were mostly discovered about thirty years ago, and the great merit of having first (in 1837 and 1838) deciphered and translated by far the larger portion of them belongs to the late Mr. James Prinsep. His translations were subsequently revised by Prof. H. H. Wilson, in an article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic

[126] Professor Wilson thinks it extremely uncertain whether Piyadasi can be identified with Aśoka, and inclines to the conclusion that the date of the inscriptions is some period subsequent to 205 B.C. (Journ. Royal As. Soc., vol. xii. pp. 243–251; vol. xvi. p. 357.) Professor Müller, in his "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 520, speaks incidentally, but without any hesitation, of the inscriptions as being those of Aśoka, and as dating from the third century B.C. See also the other authorities cited in the text a little further on.

[127] See also Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, by E. Thomas, i. 233, ii. 14.

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Society for 1849 (vol. xii., part i., pp. 153–251): and a portion of them were a third time examined by M. Burnouf in the Appendix to his translation of the Lotus de la Bonne Loi, pp. 652–781.[123] Prof. Wilson has concluded his notice of the subject in a further paper on the Bhabra inscription, in the Journ. Royal As. Soc., vol. xvi., part ii., pp. 357–367. The importance of these inscriptions, as throwing light on the languages of India in the third century B.C., is also expressly recognized by Prof. Lassen (Ind. Alterthumsk., vol. ii.) in passages which will be quoted below; by Weber in his review of the Lotus de la Bonne Loi (Ind. Stud., iii. pp. 166–173), in the Preface to his Malavikā and Agnimitra, p. xxxii., and in his Indische Literaturgeschichte, p. 170; and by Benfey, in his Article Indien, in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædia, pp. 194 and 250.

To give the reader an idea of the nature of these edicts, as well as of the language in which they are composed, I shall quote the eleventh, which is short and tolerably clear, according to the Girnār version, together with the translation (rendered into English) of M. Burnouf (Lotus, App., x. p. 736; Wilson, p. 212): *devānaṁ piyo Piyadasi rājā evam āha nāsti etārisaṁ dānaṁ yārisam dhamma-dānam dhamma-saṁstavo vā dhamma-saṁvibhāgo vā dhamma-sambandho vā | tata idam bhavati dāsa-bhatakamhi samnipati-patī mātari pitari sādhu sususā mita-sastuta-ñātikānaṁ bāhmaṇa-samaṇānaṁ sādhu dānaṁ pāṇānam anārambho sādhu etaṁ vatavyam pitā va putena va bhātā va mita-sastuta-ñātikena va āva paṭivesiyehi idaṁ sādhu idaṁ kaṭavyam | so ĭathā kuru i[ha] loka cha saārādho hoti parata cha anantam puṁñam bhavati tena dhammadānena |*

"Piyadasi, king beloved by the gods, speaks thus: There is no gift equal to the gift of the law, or to the praise of the law, or to

[123] In an obituary notice (probably contributed by Professor Wilson) on M. Burnouf, in the Annual Report of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1853, p. xiii. (published in part i. vol. xv. of the Society's Journal), the following remarks are made on this dissertation: "Bringing to the inquiry a knowledge of Pāli and of Buddhism, the superiority of which his predecessors would be the first to acknowledge, and having the advantage of their previous speculations, the value of which M. Burnouf, with his never-failing candour, recognizes, we may look upon his researches as conclusive, and feel satisfied that they have eliminated from these remains of antiquity all the information they are capable of affording." Prof. Weber also in his review of the Lotus de la Bonne Loi (in the Ind. Stud.), speaks in highly laudatory terms of the same dissertation.

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the distribution of the law, or to union in the law. This gift is thus exhibited: Good will to slaves and hired servants, and obedience to one's father and mother are good things: liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relations, Brahmans and Samaṇas, is a good thing: respect for the life of creatures is a good thing; this is what ought to be said by a father, by a son, by a brother, by a friend, by an acquaintance, by a relation, and even by simple neighbours: this is good; this is to be done. He who acts thus is honoured in this world; and for the world to come an infinite merit results from the gift of the law."

From the age to which these inscriptions appear to belong, we might expect that their language, as it is not pure Sanskrit, would coincide in a great degree with the Pāli, which, as we have already seen, represents what we may suppose to have been the spoken language of some province of northern India about the same period. And such proves on comparison to be to a considerable degree the case. In proof of this point I shall first proceed to quote the general observations made by Professors Wilson, Lassen, and others, on the subject of the languages in which the inscriptions are composed; and then supply a comparative table, by which some opinion may be formed of the degree in which they coincide with, and diverge from, the Pāli.[129]

The following are the remarks made by Professor Wilson (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xii., pp. 236, ff.) on the language of the edicts:

"The language itself is a kind of Pali, offering, for the greatest portion of the words, forms analogous to those which are modelled by the rules of the Pali grammar still in use. There are, however, many differences, some of which arise from a closer adherence to Sanskrit, others from possible local peculiarities, indicating a yet unsettled state of the language. It is observed by Mr. Prinsep, when speaking of the Lāt inscriptions, 'The language differs from every existing written idiom, and is as it were intermediate between the Sanskrit and the Pali.' The nouns and particles in general follow

[129] I might have been in a position to treat this subject in a more satisfactory manner than I can now hope to do from my own cursory investigations, had I been able to consult the Pāli Grammar, with appendices on the dialects of Dhauli and Girnār, formerly advertised for publication, but never published, by Professor Spiegel. (See the cover of his Anecdota Palica, published at Leipzig, in 1845.)

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the Pali structure; the verbs are more frequently nearer to the Sanskrit forms; but in neither, any more than in grammatical Pali, is there any great dissimilarity from Sanskrit. It is curious that the Kapur di Giri inscription departs less from the Sanskrit than the others, retaining some compound consonants, as *pr* in *priya*, instead of *piya;* and having the representatives of the three sibilants of the Devanagari alphabet, while the others, as in Pali, have but but one sibilant:[130] on the other hand, the Kapur di Giri inscription omits the vowels to a much greater extent, and rarely distinguishes between the long and short vowels, peculiarities perhaps not unconnected with the Semitic character of its alphabet.

"The exact determination of the differences and agreements of the inscriptions with the Pali on the one hand, and Sanskrit on the other, would require a laborious analysis of the whole, and would be scarcely worth the pains, as the differences from either would, no doubt, prove to be comparatively few and unimportant, and we may be content to consider the language as Pali, not yet perfected in its grammatical structure, and deviating in no important respect from Sanskrit.

"Pali is the language of the writings of the Buddhists of Ava, Siam and Ceylon; therefore it is concluded it was the language of the Buddhists of Upper India, when the inscriptions were engraved, and consequently they are of Buddhist origin. This, however, admits of question; for although the Buddhist authorities assert that Sākya Sinha and his successors taught in Pali, and that a Pali grammar was compiled in his day; yet, on the other hand, they affirm, that the doctrines of Buddha were long taught orally only, and were not committed to writing till four centuries after his death, or until B.C. 153, a date, no doubt, subsequent to that of the inscriptions."[131] . . .

"It is by no means established, therefore, that Pali was the sacred language of the Buddhists at the period of the inscriptions, and its

[130] Weber also remarks (Ind. Stud. iii. 180): "The greater purity of pronunciation maintained in the popular dialect of the north-west in comparison with the east, is shown by the inscription of Kapur di Giri, in which, according to Wilson's remark (The Rock Inscriptions of Kapur di Giri, etc.), not only the three sibilants of the Sanskrit, but also a number of compound consonants, containing an *r* (such as priya, tatra, prati, yatra, putra, savatra, krama, śuśrūsha, śramana, bramana, bhratu), and some others, such as *st*, *str*, have been preserved."

[131] See, however, the remarks in the preceding section, p. 57.

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use constitutes no conclusive proof of their Buddhist origin.[132] It seems more likely that it was adopted as being the spoken language of that part of India where Piyadasi resided, and was selected for his edicts that they might be intelligible to the people." . . . .

"We may, therefore, recognize it as an actually existing form of speech in some part of India, and might admit the testimony of its origin given by the Buddhists themselves, by whom it is always identified with the language of Magadha or Behar, the scene of Sākya Sinha's first teaching; but that there are several differences between it and the Māgadhi, as laid down in Prakrit grammars, and as it occurs in Jain writings. It is, as Messrs. Burnouf and Lassen remark, still nearer to Sanskrit, and may have prevailed more to the north than Behar, or in the upper part of the Doab, and in the Punjab, being more analogous to the Śaurasenī dialect, the language of Mathura and Dehli, although not differing from the dialect of Behar to such an extent as not to be intelligible to those to whom Sākya and his successors addressed themselves. The language of the inscriptions, then, although necessarily that of their date, and probably that in which the first propagators of Buddhism expounded their doctrines, seems to have been rather the spoken language of the people in Upper India, than a form of speech peculiar to a class of religionists, or a sacred language, and its use in the edicts of Piyadasi, although not incompatible with their Buddhist origin, cannot be accepted as a conclusive proof that they originated from any peculiar form of religious belief."

Some observations of Prof. Lassen regarding these dialects, and their relative antiquity as compared with the Pāli, have been already quoted in the last section (p. 59). He remarks in another place (Ind. Alt., ii., 221, 222): "These inscriptions are of the greatest value for the history of the Indian languages, because they exhibit to us in an authentic shape the most ancient forms assumed by the popular dialects, and furnish us with a secure basis for the comparative grammar of the great Sanskritic family of languages, which became so variously developed."

[132] Professor Wilson has since, however, from an examination of the Bhabra inscription, arrived at the conviction, that there is in it "enough sufficiently indisputable to establish the fact that Priyadarsī, whoever he may have been, was a follower of Buddha."—(Journ. R. A. S., vol. xv., p. 357.)

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"In these inscriptions we possess specimens of three vernacular dialects, one from the border country to the north-west, a second from western, and a third from eastern Hindustan. The inscriptions on the pillars of Dehli, Allahabad, etc., differ only in particular forms from the Dhauli (Cuttak) inscription, while they possess in the main the same character, and may be classed with the Māgadhī of the grammarians. As this dialect is used even on the Dehli column, which is situated beyond the bounds of Magadha, Aśoka appears to have had a partiality for the vernacular language of his principal province; and from the predominating employment of this particular derivative of the Sanskrit, we may perhaps explain the fact that, among the Cingalese, who received the Buddhist religion from that country, their sacred language should have obtained this appellation."

At p. 486, again, Lassen says: "It is only the rock inscriptions which can be admitted as authentic evidence of the local dialects, while the columnar inscriptions everywhere exhibit the same dialect, which consequently cannot have been spoken in every quarter where such pillars have been discovered. This remark is especially true of the Dehli column. When we consider that, between Cabul, Guzerat, and Magadha (which latter province was the native country of the dialect employed in the pillar inscriptions), a wide region intervenes, inhabited by different branches of the Sanskrit-speaking race, we are driven to the conclusion that many other dialects must have been current there, of which we find no specimens in any of the inscriptions."

The following list of words, from the Dehli and Allahabad columns, and the Bhabra stone, borrowed from M. Burnouf's Lotus de la Bonne Loi (App. x., pp. 665, 724, and 741), will show the correctness of Lassen's remark, that the dialect of the pillar inscriptions resembles the Māgadhī of Dhauli, as exhibited in the comparative list which I shall immediately adduce. Thus on these columns we have *dhamme, dāne, sache, anugahe, kate, piye, kayāne* and *pāpe*, for *dhammo, dānam, sacham, anugaho, kato, piyo, kayānam* and *pāpam; lājā, vālichalesu, vihālatam, chila, Aliya, pulisa* and *abhihāle*, for *rājā, vāricharesu, vihāratam, chira, Ariya, purisa* and *abhihāro; Budhasi, dhammasi* and *sanghasi*, for *Budhamhi, dhammamhi* and *sanghamhi*.

The list of words, which I shall immediately adduce, borrowed from the article of Prof. H. H. Wilson above alluded to, in Vol. XII. of the

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Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and from the Appendix, No. X., to M. Burnouf's Lotus de la Bonne Loi, when compared with the Pāli equivalents which have been added, will suffice to show the points in which the languages of the inscriptions agree with the last-named dialect, as well as the respects in which they differ from one another. I must, however, frankly state that I do not pretend to have made these inscriptions, or the character in which they are written, the object of particular study; and I therefore take it for granted that the words have been correctly deciphered by the eminent scholars from whom I quote.

In comparing the dialect of the inscriptions with other kindred forms of language, presumed to be of about equal antiquity with them, which have come down to us in books, we should recollect that the latter may have been retouched from time to time, to render them more intelligible to the readers by whom they were studied in successive generations, whereas the inscriptions have descended to us unaltered, except by the defacing action which ages have exercised on the rocks on which they are engraved. On this subject I quote the following judicious observations of Mr. Turnour, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for December, 1837, p. 1049:—

"When we consider that these inscriptions were recorded upwards of two thousand years ago, and that the several columns on which they are engraven have been exposed to atmospheric influences for the whole of that period, apparently wholly neglected; when we consider, also, that almost all the inflections of the language in which these inscriptions are composed, occur in the ultimate and penultimate syllables, and that these inflections are chiefly formed by minute vowel symbols, or a small *anusvāra* dot; and when we further find that the *Pāli* orthography of that period, as shown by these inscriptions, was very imperfectly defined—using single for double, and promiscuously, aspirated and unaspirated, consonants; and also without discrimination as to the class each belonged, the four descriptions of *n*,—the surprise which every reasonable investigator of this subject must feel will be occasioned rather by the extent of the agreement than of the disagreement between our respective readings of these ancient records."

The following is the comparative list (the Pāli column of which owes its completeness to Mr. Childers) which I proposed to adduce:—

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Table No. VIII.

Comparative list of words from the rock inscriptions at Girnār, Dhauli, and Kapur di Giri, with their equivalents in Pāli.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GIRNĀR.	DHAULI.	KAPUR DI GIRI.	PĀLI.	ENGLISH.
Wilson, 157.	*devānām*	*devānam*	*devānam*	*devānam*	*devānam*	of the gods.
Wilson, 158.	*priyasya*	*piyasa*	*piyasa*	*priyasa*	*piyassa*	of the beloved.
Wilson, 165, 175, 177, 198. Burn. 731.	*rājā, rājnaḥ*	*rājā, rājä*	*lājā, lāja*	*räjä, raya*	*rājā*	king (nom.)
		rāño, räño	*lājine*	*raño*	*rājino, raññno*	king (gen.)
Wilson, 165.	*rājānaḥ*	*rājano*	*lājāne*	*rajaya*	*rājāno*	kings (nom.)
	vijite	*vijitamhi*	. . . .	*vijite*	*vijitamhi*	conquered (loc.case.)
Wilson, 166.	*vrikshāḥ*	*vachchhā*	*lukhani*	. . . .	*rukkhā*	trees.
Wilson, 190.	*paribhogāya*	*paribhogāya*	*paṭibhogäya*	*pratibhogäyä*	*paribhogāya*	enjoyment (dat.)
	prativedanā	*paṭivedanā*	*paṭivedanā*	*paṭivedana*	. . . .	representation.
Wilson, 170.	*dvādaśan*	*dvādasa*	*duvādasa*	. . . .	*dvādasa*	twelve.
	panchasu	*panchasu*	*panchasu*	*pachasu*	*panchasu*	five (loc.)
	varshāḥ	*vāsā*	*vasa*	*vasha*	*vassā*	years (nom.)
	varsheshu	*vāsesu*	*vasesu*	*vasheshu*	*vassesu*	years (loc.)
Wilson, 171, 213.	*mātari, pitari*	*mātari, pitari*	. . . .	*matapitushu*	*mātari, pitari*	mother, father (loc.)
Wilson, 171.	*mitra*	*mitā*	. . . .	*mitra*	*mitta*	friend.
Bur. 731. Wilson, 175, 213.	*śuśrūshā*	*sususā*	*susūsā*	*suśrusha*	*sussūsā*	obedience.
Bur. 730. Wilson, 171, 174, 175.	*brāhmaṇa*	*bāhmaṇa, bāmhana*	*bambhana, bābhana*	*bramaṇa*	*brāhmaṇa*	Brahman.
Wilson, 171, 174.	*śramaṇānām*	*samaṇānam*	*sumanehi*	*śramaṇa*	*samaṇānaṁ*	S'ramanas (gen. and loc., or instr. ?).
Wilson, 174.	*prāṇārambhaḥ*	*pānārambho*	*pānālambho*	*prānārambho*	*pāṇārambho*	injury to life.
Wils. 174, 182, 199.	*antaram*	*antaram*	*antalam*	*antaram*	*antaram*	interval.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GIRNÁR.	DHAULI.	KAIUR DI GIRI.	PÁLI.	ENGLISH.
Wilson, 175.	*divyāni*	*divyani*	*diviyāni*	*divāni*	*dibbā, dibbāni*	divine. [pl.]
	rūpāṇi	*rūpāni*	*lūpānam*	. . . .	*rūpā, rūpāni*	forms (nom. & gen.
	pūrve	*puve*	*puluve*	*pŭrve*	*pubbe*	before.
Wilson, 190.	*sarva*	*sava*	*sava*	*sava*	*sabba*	all.
	sarvatra	*savata*	*savata*	*savatra*	*sabbattha*	everywhere.
Wilson, 176.	*putrāḥ, pautrāḥ,*	*putā, potā*	*putā*	*putrā, . . .*	*puttā*	sons. [grandsons.
	prapautrāḥ	*papotā*	*nati*	*pranatikā*	*paputtā*	grandsons, great-
	dharme, śīle	*dhammamhi*	*dhammasi*	. . . .	*dhammamhi*	virtue, goodness
		sīlamhi	*sīlasi*	. . . .	*sīlamhi*	(loc.)
	asmin, arthe	*imamhi, athamhi*	*imasa, athasa*	. . . .	*imamhi,atthamhi*	this object, (loc. and
Wilson, 182.	*dushkaram*	*dukaram*	*dukaṁm*	. . . .	*dukkaram*	difficult. [gen.)
	apatyam	*apacham*	*apitaye*	*apacha*	*apachcham*	progeny.
Wilson, 183.	*dharmādhish-ṭhānāya*	*dhammadhi-sṭānāya*	*dhammādhi-thānāye*	. . . .	*dhammādhi-ṭṭhānāya*	supervision of religion (dat.)
Wilson, 184, 200.	*sthavirāṇām*	*thairānam*	*vadhānam*	. . . .	*therānam*	elders: religious teachers (gen.)
Wilson, 184.	*bhikshāhārishu*	*bhikaresu*	*bhīkala*	*bhikati*	. . . .	livers on alms.
	sarveshu	. . . .	*savesu*	*savesu*	*sabbesu*	all (loc. pl.)
	nagareshu	. . . .	*nagalesu*	*nagareshu*	*nagaresu*	cities (loc. pl.)
	avarodhaneshu	. . . .	*olodhanesu*	*orodhaneshu*	*orodhanesu*	fortresses (loc. pl.)
Wilson, 190.	*avarodhane*	*orodhanamhi*	*olodhanasi*	*orodhanasi*	*orodhanamhi*	palace (loc. sing.)
Wilson, 184.	*bhaginīnām*	. . . .	*bhaghininam*	. . . .	*bhaginīnam*	sisters (gen.)
Wilson, 190.	*garbhāgāre*	*gabhagāramhi*	*gabhatapasi*	*gabhagarasi*	*gabbhāgāràmhi*	inner apartments. (loc.)
	garbha-gṛihe (?)					
	vachasi	*vachamhi*	. . . .	*vachasi*	*vachasi,vachamhi*	word (loc.)
	vinīte	*vinītamhi*	*vinītasi*	*vinatasi*	*vinītamhi*	polite (loc.) [(loc.)
Wilson, 203.	*pravāse*	*pavāsammhi*	*pavāsasi*	*pavasa*	*pavāsamhi*	departure from home
Wilson, 191, 194.	*utthāne*	*ustānamhi*	. . . .	. . . .	*uṭṭhānamhi*	elevation (loc.)
Wilson, 192, 195.	*utthānam*	*ustānam*	*suṭhāna*	. . . .	*uṭṭhāna*	elevation.
Wilson, 192.	*aham*	*ahaṁ*	*hakaṁ.*	. . . .	*aham*	I.
Wils. 192, 195, 205.	*svargam*	*svagam*	*svaga*	*saga*	*saggam*	heaven.
Wilson, 192.	*etasmai, arthāya*	*etāya, athāya*	*etāye, . . .*	*etaya, athaye*	*imassa, atthāya, atthassa*	this object (dat.)
	chiram	*chiraṁ*	*chila*	. . . .	*chiram*	long.

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Burn. 731.	*śreshṭham*	*seṭṭe*	. . . .	. . . .	*seṭṭham*	best.
Wilson, 193.	*parākrameṇa*	*parākamena*	*palākamena*	*parakamena*	*parakkamena*	valour (instr.)
Wilson, 198.	*rāgaḥ*	*rāgo*	*lāgā*	*rago*	*rāgo*	passion.
	kṛitajnatā	*kataññatā*	. . . .	*kaṭañatā*	*kataññutā*	gratitude.
Burn, 755. Wils. 198.	*dṛiḍhabhaktitā*	*daḍhabhatitā*	. . . .	*daḍhabhatitā*	*daḷhabhattitā*	firmness of devotion.
Wilson, 198.	*nitya*	*nichā*	*niche*	*nicha*	*nichcha*	constant.
Wilson, 199.	*etādṛiśāni*	*etārisāni*	*edisāni*	*edisăni*	*etādisāni*	such (neuter pl.)
Wilson, 200.	*yātrā*	*yātā*	. . . .	*yatra*	*yātrā*	journey.
	paripṛichchhā	*paripuchhā*	. . . .	*pariprutachhu*(?)	*paripuchchhā*	question.
Wils. 204. Burn. 736.	*bhrātrā*	*bhātā*	*bhatinā*	*bhata*	*bhātarā*	brother (instr.)
Wils. 215. Burn. 761.	*gṛihasthāni*	*gharastāni*	. . . .	. . . .	(*ghara*) *gahaṭṭhāni* (Dh. 72.)	domestic (nom. pl. neuter.)
Wilson, 215.	*vividhayā*	*vividhāya*	. . . .	. . . .	*vividhāya*	various (instr. fem.)
	pūjayā	*pūjāya*	. . . .	. . . .	*pūjāya*	honour (instr. fem.)
	vṛiddhi	*vaḍhī*	. . . .	. . . .	*vaḍḍhi, vuddhi*	increase.
Wilson, 215. Burn. 761, 765.	*ātmā, ātmanaḥ*	*ātpa, ātpano*	. . . .	. . . .	*attā, attano*	self: of self.
Burn. 761.	*garhā*	*garahā*	. . . .	. . . .	*garahā*	reviling
Wilson, 225.	*chatvāraḥ*	*chaṭārā* (?) *chattāro* (?)	. . . .	. . . .	*chattāro*	four.
Wilson, 158, 233.	*asti*	*asti*	. . . .	*asti*	*atthi*	is.
Wilson, 165, 191, 198, 212.	*nāsti*	*nāsti*	*natthi, nathi, nathā*	*năsti, nāsti*	*natthi* (B. 649)	is not.
Wilson, 166.	*ropitāni*	*ropāpitāni*	*lopāpitāni*	. . . .	*ropāpitāni*	planted.
Wilson, 191.	*āropitam*	*aropitam*	*alopit*	. . . .	*āropitam*	intrusted.
Wilson, 205.	*apavāditavyam*	*ovāditavyam*	. . . .	. . . .	*ovāditabbam*	to be blamed.
Wils. 170, 182, 203.	*āha*	*āha*	*āhā, kaha* (?)	*ahati*[133]	*āha*	says.
Wilson, 176.	*tishṭhantaḥ*	*tiṣṭanto*	. . . .	. . . .	*tiṭṭhanto*	standing (nom. pl.)
Wils. 176, 191, 200.	*bhavati*	*bhavati, hoti*	*hoti*	*bhoti, hoti*	*bhavati, hoti*	is
Wilson, 182, 190.	*bhūta*	*bhūta*	*hūtā*	*bhuta*	*bhūta*	been.
Wilson, 182, 203.	*karoti*	*karoti*	*kaleti*	*karāti*	*karoti*	does.
Wilson, 191.	*karomi*	*karomi*	*kalāmi*	*karomi*	*karomi*	I do.
Wilson, 190.	*kṛitam*	*katam*	*kaṭe*	*kiṭa*	*katam*	done.
Wilson, 184.	*nishṭhitaḥ*	*niṣṭito*	*nisita*	*nistisita*	*niṭṭhito*	placed.
Wilson, 192.	*kartavyam*	*katavya*	*kaṭaviya*	. . . .	*kātabbaṁ, kattabbaṁ*	to be done.

[133] The ancient form of *āha* according to Wilson, p. 171.

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REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GIRNĀR.	DHAULI.	KAPUR DI GIRI.	PĀLI.	ENGLISH.
Wilson, 192, 195.	*parākramāmi*	*parākamāmi*	*palakamāva*	*parakaṇama*	*parakkamāmi*	I have power.
Wilson, 209.	*parākramati*	*parākamate*	*palūkamati*	*parakramati*	*parakkamati*	he has power.
Wilson, 192, 195.	*tishṭhet*	*tisṭeya*	*ṭhiti, hotu*	*ṭhitikā, bhotu*	*tiṭṭheyya*	let it endure.
Wilson, 199.	*abhūvan*	*ahuṁsu*	. . . .	*abhavasu*	*ahesuṁ*	they were.
	san	*santo*	. . . .	*santu*	*santo*	being (nom. sing. [part.)
Wilson, 216.	*kshaṇoti*	*chhanoti*	. . . .	. . . .	. . .	hurts.
	garhate	*garahati*	. . . .	. . . .	*garahati*	reviles.
Burn. 666, 669.	*paśyati, dṛiśyati* (?)	. . . .	*dekhati* (on Dehli pillar.)	. . . .	*passati, dichchhati* (*dekhadi* Prāk.)	he sees.
Wilson, 223.	*labdheshu*	*laddhesu*	. . . .	. . . .	*laddhesu*	obtained (loc. pl. past part.)
Burn. 761.	*vardhayati*	*vaḍhayati*	. . . .	. . . .	*vaḍḍheti*	he increases.
Burn. 731.	*darśayitvā*	*dasayitpā*	. . . .	. . . .	*dassetvā*	having shown.
	tishṭhati	*tiṭhati*	. . . .	. . . .	*tiṭṭhati*	stands.
Burn. 757, 758.	*ajnāsuḥ*	*ñayāsu, ñayisu* (?)	. . . .	. . . .	*aññāsuṁ*	they knew.
Burn. 759.	*iyāya*	*ayāya* (?)	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	he went.
Burn. 659, 654, Lass. Ind. Alt. ii. 227, note 4.	*parityajya*	*parichajitpā*	. . . .	. . . .	*parichchajitvā*	having left.

From an examination of this list, it will be seen that, as Professors Wilson and Weber remark (above, p. 107), the Kapur di Giri inscription departs less from the Sanskrit in the particulars which they specify than the others do; that the language of the Girnār inscription coincides most of the three with the Pāli; while in the use of *l* for *r*, and *e* for *o*, the Dhauli inscription bears the well-known characters of the Māgadhī.[134] In general the whole language of these inscriptions is so well characterized by Professor Wilson in the passage I have already extracted (p. 106, ff.), as to render any further remarks upon them superfluous.

[134] It is worthy of remark that in a passage of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, 3, 2, 1, 23 (p. 235), the Asuras, who, perhaps, represent some barbarous tribe, are introduced as using the Māgadhī form *alavaḥ* instead of *arayaḥ*, enemies. *Te asurāḥ ālavachaso "he alavo he alavaḥ" iti vadanto parābabhūvuḥ* | "The Asuras, marred in their utterance, and crying out 'O enemies, O enemies,' were defeated." This passage is quoted, with some variety of reading, in the Mahābhāshya, pp. 18 and 64.

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SECT. VII.—*The Dialect of the Buddhist Gāthās, and its relation to the Pāli: Summary of the results of this and the preceding Section.*

I now come to the last of the varieties of corrupted Sanskrit to which I referred in p. 10, viz., the language which we find in the Gāthās, or metrical portions occurring in such works as the Lalita Vistara, descriptive of the life and discourses of Gotama Buddha. An account of the peculiarities of this dialect, as it is convenient to call it, has been given by Bābu Rājendralāl Mitra, in No. 6 of the Journal As. Soc., Bengal, 1854. Of the Lalita Vistara, from which the specimens given by this writer, and those which will be adduced by myself, are drawn, Professor Müller remarks, that though "on account of its style and language," it "had been referred by Oriental scholars to a much more modern period of Indian literature," it "can now safely be ascribed to an ante-Christian era, if, as we are told by Chinese scholars, it was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese, as one of the canonical books of Buddhism, as early as the year 76 A.D."[135]

I proceed to give the substance of Bābu Rājendralāl's dissertation in his own words, omitting only those portions which appear to be of the least importance; making occasional abridgments; and adding, in some places, to the number of the specimens he has given of the Gāthā forms.

"Of the dialects which have proceeded from the Sanskrit, the Pāli and the Māgadhi have hitherto been supposed to bear the closest resemblance to their parent, but the discovery of the Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Nepal has brought to our knowledge a new dialect, bearing a still closer affinity to the classic language of the East than either of the former. Nepalese chroniclers have named it Gāthā (ballad),[136] probably, from its having been principally used by the scalds and bards[136*] of mediæval India. For nearly a similar reason the

[135] Buddhist Pilgrims, in "Chips," (1st ed.) vol. i., p. 258.

[136] [The antiquity of certain compositions, called *Gāthās*, is proved by the fact that the expression *munigāthā*, the gāthās or verses of the Muni, or Munis, occurs in the ancient inscription of Piyadasi at Bhabra. Burnouf, App. x. to Lotus, pp. 724, 725, 729; Wilson, Jour. R. A. S., vol. xvi., pp. 359, 363, 367. Bābu Rājendralāl also refers to the Mahāwanso, p. 252, where *gathās* are mentioned.—J.M.]

[136*] On this Prof. Benfey remarks, Gött. Gel. Anz. for 1861, p. 134: "On the other hand, Bābu Rājendralāl's views on the origin of these Gāthās have very much to recommend them: they require only a slight modification, the substitution of inspired believers,—such as most of the older Buddhists were,—sprung from the lower classes of the people,—in the place of professional bards."

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Balenese style the language of their poets, the *Kāwi* or poetical, and the language of the Vedas is called *Chhandas* (metrical), whence, by a well-known euphonic law, we have the *Zend* of the old Persians.

"M. Burnouf, the only European scholar who has noticed the existence of this dialect, describes it to be 'a barbarous Sanskrit, in which the forms of all ages, Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prākṛit, appear to be confounded.'[137] It differs from the Sanskrit more in its neglect of the grammatical rules of the latter than from any inherent peculiarity of its own. The niceties of the Sanskrit forms of declension and conjugation find but a very indifferent attention from the Gāthā versifier; he uses or rejects the usual case-affixes according to the exigencies of his metre with as much veneration for the rules of Pāṇini as the West Indian Negro has for those of Lindley Murray; indeed, the best illustration that can be given of the relation which exists between the Sanskrit, the Gāthā, and the Pāli, would be extracts from the literature of the Negroes.

"The Gāthā exists only in a versified form, and is to be met with in that class of Buddhist writings called the *Mahāvaipulya* or the 'highly developed' sūtras. It occurs generally at the end and often in the middle, but never at the commencement of a chapter, and contains a poetical abstract of the subject described in the prose portion of the works. The latter is written in pure Sanskrit, and comprises a highly amplified version of the subject-matter, and often adverts to circumstances unnoticed in the former.

"The Gāthā is written in a variety of metres, from the facile octo-syllabic *anushṭup*, to the most complicated *śārdūlavikrīḍita*. Its peculiarities are those of a language in a state of transition; it professes to be Sanskrit, and yet does not conform to its rules. In it we find the old forms of the Sanskrit grammar gradually losing their expressive power, and prepositions and periphrastic expressions supplying their places, and time-hallowed verbs and conjugations juxtaposed to vulgar slangs and uncouth provincialisms. At one place, orthography is sacrificed for the sake of prosody and a word of a single short syllable is inflated into one of three syllables, while at another the latter yields to the former and a molossus supplies the place of a pyrrhic or a tribrach. A spirit of economy pervades the whole, and syllables and words are retrenched and modified with an unsparing

[137] L'Histoire du Buddhisme, p. 104.

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hand. In the Lalita Vistara instances of these peculiarities occur in great profusion, and they may be generally referred to (A) exigencies of metre, (B) provincialisms, and (C) errors of syntax and prosody.

"A.—Of the changes which may be attributed to the exigencies of metre, prolongation, contraction and elision of vowels, elision of consonants, and the segregation of compound consonants and long vowels into their simple elements, appear to be the most frequent. We shall quote a few instances:

1st. "Of the prolongation of vowels the following may be taken as examples.[138]

"*Nā cha* for *na cha; so cha* for *sa cha; prayāto* for *prayataḥ*; *rodamāna* for *rudamāna.*

2nd. "Of contractions of vowels, instances occur almost in every śloka. They are generally effected by the use of short for long vowels, and the substitution of i and u for e, ai, o, and au: for example, *yāmi* for *yāme; dharenti* for *dhārayanti*;[139] *drumavara* for *drumavarāḥ; māya* for *māyā; ghaṇṭa* for *ghaṇṭā; pujam etām* for *pūjām etām; yatha* for *yathā; tatha* for *tathā; sada* for *sadā.*

3rd. "Elisions of vowels and consonants are also very frequent; they are effected principally with a view to economy and euphony. Final *ses* are invariably elided. Take for instance: *nabhe* for *nabhasi; apsarāḥ* for *apsarasaḥ*;[140] *sadārchiskandhi* for *sadārchishi skandhe; ima dṛishṭa vasthām* for *imāṁ dṛishṭvā avasthām; niścharī* for *niśchachāra; praṇidhenti* for *praṇidhyāyanti; manā* for *manasaḥ; ena* for *etena.*

4th. "Of the division of long vowels and compound consonants into their short and simple elements, the following are instances of constant occurrence:

"*Rāttiye* for *rātryāḥ*, or *rātryām; turiyebhi* for *turyebhyaḥ; gilāno*

[138] Quoted from the edition of the Lalita Vistara, in the Bibliotheca Indica.

[[139] Other instances of the same abbreviation (common also in the Pāli and Prākṛits) are *enti* for *āyānti; upenti* for *upayanti; janenti* for *janayanti; janehi* for *janaya; mochehi* for *mochaya; bodhehi* for *bodhaya; pūrehi* for *pūraya; darśenti* for *darśayanti*, and numerous others.—J.M.]

[140] On this Professor Benfey remarks in the Gött. Gel. Anz. for January, 1861, p. 134: "Such forms, as, for instance, *apsarā* for *apsaras*, appear already in abundance in the Vedas, and arise, not from the exigencies of the metre, but from the fact of terminations in *as* passing into terminations in *a*." He then goes on to refer to the great importance of this Gāthā language; and expresses the hope of being able to exhibit this in a grammar of this form of speech, which he had then already prepared, but which has not yet been published.

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for *glāno; istri* for *strī; turiya* for *tūryya; akilāntaka* for *aklāntaka; kileśa* for *kleśa; hiri* for *hrī; śiri* for *śrī; śiriyā* for *śriyā; śirīye* for *śriye; deviye* for *devyāḥ; pūjārāham* for *pūjārham; padumāni* for *padmāni; dānaṇcharīyā* for *dānacharyā; supina* for *svapnam.*[141]

"This tendency to segregation of aspirated consonants forms a principal characteristic of mediæval and modern Indian phonology. The Pāli and the Prākṛit owe their origin entirely to this cause. The Hindi and the Marhatti indulge in it to a large extent, and the Bengāli is not exempt from its influence.

"B.—The provincialisms of the Gāthā include neglect of gender, number, and case, abbreviations and omissions of declensions, corruption of pronouns, and new forms of conjugation.

(1.) "Of the neglect of gender, number, and case, the following may be taken as examples: *viśuddhanirmalam* for *viśuddhanirmalān* (singular for plural); *buddhakshetram* for *buddhakshetrāṇi* (singular for plural); *āsaninā* for *āsanāt* (instrumental for ablative); *bodhisuvaṭa* far *bodhisuvaṭāt* (objective for ablative); *ūrddha hastā* for *ūrddhau hastau* (plural for dual); *kechid ekapāde* for *kechid ekapādena* (locative for instrumental); *trilok·m* for *trilokī* (neuter for feminine); *kāraṇaṁ* for *kāraṇāni* (singular feminine for plural neuter); *nakshatrāḥ* for *nakshatrāṇi* (masculine for neuter); *pṛithu* for *pṛithavaḥ; ime karma* for *imāni karmāṇi.*

(2.) "Under the head of abbreviations and omissions of declension, the most remarkable peculiarity appears to be the use of *u* in the room of all flectional affixes," as *ratanu* for *ratnam; ahu* for *aham. U* is also merely put for the inherent *a*, as in two of the following cases: *kshayusaṁskṛitu* for *kshayasaṁskṛita; nishkrāntu* for *nishkrānta; parivāritu* for *parivāritaḥ.* The next are instances in which the case terminations are omitted: *laukika* for *laukikāḥ; chitrakarma* for *chitrakarmāṇaḥ;* and such instances are of continual occurrence.

(3.) "The following are the corruptions of pronouns that are frequently met with in the Lalita Vistara. They apparently lead the way to the formation of pronouns in the modern vernaculars:—

[141 Other cases are *viyūha* for *vyūha; ratana* for *ratna; śākiyānām* for *śākyānām; nāriyā* for *nāryāḥ; vajirikāya* for *vajrakāya; śakkitam* for *śaktam; śukula* for *śukla; nyasiya* for *nyasya; ābhujiya* for *ābhujya; akampiyo* for *akampyoḥ,* etc.—J.M.]

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"*Mahya* for *mama* and *mattaḥ*; *tubhya* for *tvăyă* (sic) *tvām̃*, and *tava*;[142] *ayu* for *eshaḥ*; *te* for *tā*; *kahim̃* for *kutra* and *kena*.

(4.) "The new forms of conjugation observable in the Gāthā are attributable exclusively to corrupt pronunciation; they follow no fixed rule, and are the result of that natural tendency to abbreviation which in the English originates "wont" from "will not," and "shant" from "shall not." The following are a few examples:

"*Dadami* and *demi* for *dadāmi*; *bhosi* for *bhavasi*; *bhoti* for *bhavati*; *bhonti* for *bhavanti*; *ramishyasi* for *ram̃syase*; *āruhi* for *ārohat*; *aran̲ī* or *ran̲i* for *arat*; *utthi* for *uttishṭha*; *dada* for *dadasva*; *śun̲ohi* and *śun̲a* for *śṛin̲u*; *munchamī* for *amuncha*; *bheshyi* for *bhavishyāmi-v-m-ti-taḥ-anti-si-thaḥ-tha*;[143] *parikatha* for *parikathaya*; *nyasī* for *nidadhuḥ*; *śan̲uvantī* for *śṛin̲vanti*; *śun̲itvā*, *śrun̲itvā*, *śun̲itya* and *śrutya* for *śrutvā*; *śun̲ishyati for śroshyāti*; *śūnya* for *śrāvyān*; *oruhitvā* for *avaruhya*; *glapayisu* for *glāpayāmāsuḥ*; *jahitvā* for *hitvā*; *buddhitvā* for *buddhvā*.

"It may be remarked that the corruptions above quoted are, in many instances, the precursors of forms adopted in other affiliated dialects. In Sanskrit the third person singular of the verb *to be* is *bhavati*, which in the Gāthā changes to *bhoti* by the conversion of the *v* into *o* and the elision of the *a* before and after it (*bhonti* in the plural, and *bhosi* in the second person singular), and thence we have *hoti*, *hosi*, and *honti* in the Māgadhi. *S'un̲itvā* for *śrutvā* is the first step to the formation of *suniā* in Bengāli, while *śun̲ohi* passes into *suno* with nothing but the elision of an inflection.

"C.—In the collocation of words and phrases the Gāthā strictly follows the rules of Sanskrit syntax, but in the formation of compound terms it admits of many licences highly offensive to the canons of Pān̲ini and Vopadeva. They seem, however, to be the consequence of haste and inattention, and are not referrible to any dialectic peculiarity."

There are, however, some other forms discoverable in the Gāthā

[142] [I have noted also *mi* for *mahyam* and *mayā*; *ti* for *tvayā* (Lv. pp. 256, 358, 380, 399); *tasā* for *tasya* (p. 125); *anabhiḥ* for *ebhiḥ* (p. 304).—J.M.]

[143] [I find the following additional irregular forms of the verb *bhū*, "to be," viz., *bhavīti* for *bhavati*, *abhūshi* for *abhūt*, *abhūshīḥ* for *abhūḥ* (?), *ababhūvan* for *abhūvan*, *bhavi* for *bhavishyasi* and *bhavāni*, *bhaviya* and *bhaveyā* (resembling a Pāli form of the same tense) for *bhavet*, *bhohi* for *bhava*, *bhaviyā* and *bhaviṣḥ* for *bhūtvā*, *anubhaviyā* for *anubhūya*, *prabhāmi* and *prabhāma* for *prabhavāmi* and *prabhavāmaḥ*. The forms *asmaḥ* for *smaḥ*, and *āsi* for *asti*, or *asīt*, also occur.—J.M.]

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dialect, which have been either passed over, or but briefly noticed by Bābu Rājendralāl, and which yet present some points of remarkable interest. Thus the plural instrumental in *ebhiḥ*, which is so general in the Vedas, is in constant use in the Gāthās also, as in the instances *śākiyebhiḥ*, *sattvebhiḥ*, *guṇebhiḥ*, *siṁhāsanebhiḥ*, *dārakebhiḥ*, *cheṭakebhiḥ*, employed instead of the form, *śākyaiḥ*, *sattvaiḥ*, etc., which is alone current in modern Saṇskrit. It is from this older form in *ebhiḥ* that the Pāli form of the same case in *ebhi*, or *ehi*, is derived, as in the word *buddhebhi*, or *buddhehi* (Clough, Pāli Gram., p. 19). Again, we find in the Gāthās various other cases besides those above noticed in which the case-terminations of the declension in *a* are substituted, in the case of words ending in consonants, for those proper to the latter form of declension. Thus, for *jagataḥ* and *jagati* (the gen. and loc. of *jagat*), we have *jagasya* and *jage;* for *nāmnā* (instr. of *nāman*), we have *nāmena;* for *mahātmānam* we have *mahātmam;* for *anantayaśasam* we have *anantayaśam;* for *karmaṇaḥ* (gen. of *karman*) we have *karmasya;* and for *duhitaram*, accusative of the word *duhitṛi* (ending in *ṛi*), we have *duhitām*, the accusative of feminine nouns ending in *ā*. This change is one to which the Pāli inclines (as in the form *Brahmassa*, as one of the genitives of Brahman), and to which a still more decided tendency is observable in the Prākṛit. (See Cowell's Prākṛit Gram. Introd., p. xxiii., xxiv.) On the other hand, we find also in the Gāthās instances of the quite different change of *e* into *i* in the locative, as *loki*, *gehi*, *udari*, for the proper form *loke*, *gehe*, *udare*. The particle *api* (*also*) is contracted to *pi*, as in Prākṛit; thus we have *ahampi* for *aham api*, *tubhyampi*, for *tubhyam api*, *vayampi* for *vayam api*, *napi* for *nāpi*, *tathāpi* for *tathāpi*, *punopi* for *punar api*: so also *iti* is contracted to *ti*, as in *ahanti* for *aham iti*. Again, we have the peculiar forms *jihmi*, *jihma*, and *jaha* for *yathā; yathariva* for *yathaiva*[114] (precisely as in Pāli, Clough's Gram., p. 11); *sīti* for *smṛiti; paṭhe* for *patheshu*, and *ishṭikān* for *yashṭidhārakān* (macebearers).

Many of the changes in the Gāthā verbs are in part the same which we find in Pāli. Thus, for the correct Sanskrit forms *chodayanti*, *tarpayishyanti*, *nivarttayati* and *dhārayantī*, we have *chodenti*, *tarpesh*

[114] See the further instances of interpolation of letters already adduced above, p. 70, and note.

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yati, *nivartteti* and *dharentī*, which, in Pāli, would be *chodenti*, *tappessati*, *nivatteti*, and *dharentī*. Again, for *avalambate* we have *olambate*, which would take the same form in Pāli. The modifications *avachi* for *avochat*, *munchi* for *amunchat*, *gachchhi* for *agachchhat*, *dhyāyi* for *adhyāyat*, correspond in some measure to such Pāli forms as *akāsi* for *akārshīt*, *ahāsi* for *ahārshīt*, *adāsi* for *adāt*, *ahosi* for *abhūt*, *aṭṭhāsi* for *asthāt*, *abadhi* for *abadhīt*, etc.: and *snapinsuṁ* for *snāpayāmasuḥ* or *asisnapan*, is nearly the same as the Pāli form *apachinsu*, the third person plural of the third preterite. The Gāthā forms *darśishyasi* for *drakshyasi*, *suṇishyati* for *śroshyati*, *kshipishyati* for *kshepsyati*, and *spṛiśishyati* for *sparkshyati* or *sprakshyati*, are analogous to the Pāli forms *vedissāmi* for *vetsyāmi*, *bhuṇjissāmi* for *bhokshyāmi*, and *dessissāmi* for *dekshyāmi*. The Gāthā past indeclinable particles also, such as *bhavitvā*, *ramitvā*, *hanitvā*, *labhitvā*, *stuvitvā*, *manitvā*, *vijihitvā*, *śuṇitvā*, *spṛiśitvā* for *bhūtvā*, *mantvā*, *hatvā*, *labdhvā*, *stutvā*, *matvā*, *vi*+*hitvā*, *śrutvā*, and *spṛishṭvā*, are formed on the same principle as the similar Pāli ones, *pavisitvā*, *jānitvā*, *bhuṇjitvā*, for *pra* + *veshṭvā*, *jñātvā*, and *bhuktvā*. Of the forms *karitya* and *kariyāna* for *kṛitvā*, the latter coincides in its termination with such Pāli forms as *sutvāna* and *disvāna* for *śrutvā* and *dṛishṭvā*. Again, we have the forms *kampayantō*, *vārayanto*, *vinishkramanto*, *vīryavanto* (part. nom. sing.), for *kampayan*, etc., which coincides with the Pāli and Prākṛit. The same may be said of *pekshasi* for *prekshase*; *tāva* for *tāvat*; *smarāhi*, *kurvahi*, *bhaṇāhi*, *vasāhi*, for *smara*, *kuru*, *bhaṇa* and *vasa* respectively; *deviye* and *devīye* for *devyāḥ*; *tapasmi* for *tapasi*; *talasmin* for *tale*; *arhantebhiḥ* for *arhadbhiḥ*; *prabhāyă* for *prabhāyā*, *vāchāyă* for *vāchā*. For *tyaktvā* I find the word *chhorayitvā*, which does not seem to be much used in Sanskrit, though Wilson, in his Dictionary, gives *chhoraṇa* in the sense of "leaving." I quote the following additional anomalous forms, viz., *pithitā* for *pishṭā*, *pithitāni* for *pratthitāni*, *visnapī* for *vyasnāpayan*, *snapit* for *snāpayitvā*, *kshipiṇsu* for *kshipantī*, *bhaviya* for *bhavet*, *pratishṭhihitvā* for *pratishṭhāya*, *datti* for *dadati*, *deti* for *dadāti*, *dāsmi* for *dāsyami*, *dīyatu* for *diyatām*, *darthi* for *dadataḥ*, *daditu* for *dātum*, *detī*, *dadia* and *dadiya* for *dattvā*; *kurumi* for *karomi*, *karonti* for *kurvanti*, or *karishyanti*; *karoma* for *karishyāmaḥ*; *kareya* for *kuryuḥ*; *karitya*, *kariye*, and *kariyā* for *kṛitvā*; *prakarohi* for *prakuru*; *gṛihītya*, *grahiya* for *gṛihītvā*; *bhinanmi* for *bhinadmi*; *vademi* for *vadāmi*; *vyus-*

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thāya for *vyutthāya*; *sthihiya* for *sthitvā*; *utthihitvā* for *utthāya*; *āruhitya* for *āruhya*, *parāhaniya* for *parāhatya*; *utthihet* for *uttishṭhet*; *charoti* for *charati*; *miṇitvā* for *matvā*; *śakkitam* and *śaktitam* for *śaktam*; *uchchhrepaya* for *utkshepaya*; *miyati* for *mriyate*; *pŭrima* for *pūrva*; *vidu* for *vidvān*; *vidubhiḥ* for *vidvadbhiḥ*; *lābhase* for *lābhāya*; *saṁskṛitāttaḥ* for *saṁskṛitāt*, or *saṁskṛitataḥ*; *jānamī* for *jānāmi*; *bhāsī* for *bhāshate*; *vinenti* for *vineshyati*; *janeshi* or *janaishī*, for *janayishyati*; *adṛiśuḥ* for *adrākshuḥ*; *paśyeta* for *driśyate*; *adhyeshṭu* for *adhyetum*; *chintayā* for *chintayitvā*; *vademi* for *vadāmi*; *vandima* for *vandāmahe*; *atikrametum* for *atikramitum*. (In all these cases, I should observe, the Sanskrit equivalents are given according to the notes in the printed edition of the Lalita Vistara.) Nouns and participles are frequently lengthened by the addition of the syllable *ka*, as *rodantako*, *gachhamānake*, *bhāshamāṇikāḥ*, *dadantikāḥ*, *roditavyakaḥ*, *āgatikāḥ*, *dāsinikāḥ* for *rudan* (or rather *rodanto*), *gachhamāne*, *bhāshamāṇāḥ*, *dadatyaḥ*, *roditavyaḥ*, *āgatāḥ*, *dāsikāḥ*. This insertion of *ka* is also to be noticed in the following verses of the Vājasaneyi sanhitā, xxiii. 22, f.; where *yakā* and *asakau*, *yakaḥ* and *asakau*, stand for *yā*, *yaḥ*, and *asau*.

Very peculiar is the use of the *a* privative in *ajanehi* for *mā janaya*, "do not cause."

The use of abbreviated, or otherwise irregular, forms, such as *labhi* for *lapsyase*, or *labdhaḥ*, *gachchi* for *agachhat*, *chali* for *chalitā*, *munchi* for *amunchat*, *avachi* for *avochat*, *niveśayi* for *niveśitāḥ*, *chhādayi* for *chhādayati*, *parichari* for *paryacharaḥ* and *parichāriṇī*, *varichari* for *varācharaṇam*, *tyaji* for *tyaktā*, *tyaktvā*, and *tyaktavān*, *smari* for *smṛitam* and *smaraṇam*, *varshi* for *varshitvā*, *vraji* for *avrajat*, *sparśi* for *sprashṭum*, *utthi* for *uttishṭha* and *utthāya*, is extremely common, and, as will be seen from the equivalents following each word, these forms are very variously interpreted by the commentator, and supposed to stand for verbs in the present, past, and future tense, and in the imperative mood, and for participles active and passive, as well as for nouns. The penultimate syllable of verbs is very often lengthened, as in the Vedic *let* form, as in *mochayāti*, *dharshayāti*, *sahāti*, *labhāti*, *dṛiśāsi*, *vrajāsi*, for *mochayăti*, etc., for which the commentator generally substitutes the present tense, but sometimes the past, and sometimes the future. This form is even found with the augment in *adṛiśāsi*, rendered by the commentator *paśyati* or *adrākshīt*.

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I proceed with the quotations from Bābu Rājendralāl's Essay.

"Of the origin of the Gāthā nothing appears to be known for certain. M. Burnouf is inclined to attribute it to ignorance; he says:—'This fact (the difference of language of the different parts of the Vaipulya Sūtras) indicates in the clearest manner that there was another digest (of the Buddhist literature prepared, besides those of the three convocations), and it agrees with the development of the poetical pieces in which these impurities occur, in showing that those pieces do not proceed from the same hand to which the simple Sūtras owe their origin. There is nothing in the books characterized by this difference of language, which throws the smallest light on its origin. Are we to look on this as the use of a popular style which may have developed itself subsequent to the preaching of Sākya, and which would thus be intermediate between the regular Sanskrit and the Pāli,—a dialect entirely derived from, and manifestly posterior to the Sanskrit? or should we rather regard it as the crude composition of writers to whom the Sanskrit was no longer familiar, and who endeavoured to write in the learned language, which they ill understood, with the freedom which is imparted by the habitual use of a popular but imperfectly determined dialect? It will be for history to decide which of these two solutions is correct; to my mind the second appears to be the more probable one, but direct evidence being wanting, we are reduced to the inductions furnished by the very few facts as yet known. Now, these facts are not all to be found in the Nepalese collection; it is indispensably necessary, in order to understand the question in all its bearings, to consult for an instant the Singalese collection and the traditions of the Buddhists of the South. What we thence learn is, that the sacred texts are there written in Pāli; that is to say, in a dialect derived immediately from the learned idiom of the Brahmans, and which differs very little from the dialect which is found on the most ancient Buddhist monuments in India. Is it in this dialect that the poetical portions of the great Sūtras are composed? By no means; the style of these portions is an indescribable *melange*, in which incorrect Sanskrit bristles with forms of which some are entirely Pāli, and others popular in the most general sense of the term. There is no geographical name to bestow upon a language of this kind; but it is at the same time intelligible how

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such a jargon may have been produced in places where the Sanskrit was not studied systematically, and in the midst of populations which had never spoken it, or had known only the dialects derived more or less remotely from the primitive source. I incline then to the belief that this part of the great Sūtras must have been written out of India, or, to express myself more precisely, in countries situated on the western side of the Indus, or in Cashmir, for example; countries where the learned language of Brahmanism and Buddhism would be cultivated with less success than in Central India. It appears to me almost impossible that the jargon of these poems could have been produced in an epoch when Buddhism flourished in Hindusthan. Then, in fact, the priests had no other choice but between these two idioms; either the Sanskrit, i.e. the language which prevails in the compositions collected at Nepal, or the Pāli, that is, the dialect which is found on the ancient Buddhist inscriptions of India, and which has been adopted by the Buddhists of Ceylon.' [145]

"This opinion," continues Bābu Rājendralāl, "we venture to think, is founded on a mistaken estimate of Sanskrit style. The poetry of the Gāthā has much artistic elegance which at once indicates that it is not the composition of men who were ignorant of the first principles of grammar. Its authors display a great deal of learning, and discuss the subtlest questions of logic and metaphysics with much tact and ability; and it is difficult to conceive that men who were perfectly familiar with the most intricate forms of Sanskrit logic, who have expressed the most abstruse metaphysical ideas in precise and often in beautiful language, who composed with ease and elegance in *Ārya*, *Ṭoṭaka*, and other difficult measures, were unacquainted with the rudiments of the language in which they wrote, and even unable to conjugate the verb *to be*, in all its forms. This difficulty is greatly

[145] L'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien, p. 105. [I have introduced a very few verbal alterations into this translation from Burnouf. Lassen, Ind. Alt., ii. p. 9, concurs in these views of Burnouf:—"The Mahāyāna Sūtras (of the Buddhists) are composed in a prose made up of a mixture of irregular Sanskrit, of Pali, and of forms borrowed from the vulgar dialects; and the narrative is repeated in verse. Such a medley of forms could only, as it appears, have arisen in a country where the learned language was no longer maintained in its purity; and, consequently, the writings in question were probably composed in the countries bordering on the Indus, and most likely in Kashmir, which plays an important part in the later history of Buddhism." (See also pp. 491, 492, and p. 1153 of the same volume.)—J.M.]

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enhanced, when we bear in mind that the prose portion of the Vaipulya Sūtras is written in perfectly pure Sanskrit, and has no trace whatever of the provincialisms and popular forms so abundant in the poetry. If these Sūtras be the productions of men beyond the Indus imperfectly acquainted with the Sanskrit, how happens one portion of them to be so perfect in every respect, while the other is so impure? What could have been the object of writing the same subject twice over in the same work, once in pure prose and then in incorrect poetry?

"It might be supposed—what is most likely the case—that the prose and the poetry are the productions of two different ages; but the question would then arise, how came they to be associated together? What could have induced the authors of the prose portions to insert in their works the incorrect productions of Trans-Indus origin? Nothing but a sense of the truthfulness and authenticity of those narratives could have led to their adoption. But how is it likely to be supposed that the most authentic account of Sākya, within three hundred years after his death, was to be had only in countries hundreds of miles away from the place of his birth, and the field of his preachings? The great Sūtras are supposed to have been compiled about the time of the third convocation (309 B.C.), when it is not at all likely that the sages of central India would have gone to Cashmere in search of data, which could be best gathered at their own threshold.

"The more reasonable conjecture appears to be that the Gāthā is the production of bards, who were contemporaries or immediate successors of Sākya, who recounted to the devout congregations of the prophet of Magadha the sayings and doings of their great teacher, in popular and easy flowing verses, which in course of time came to be regarded as the most authentic source of all information connected with the founder of Buddhism. The high estimation in which the ballads and improvisations of bards are held in India and particularly in the Buddhist writings, favours this supposition; and the circumstance that the poetical portions are generally introduced in corroboration of the narrative of the prose, with the words: *Tatredam uchyate*, 'Thereof this may be said,' affords a strong presumptive evidence."

In a review of Burnouf's "Lotus de la Bonne Loi," Professor Weber (in the Indische Studien, iii. pp. 139, 140) remarks as follows on the

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views expressed by Burnouf in the preceding passage in regard to the language of the Gāthās:—

"The last reason (viz. that Sanskrit was cultivated with less success in Kashmir than in Central India) is an incorrect one; since, on the contrary, it is precisely in the north-west of India that the proper seat of Indian grammatical learning appears to have existed. As regards the fact itself, Burnouf may be right, and the jargon of those poetical portions may have actually been at one time the local dialect of Kashmir, which would preserve a far more exact resemblance to the ancient form of speech, than did the Pāli and Prakrit dialects which were developed in India proper under the influence of the aborigines, who spoke differently. But as Burnouf urges elsewhere, that the more recent a Buddhistic work is, the purer and more correct is its language, it appears to me more natural to assume that these poetical portions are fragments of older traditions; because, if they were more recent than the rest of the text, there is no good ground on which to account for their deviating from them in point of language; or if there were a difference, one would expect that the poetical parts would be more correct than the prose. This is in fact the view taken in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1851, p. 283, where the Lalita Vistara is said to have been 'compiled in Sanskrit about the end of the sixth century from ballads in an obsolete patois of that language, composed evidently by bards at a much earlier period.'"

In regard to the point on which Bābu Rājendralāl is at issue with the views of M. Burnouf, I will not venture to express any opinion. The peculiarities of the Gāthā dialect are so anomalous that it is very difficult to explain them. In any case, it is clear that, if not a spoken language, it was at least a written language in a remote age: and it therefore exemplifies to us some portion of the process by which the Sanskrit was broken down and corrupted into the derivative dialects which sprang out of it.

I subjoin the concluding passage of Bābu Rājendralāl's dissertation, in which he states his opinion in regard to the periods at which the successive modifications of Sanskrit were spoken in India.

"The language of the Gāthā is believed, by M. Burnouf, to be intermediate between the Pāli and the pure Sanskrit. Now, as the

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Pāli was the vernacular language of India from Cuttack to Kapurdagiri within three hundred years after the death of Sākya, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the Gāthā which preceded it was the dialect of the million at the time of Sākya's advent. If our conjecture in this respect be right, it would follow that the Sanskrit passed into the Gāthā six hundred years before the Christian era; that three hundred years subsequently it changed into the Pāli; and that thence, in two hundred years more, proceeded the Prākṛit and its sister dialects the Saurasenī, the Drāvidi,[146] and the Panchāli, which in their turn formed the present vernacular dialects of India."

I have thus (as I originally proposed in Section I.) passed in review the various phases through which the vernacular speech of Northern India has gone since it began to deviate from the forms of its parent Sanskrit. Commencing with the provincial dialects of our own day, the Hindī, Mahrattī, Bengalī, etc., which diverge the most widely from the original tongue, I have attempted to ascend, successively, from the more recent to the more ancient mediæval vernaculars, and to trace backwards their gradual approach in form and structure to the language of the Vedas. In Section I. the modern vernaculars are considered. In Sections II.—IV. the dialects entitled Prākṛit are described; and it has there been proved that they were either themselves the spoken tongues, or at least closely akin to the spoken tongues, of northern India before the modern vernaculars came into existence, and shown, by a variety of illustrations, that the former approach much more closely to the Sanskrit than the latter. In Section V. an account has been given of the Pāli; and it has been demonstrated at length that it, in its turn, is more ancient in its grammatical forms than the Prākṛits are, and departs less widely than they do from the Sanskrit. In Section VI. I have supplied some description of the language employed in the rock inscriptions of Piyadasi; by which it is put beyond a doubt that different dialects resembling the Pāli were in vernacular

[146] [If by the Drāvidi is meant the Telugu, or any of its cognate languages, it is a mistake to class it with the northern Prākṛits.—J.M.]

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use in northern India in the third century B.C. And finally, in Section VII., I have described a form of corrupt Sanskrit occurring in the Gāthās or narrative poems in which the actions of Buddha were recounted at a period apparently preceding the Christian era.

It is not necessary that I should be able to point out the exact relative antiquity of the Pāli, of the language of the inscriptions, and of the language of the Gāthās. We have seen (p. 59) that the Pāli has some grammatical forms which are older than those of the inscriptions; and *vice versâ*. It is sufficient to say that all these three different dialects exhibit a form of Indian speech which is of greater antiquity than the Prākṛits of the dramatic poems; and that they illustrate to us some of the earliest stages of the process by which the original spoken language of India, i.e. the early Sanskrit, was disintegrated and corrupted.

SECT. VIII.—*On the original use of Sanskrit as a vernacular tongue; on the manner in which the Prākṛits arose out of it, and on the period of their formation: views of Professors Weber, Aufrecht, Lassen, and Benfey.*

From the above review of the spoken dialects of India, commencing with the modern vernaculars, and going back to the Prākṛits and the Pāli, we discover, as has been repeatedly stated, that the older these dialects are, the more closely do they resemble the Sanskrit, in the forms of the words themselves, as well as in the modes of their declension and conjugation. Judging by the great differences which we find between the modern Indian languages and the oldest forms of the vernacular dialects, and by the gradual changes through which the latter have at length passed into the former, we can have no difficulty in concluding that the very oldest known forms of the Prākṛits also had, in earlier ages, undergone similar mutations, and had at one time been different in some respects from the languages which have been handed down to us: and that the further back these dialects went, the fewer and smaller were their deviations from the oldest forms of Sanskrit, till they at length merged altogether in that parent language, and were, in fact, identical with it. And as there is no doubt that

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these Prākṛit dialects, in the oldest forms in which we can trace them, were spoken languages, so we are further entitled to conclude that the Sanskrit itself was at one time, i.e., at the period before the Prākṛits broke off from it, a vernacularly spoken language.

Before, however, proceeding to the particular proof of this, I shall first of all present some general speculations of Professors Weber, Lassen, Benfey, and Aufrecht, on the anterior elements out of which the Prākṛits (under which term I include all the old vernacular languages derived from Sanskrit) were developed, and the process by which their formation was effected.

The following is Professor Weber's account of the way in which he conceives the Prākṛits to have arisen:— [147]

"I take this opportunity of once more declaring myself decidedly against a commonly received error. It has been concluded (as by Spiegel against Röth) from the existence (in inscriptions) of Prakrit dialects in the centuries immediately preceding our era, that the Sanskrit language had died out before these dialects were formed; whereas we must, on the contrary, regard the development of both the Sanskrit and the Prakrit dialects from one common source, viz. the Indo-Arian speech, as entirely contemporaneous. . . . . For a fuller statement of this view I refer to my 'Vājasaneyi Sanhitæ Specimen,' ii., 204–6; and, in proof of what I have urged there, I adduce here the fact that the principal laws of Prakrit speech, viz. assimilation, hiatus, and a fondness for cerebrals and aspirates, are prominent in the Vedas, of which the following are examples: kuṭa=kṛita, R. V., i. 46, 4; kāṭa=karta (above, p. 30): geha=gṛiha (above, p. 40); guggulu=gungulu, Kātyāy., 5, 4, 17; viviṭṭyai=vivishṭyai, Taitt. Arany., x. 58 (Drāv.); yāvatsaḥ=yāvatyaḥ, Śatap. Br. ii. 2, 3, 4 (yāvachaḥ Cod. Mill., according to the second hand, and in Sāyaṇa); kṛikalāsa, Vṛih. Ār. Mā., i. 3, 22=kṛikadāśu, Rik., i. 29, 7; purodāśa=purolāśa (comp. daśru=lacryma); paḍbhiḥ=padbhiḥ; kshullaka=kshudraka; bhallāksha=bhadrāksha, Chhāndogya, 6, 1 (gloss); vikiriḍa=vikiridra (above, p. 31); gabhasti=grabhasti, or garbhasti; nighaṇṭu=nigranthu; ghas=gras; bhanj=bhranj (or branj); bhuj=bhruj; bhand=blandus; bhas=bras. In the latter cases an *r* has dropped out, after it had aspirated the preceding consonants. . . . .

[147] Indische Studien, ii. p. 87, note.

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Comparative philology exhibits similar phonetic prakritizings within the circle of the Indo-Germanic languages as compared the one with the other." The same writer says in his Vājas. Sanh. Specimen, ii. 203, ff.:[148] "I incline to the opinion of those who deny that the Sanskrit Bhāshā, properly so called, was ever the common spoken language of the whole Arian people, and assign it to the learned alone. Just as our modern high-German, arising out of the ancient dialects of the Germans, reduced what was common to all to universal rules and laws, and by the power of analogy obliterated all recollection of varieties; and just as, on the other hand, these dialects, while they gradually degenerated, often preserved at the same time fuller and more ancient forms; so also the Vedic dialects became partly combined in one stream, in which their individual existence was lost, and so formed the regular Sanskrit Bhāshā, and partly flowed on individually in their own original (Prākṛita) irregular force, and continued to be the idioms of different provinces, in the corruption of which they participated. The Sanskrit language and the Prakrit dialects had, therefore, a common and simultaneous origin: the latter did not spring out of the former, but rather, being connected by a natural bond with the ancient language, have often a more antique fashion than the Sanskrit, which, being shaped and circumscribed by the rules of grammarians, has sacrificed the truth of analogy for the sake of regularity. The Prakrit tongues are nothing else than ancient Vedic dialects in a state of degeneracy; while the Sanskrit (or Epic) bhāshā is the sum of the Vedic dialects constructed by the labour and zeal of grammarians, and polished by the skill of learned men. In this way we obtain an explanation of two facts: 1st, That the very same exceptions which are conceded by grammarians to the Vedic language (*chhandas*) are often found in the Prakrit dialects, being in fact nothing but original forms; and 2nd, That in the Vedic writings, forms and words occur which are more irregular than any Sanskrit word could ever be; for as yet no fixed rules of euphony, orthography, or formation existed,—rules which were eventually deduced in part from those very irregularities. All the irregular forms which prevail in the Prakrit tongues are to be found throughout the Vedas. In the latter, the faculty which creates language is seen exuberant in its early power,

[148] Reprinted in Indische Studien, ii. pp. 110, 111.

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while in the former (the Prakrits) it is seen in the degeneracies of full-blown licence, luxuriating wantonness, and at last of senile weakness. Assimilation, the hiatus, and a fondness for cerebrals and aspirates, play an important part in the Vedas, not so much in those portions which are peculiar to the Yajur-veda (which, as forming a transition from the Vedic to the Epic period, or rather itself initiating the Epic period, has also a style of language of a more modern cast, and adapted to grammatical rules), as in the older forms and words of the Rigveda, many of which were difficult to understand in the age of the Aitareya and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas (*parokavṛittayaḥ*: comp. Roth, p. li. Nighaṇṭavaḥ). There occur moreover in the Epic poems many words which, however corrupted, have been received into the Sanskrit sometimes with no change, sometimes with very little, from the Prakrit languages in use among the greater part of the people. Of this the word *govinda* is a clear example, which, according to the ingenious conjecture of Gildemeister, is nothing but *gobinda* derived from *gopendra*."

Professor Aufrecht has favoured me with the following remarks on the preceding passages:—"I consider that in his account of the origin of the Prākṛit dialects, Professor Weber goes much too far in stating them to be contemporaneous with the Veda dialect. The examples which he gives are, I conceive, partly erroneous, partly collected from *late* books, and consequently unsuited to establish his assertion. I incline to the opinion that the language of the Rigveda was at one time universally spoken, not through the whole of India, but the Punjab, that is in the original seats of the Arians. The dialects sprang from it, on the one hand, because the greater part of the population were non-Arians, and naturally corrupted a language which was forced upon them. On the other part, it is likely that the conquerors were forced to marry Śūdra women (hence the warning against such marriages in Manu), who introduced the vulgar tongue into the family. In the last instance, I believe that, by a political revolution, the original tribes recovered the government, and that then the language of the masses began to prevail. I agree with Professor Weber in believing that Sanskrit proper, that is, the language of the Epic poems, the law books, nay even that of the Brāhmaṇas, was never actually spoken, except in schools or by the learned."

This theory of Professor Weber, even if it were correct, would not

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be inconsistent with the conclusion which I hope ultimately to establish, viz., that the language out of which the Prākṛits grew had itself been subject to mutation prior to their evolution out of it. It would only imply that no one such language as Sanskrit existed during the Vedic era, but was then represented by a number of what (to distinguish them from the Prākṛits) I may call Sanskritic dialects, which, by the continued action of a modifying process all along at work in them, were, on the one hand, gradually formed into the dialects which received the name of Prākṛit, while, on the other hand, by a reverse process of aggregation and construction, another language of a different character, and previously non-existent, became developed out of them, under the appellation of Sanskrit.

Weber's theory, however, taken in its full extent, appears to me to be disproved by the fact that, in its forms, the Vedic Sanskrit is (excepting some archaisms) nearly identical with the Epic, while it is very different from even the oldest type of Prākṛit. It is no answer to this that some old Vedic forms, such as the instrumental in *ebhis*, reappear in the Prākṛits; for it need not be asserted that, at the earliest period when the Prākṛits began to be formed, the Sanskrit did not still retain many of its Vedic forms.

I will now adduce two quotations of considerable length from Lassen's Indian Antiquities, vol. ii., pp. 1147–1149, and 1151–1153, on the history of the languages of Northern India, in the course of which he replies to the preceding observations of Weber.

"The inscription of the Sinha Prince Rudradāman, which dates from the year 85 B.C., is written in Sanskrit prose, of an artificial character, with long compound words. From this fact we may infer that Sanskrit was no longer spoken by the common people, but only by the Brahmans and other persons in the higher classes."

"It has been already shown (p. 486) that in Aśoka's time the common people spoke dialects derived from the sacred language, and that, at that time, there were at least three such dialects; of which one prevailed in Eastern India, the second in Guzerat, and the third in Eastern Cabul. The existence of a fourth, of which the seat was perhaps in Upper Rajasthan, is attested by the inscription of Meghavāhana. It is highly probable that the popular Indian dialects existed at a still earlier period than this [the age of Aśoka was

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263–226 B.C., and that of Meghavāhana 110 A.D.[149]]; for the accounts of Buddha's sayings and doings appear to have existed in a double form, i.e. both in the vernacular tongues and in Sanskrit. I do not venture to assume that the vernacular tongues originated much earlier. It is indeed true that we find in the Vedic hymns some individual traces of those corruptions which in Prākṛit have become the rule and characteristic feature of the language. But we must assume a long period to have intervened between these isolated appearances and their full-blown development, as exhibited in particular local dialects. I do not, therefore, believe in a contemporaneous development, side by side, of the Sanskrit and the Prakrit tongues out of the one common source of the Indo-Arian language; but I assume that it was not till long after the immigration of the Indo-Arians that the Prakrits were

[149] Lassen, App. pp. x. xxiii. I add another passage on the subject of the mutations of the Sanskrit, and the period at which they may be supposed to have arisen, from Lassen's work, p. 592, f., 2nd ed.: "The fact now established, that in Aśoka's time Sanskrit was no longer the general vernacular language, is of the greatest importance for judging of the older literature. As Aśoka promulgated his ordinances, which were intended for the entire people, not in Sanskrit, but in three vernacular dialects differing more or less from one another, it follows that the old mother-tongue had already become limited to a smaller circle of the population. But such a corruption of language is not the work of a few years; the Sanskrit must have begun centuries before to be resolved into the popular dialects; we will not here take into account the tradition that the Buddhists from the commencement announced their new doctrine in Prākṛit. The Epic poems nowhere allude to the different classes of auditors being unable to understand each other: nor have I yet found any reference to a diversity of speech among the Āryans. The Epic language now is manifestly the product of speech still fresh, flexible, and living in the mouth of the people; we can point out the first beginnings of the Epic style and versification in the Upanishads and in the hymns of the Veda, and can thus establish the high antiquity of this style. In the Sanskrit literature subsequent to Aśoka's time, even in the oldest inscriptions, we find the artificial language of later ages; and the same is the case in the dramas, which belong to this later period, in which we also meet with vernacular dialects for the lower orders. Although the Epic style is still maintained in this later age, it is easily seen, as in the Purānas, that a living stream of speech does not flow here; just as in the case of Apollonius and Callimachus, we perceive that they had not learnt the Homeric dialect from their nurses; the language is a learned, though often very clever, imitation. These considerations convince me that the Epic style was completely formed before the time of Aśoka, and even much earlier, and that we have it before us in its original genuineness. Hence I believe also that on the score of language no valid objection can be alleged against the position that after the critical separation of later elements, we possess in the Epic poems a rich and genuine store of ancient and genuine tradition."

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formed in the several provinces of India. I further regard it as improbable that the Prakrits arose out of one particular dialect of the Sanskrit; for no dialects of the Sanskrit have yet been pointed out. An account is to be found, it is true, in an ancient record, according to which the Sanskrit had been preserved in greater purity in the northern countries than elsewhere, and Kashmir and Badari, at the source of the Ganges, are specified by the commentator as such regions. This, however, is not sufficient to prove that in the different provinces of India there were then fundamental differences in the sacred language.

"No conclusion in regard to the existence of dialectic varieties in the Sanskrit can be drawn from the fact that the Prakrit dialects have all preserved the form of the instrumental plural in *hi* (derived from *bhis*), in words ending in *a*, while the modern Sanskrit has lost this form; for the ancient form in *ebhis* is not peculiar to any particular Vedic writings. The preservation of this form only proves that the Prakrit dialects began to be formed at an early period, when the termination in question was in frequent use. The early adoption, too, into Sanskrit of words which had become modified according to the laws of the Prakrit dialects, testifies, not so much to the early creation of popular dialects widely different from each other, as to the mere beginnings of such. We have to regard the causes of the varieties in the Indian dialects as twofold. The first is that general one, which has operated also in other languages, and which is indeed the principal, viz., those peculiarities connected with the abodes and the character of the tribes into which a people becomes divided. The reason why they have so operated, as they actually have, is in individual instances often difficult, nay, impossible, to assign. In this way, five principal modern languages, the Provençal, French, Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian, have arisen out of the Latin. Of these languages, the second, the fourth, and the fifth are rich in dialects. The second cause is (as has been already noticed) a special one,—I mean the influence exercised on the Prakrit dialects by the languages of the aboriginal tribes adopted into the Indian political system, who discarded their own form of speech and adopted the Indo-Arian language of the province in which they dwelt. These aboriginal tribes contributed, in some instances, to introduce peculiar varieties into the

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Prakrit dialects. When these aborigines were particularly savage and uncultivated, it could scarcely fail to happen that they occasioned very great corruptions of sound and form in the Indo-Arian languages."

The second passage is as follows:—

"It is in the period with which we are now occupied (i.e. that between Vikramāditya and the later Gupta kings) that the appellations Sanskrit for the classical language, and Prakrit for the forms of speech springing from it, must have arisen; because it was now that the distinction between the classical language (which was no longer employed as a spoken tongue except by the Brahmans and highest classes) and the popular dialects became decidedly marked. It has been maintained that Sanskrit was never the common popular dialect of the Arian Indians, but owed its origin only to the learned; and that the Vedic dialects coalesced, on the one hand, in a single language, and so created the regular Sanskrit, in which they were lost; and on the other hand, in virtue of their inherent character, became corrupted and irregular, and in this corrupt form continued to exist as the vernacular dialects of particular provinces. I must dissent from this view on the following grounds: First, it has not yet been proved (as I have already, p. 1148, observed) that there were any different dialects in the Vedic language. To prove that there were, it must be shown that in contemporaneous Vedic writings there are found variations of such an essential character as to justify us in assuming a variety of dialects: varieties observable in writings belonging to different ages only show that there was a progressive departure from an earlier condition of the language. Secondly, it is necessary that we be agreed as to what we mean by language. If thereby we mean the style of expression, then it may be asserted of many languages which have attained a higher degree of perfection by being employed in literature or in public assemblies, that they were not popular languages. The Athenians and Romans certainly did not, in their ordinary life, express themselves in the same style in which their orators spoke; and we Germans permit ourselves to make use of many turns of expression which we deny ourselves in books. So too we may suppose that the Indians of the earliest age did not ordinarily speak the same language which their poets employed. If, on the other hand, by language we mean grammatical forms, I cannot see

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why the Indians should not in the earliest ages have made use of the same as the contemporary poets employed. This certainly was the case also in the succeeding periods. To this it must be added that Pāṇini, the oldest of the three grammarians who are styled saints, uses the word *bhāshā* (speech) to designate the ordinary language in contradistinction to the Vedic, and employs as synonymous with *bhāshāyām* the word *loke*, i.e. in the world. The language which the Sanskrit-speaking Indians then spoke cannot, therefore, have been different from this *bhāshā*, or current form of speech. Its fate in contrast to that of its daughters has been a peculiar one. Whilst among the Greeks the Attic dialect became the general language of prose composition, ... and the other dialects became less and less prominent, ... and whilst in Germany the new high-German, from its use in literature and education, has more and more superseded the popular dialects, the sacred speech of the Brahmans, on the contrary, continued to lose ground, not so much in local extension, as in its employment by the different classes of the population in the same countries. It may be assumed that in the time of Aśoka the greater part of the people in the countries inhabited by Arian Indians spoke the local dialects, and that only the Brahmans and the principal persons spoke Sanskrit. On this circumstance the distribution of the dialects in the dramas rests. As the kings who were inclined to the Buddhist religion permitted only the popular dialects to be used in their inscriptions and coins, it becomes probable that they did the same thing in their decrees, and for other purposes."

The following remarks relating to the early extension and vernacular employment of Sanskrit, to its subsequent disuse as a spoken language, and to its ultimate resuscitation in a somewhat modified form, as a refined and sacred dialect, are translated, with occasional abridgment, from Prof. Benfey's article on India (above referred to), p. 245, ff. :—

"The language which we now call Sanskrit was once, as both the ancient and modern dialects which have issued from it distinctly show, the prevalent popular speech in the greatest part of India. Alongside of it there existed in the remotest times several dialects of one or more languages, not related to it, of the aborigines of India; which languages had at first a wider, and in later times a continually decreasing, extension. The period when Sanskrit began to spread itself

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over India cannot be decided any more than the era of the immigration of the people who spoke it. We can only determine the following points: First, in regard to extension; (1) the Sanskrit once prevailed over a considerable tract west of the Indus, as is shown both by many geographical names in those regions, by the accounts of Chinese travellers, and by the languages which are now found existing there; (2) to the north, the Sanskrit or its dialects prevailed as far as the Himālaya and the Indian Caucasus; (3) to the east, in the time of Aśoka, as far as the region of the Brahmaputra, though this region was not entirely Sanskritized; (4) to the south, Sanskrit exercised nearly its full sway as far as the southern frontiers of Mahārāshṭra: this is proved by the fact that one of the dialects which are most decidedly of Sanskrit origin, namely, the Prakrit pre-eminently so named, is also called the language of Mahārāshṭra, and is manifestly the parent of the modern Mahratti; (5) Sanskrit penetrated still further to the south, where it formed the language of educated people: but this occurred at a time when the Sanskrit-speaking race had not sufficient power entirely to expel the indigenous language, as they were able to do in Northern India with a very few isolated exceptions.

"Second, as to the time when Sanskrit was the language of the people we can determine as follows: We find in Aśoka's time two vernacular dialects, one in Guzerat, and the other in Magadha, which, as their entire structure shows, could not have existed alongside of, i.e. contemporaneously with, the Sanskrit, but must have become further developed in those provinces after the Sanskrit had previously prevailed there: consequently the Sanskrit must have died out before Aśoka, who lived in the third century B.C., and therefore about three centuries after the period to which the rise of Buddhism may with great probability be assigned. Now it is related to us of the first Buddhists, that they composed their books not in Sanskrit, but in the vernacular dialects. The sacred language of Buddhism is the Pali, which, though varying in many particulars from the language of Magadha, and approximating to the principal Prakrit (the Mahārāshtrī), stands yet in a similar relation to the Sanskrit as the latter, and the two dialects of Aśoka's inscriptions. It becomes, therefore, highly probable that at the period when Buddhism arose, i.e. about

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the sixth century B.C., Sanskrit was no longer the speech of the people. The entire character of Sanskrit shows that, at the time of its acme, it was fixed by means of something resembling a literature, and it is only on this supposition that we can comprehend how it appears in regions so far apart as the north and north-west of India and the Mahratta country, as a perfectly uniform basis of the dialects which sprang out it. But a speech which becomes fixed in such a manner does not soon die out. If we assume about three centuries for the time of its gradual extinction, the period when Sanskrit was the ordinary language of the people is thrown back to about the ninth century before Christ. During this and the immediately preceding period there existed, as we have already conjectured, a political union which embraced the entire Indian empire; and as we now know that Sanskrit must have been the actual speech of the people in the Mahratta country also at this period, we may conceive this political union to have extended from the Himālaya to the south of the Mahratta country. After this political unity had become severed (till the period of its restoration under Chandragupta), the various elements of Indian life became separately developed in the different provinces; and this was the case with the Sanskrit, too, which up to that time had been common to all. Out of this variety of local developments which the Sanskrit underwent, its different derivative languages arose, the earliest forms of which bore about the same relation to Sanskrit as the Romanic dialects to Latin.

"But while the Sanskrit was being thus developed and modified by popular use into new vernacular dialects, the literature which had been created in Sanskrit while it was yet a living tongue was still preserved in the schools[150] of the Brahmans, and along with it the Sanskrit itself as the sacred language of culture and science. When aroused to new energy by the attack made upon their system by the Buddhists, the Brahmans came forward with certain writings composed in this sacred language, and declared to be of primeval antiquity: one of the earliest of these was the Institutes of Manu; and then followed

[150] "Though we have no distinct external evidence that there were any such schools at this early period, we may yet appeal to the whole intellectual development of Indian life, in the form which it must have taken even before the rise of Buddhism as evidence of their existence."

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the Rāmāyana. But external grounds, as well as the mention which they make of the Yavanas (Greeks), prove these works to have been composed at a much later period than that to which they are alleged to belong. In like manner the treatment of the language in these books, and still more in the Sanskrit literature which follows, and is connected with them, demonstrates that they cannot possibly have proceeded from a popular dialect, but, on the contrary, are the products of a learned, or rather a sacred language, which, having died out among the mass of the people, had been preserved in the circle of the educated priesthood as the medium of intercourse with the gods, and of communicating the sacred sciences, and was cultivated with the liveliest zeal and devotion. Out of this circle again Sanskrit passed over to those persons who stood in connexion with the priests as members of the same administrative caste. When the Brahmans recovered their predominance, Sanskrit became for a time the language of the educated classes, of the court, and the administration [151] generally: and even the Buddhists could not abstain from employing so valuable an instrument of cultivation. We have only to recollect the manner in which the Latin, though long a dead language, remained in use throughout the middle ages, and even in our own time, in order to perceive clearly how the Sanskrit also, though it had died out as a vernacular tongue between the ninth and sixth centuries B.C., should yet have held its ground in the highest circles, and continued in use there to such an extent that it can even now be employed as an instrument for the expression of thought on the highest subjects. The Sanskrit had, however, here an important advantage over the Latin in this respect, that wherever Brahmanism prevailed it was regarded as a sacred language, as all the most sacred books of that religion were composed in it. In consequence of this opinion, it was considered a religious merit to be even acquainted with it; and a Sanskrit grammar, or other work which contributed to a knowledge of this language, was and is looked upon as a sacred book. In the same way a knowledge of Hebrew was long preserved among the

[151] [We have another instance of a language not vernacular in India being used as the language of administration, in the Persian, which, though unintelligible to the mass of the people, was used by the Mahomedans, and after them, for many years (until about thirty years ago), by the English, as the language of the law courts and the revenue offices.—J.M.]

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Jews; and even so late as, perhaps, sixty years ago, no one among them could lay claim to the character of a learned man unless he had learnt the 'sacred language.'" . . . .

"At the period when the dramatic literature assumed its fixed form (a period which cannot yet be determined, but which may be conjecturally placed in the sixth or seventh century A.D.), the knowledge of Sanskrit must have extended, on the one hand, to all who laid claim to the character of educated men, for otherwise the dramatic poets could not have composed in Sanskrit the leading parts in plays designed for representation before the entire public; and on the other hand it must have been constantly used as the language of public documents, of religion, and of learned men, for otherwise it could scarcely have been put into the mouth of gods, kings, and priests. Whether Sanskrit was at that time the proper court-language, I cannot determine; but I scarcely think it was, as the officers of the state, if not Brahmans, do not use it."

Professor Benfey then proceeds to specify the differences between the ancient form of the Sanskrit when it was still a vernacular language, and the later form which it took after its regeneration as a sacred and learned form of speech, so far as he considered himself in a position to do so at a period (1840) when he had before him but a small portion of the Vedas, which furnish us with almost the only means we can have of judging what the earlier language was.[152] He remarks: "The late Sanskrit is distinguished from the Vedic by the use of extravagantly long compounds. Even if the specimens of the Vedas and the Upanishads which are known to me had not shown that in this respect there is an essential difference in the use of the Sanskrit at the two periods to which I refer, it might have been concluded with certainty, from the character and length of these compounds, that such monstrosities could not have been created at a

[152] Had these observations been written now, Professor Benfey would probably have seen no cause to modify his main conclusions, though he would have been in a position to express himself with greater confidence and precision. [Note in first edition, 1860.] In his review of the first edition of this work in the Gött. Gel. Anzeigen, already referred to, p. 135, Prof. Benfey writes as follows: "I would, now that the differences between the Vedic language and the Sanskrit, which was formed by a process of regeneration, are more exactly known, say Vedic or old[-Sanskrit instead of Sanskrit]." See Weber's remark above, p. 68.

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time when the language was in vernacular use. Such compounds might occasionally have been used with effect; but a living language would have energetically rejected such an abuse of these forms as we find in the late Sanskrit writings, which renders all easy comprehension impossible. On the other hand, the effort to employ such compounds was quite suitable to a learned language, and to a learned poetry, which was far removed from the real life of the people. In like manner the laws of Sandhi, as practised in its widest extent in later Sanskrit, must have been equally foreign to the ancient vernacular Sanskrit. In late Sanskrit all the words of a sentence are combined in one immense whole by the assimilation, or other connexion, of their final and initial letters. This rule does not, in general, prevail in the Vedas; and although it is well known that in actual discourse the final and initial letters of words exercise a certain modifying influence upon each other, every one who has considered the limited extent to which a vernacular dialect, and even a literary work composed in such a dialect, can obey this law, and who, at the same time, knows to what extremes the modern Sanskrit pushes the application of this rule, will be convinced that the excessive employment of Sandhi cannot have sprung out of any popular use, but must have resulted from carrying out to an absurd extent a grammatical canon which is correct in itself.

"Further, when the later Sanskrit is accurately examined, it is found to be affected in a most important degree by the influence of the popular dialects derived from the more ancient Sanskrit. The Indians, with their genius for grammar, or philology generally, were in general well aware of the modifications which the ancient language had received from the dialects which had been developed out of it: they had investigated the phonetic laws by which these dialects had been derived from their parent, and could, as it were, transport the former back to the latter. This facility threw them off their guard; and it consequently becomes possible for us to demonstrate that the Sanskrit of the whole Indian literature subsequent to Manu's Institutes, cannot be in all respects the ancient language of the people, with a degree of distinctness which none of the Sanskrit authors, convinced as they were that they were writing correct ancient Sanskrit, could have imagined. I must confine myself here to exhibiting the principal elements of this proof. It is divisible into two parts; as we must

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(1) maintain that the new Sanskrit has lost[153] much which the older Sanskrit had, and which it could only lose from the circumstance that it had died out in the intermediate period, and had now to be revived in a form which might be as intelligible as possible. To this head belong a number of roots and inflected forms which the grammarians recognize and adduce partly as current, and partly as obsolete, but of which the later Sanskrit makes next to no use. The reason of this is that these roots, as well as these inflected forms, were either entirely lost in the vernacular dialects which existed at the time when the new Sanskrit was created, or had become so disfigured that their Sanskrit form could not have been easily discovered or understood. (2) The new Sanskrit contains in it much that the old Sanskrit could not have had. To this head belong a number of forms of roots which had become modified according to the laws of some one vernacular dialect, and which have been employed in the new Sanskrit in this modified shape, which the grammarians either hesitated to refer to its proper Sanskrit form, or did not comprehend. Every single example of this which might be adduced would, however, require detailed development and proof, which would demand too much space to be here attempted.

"I will, therefore, content myself with repeating the main results of the investigations which have been here merely indicated, and in great part yet remain to be carried out. These results are: That from the period when the Sanskrit-speaking race immigrated into India down to perhaps the ninth century B.C., Sanskrit became diffused as the prevailing vernacular dialect over the whole of Hindustan, as far as the southern borders of the Mahratta country. It penetrated no further south as a vernacular tongue, but only as the language of education, and apparently at a later period. From the ninth century B.C. the Sanskrit began to die out: derivative dialects became de-

[153] "The Sanskrit has lost a great many verbal roots, and has frequently modified the original meaning of those still in existence."—Aufrecht, Uṇādisūtras, pref. p. viii. "In the course of time some branches of literature disappeared, a number of words became antiquated, and the tradition as to their meaning was either entirely lost or corrupted. When commentators arose to explain the Uṇādisūtras," —supposed by Professor Aufrecht (p. ix.) to be considerably older than Pāṇini,— "they found the greater part of the words contained in them still employed in the literature of their age, or recorded in older dictionaries. But an unknown residuum remained, and to these, whenever tradition failed them, they were bold enough to assign quite arbitrary significations."—Ibid. pp. vi. xii.

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veloped from it; and in the sixth century B.C. it had become extinct as a vernacular language. On the other hand, it maintained its ground in the schools of the Brahmans. About the third century B.C., in consequence of the regeneration of Brahmanism in Kanouj, it was brought back into public life as a sacred language, and gained a gradually increasing importance as the organ of all the higher intellectual development. About the fifth century A.D., it had become diffused in this character over the whole of India. So long as the empire of the Hindus lasted, it continued to increase in estimation; and even long after the Mahomedans had settled in India, it was almost the sole instrument for the expression of the highest intellectual efforts."

I conclude this section by quoting from an article by Mr. Beames in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1870, vol. v., new series, pp. 149, f., the following remarks on the relation of the Prākṛits to the "Old-Āryan" language :—

"In assuming that the languages of the first period" (the Prākṛits and Pāli) "are later than Sanskrit, I do not lose sight of the fact that historically they were contemporaneous with it. But I call them 'neo-Āryan,' because the majority of their forms exhibit a decadence from some more perfect condition. It is true that, not only in classical, but even in Vedic, Sanskrit forms are found which exhibit a perfect Prākrit type; but this does not prevent the general run of Prākrit from showing unmistakable signs of having degenerated from a purer and stronger ancient language, which we cannot call Sanskrit, because it is older still than even the language of the Vedas, and which therefore may, when necessary, be called 'Old Āryan.'

"It is a highly probable theory that the 'Old Āryan,' like all other languages, began to be modified in the mouths of the people as early as the Vedic period, and that the Brahmans, at a subsequent date, in order to prevent the further degeneration of their language, polished, elaborated, and stiffened it into the classical Sanskrit. We cannot, however, suppose that they brought any new material into the language, but simply that they reduced to rule what was till then vague and irregular, that they extended to the whole of the language euphonic laws which had been till then only of partial application, and so forth; all the while, however, only working upon already existing materials. It will, therefore, not militate against the established con-

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temporaneous existence of learned Sanskrit and popular Prākrit, to consider the former as in general the representative of the original Old Āryan, and, consequently, as so far older than the Prākrit; because, ex hypothesi, in Sanskrit most of what existed in Old Āryan has not only been preserved, but worked up and expanded, while in the Prākrit, on the contrary, not only has much been absolutely lost, but that which remains has been corrupted and debased. Besides, as nothing whatever of the Old Āryan has been preserved, or is likely to be discovered (although much may be, and has been, guessed at from analogy), we are driven, whether we like it or no, to look to Sanskrit for the oldest extant forms; and we do, undoubtedly, find them there, as contrasted with Prākrit and Pāli."[154]

SECT. IX.—*Reasons for supposing that the Sanskrit was originally a spoken language.*

It appears from the passages cited from the works of Professors Lassen and Benfey, that these distinguished scholars assume that the Sanskrit (by which, no doubt, must be understood a language in some respects different from the later Sanskrit, and more akin to the Vedic dialect) was once a spoken tongue, regarding this as a fact which admits of no question: while Professor Weber is of opinon that the only Indo-Ārian speech which existed at the early period to which I refer had not yet been developed into Sanskrit, but was still a vernacular tongue.[155] As, however, what seems so clear to the European scholar,—viz., that Sanskrit in its earlier form was a spoken language,—may not be so plain to the Indian reader, it becomes necessary for me to adduce the most distinct evidence of the fact which I am able to discover.

[154] With reference to a question already discussed, see pp. 31, ff., I add the following sentences from Mr. Beames's article, p. 150:—"With regard to the languages of the second period, it must be explained that I do not intend to touch on the obscure question of how far non-Āryan elements enter into their composition. Much there is which is still doubtful, but this is admitted on all hands, that a very large proportion of their constituent parts is of Āryan origin."

[155] Indische Literaturgeschichte, p. 1. His words, as translated, are these:—"In its earliest period the Indo-āryan speech had not yet become Sanskrit, i.e. the language of cultivated men, but remained still a vernacular tongue, whilst in its second period, the people spoke not Sanskrit but Prakritic dialects, which had been developed out of the ancient Indo-āryan vernacular contemporaneously with the Sanskrit."

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First:—Even though we assume, as we must do, that there were, from the earliest times, other forms of spoken language current in India besides the Sanskrit; yet these would be the dialects of the Dasyus, or non-Ārian tribes; while the upper classes of the population of the Ārian race, the same order of persons who in after times spoke Prākṛit, must have been in the habit of speaking Sanskṛit (by which must be understood the then current form or forms of the Old Ārian speech) a few ages previously; for, in fact, no other Ārian language then existed in India which they could have used. If languages with such a complicated structure as the Pāli and the Prākṛits were employed in common conversation, there is no difficulty in supposing that Sanskrit too, which was not much more complex, should have been spoken by ordinary persons. We must not, of course (as Professor Benfey has well remarked above, p. 140, f.), imagine that all the refined rules for the permutation of letters which were used in later Sanskrit composition were then employed in daily discourse, though some few of them might have been; for the use of these rules is by no means essential to the intelligible or grammatical employment of the language; and at the time to which I refer, they had not been developed or systematized. Many, too, of the more complicated inflections of Sanskrit verbs would be then little used in conversation; as, in fact, they are now comparatively little used in most literary compositions.[156]

[156] The remark in this last sentence probably rests on a misapprehension of the character of the language vernacularly employed by men in the earlier stages of society. But I leave it as it stood, in order to make the following remarks on it by Professor Benfey, in the review above referred to, more easily intelligible. He writes, p. 135: "Here, nevertheless, I should like to see much otherwise understood. Thus it is said in p. 154—'Many, too, of the more complicated inflections of Sanskrit verbs would be then [at the time when the Sanskrit existed as a spoken language] little used in conversation;' which, as appears to me, leads to an erroneous understanding. It is precisely the deficiency of so many forms in the regenerated Sanskrit, as, for example, the want of a conjunctive generally, of the moods for the different tenses, the unfrequent employment of the aorists as compared with the Vedic Sanskrit, the disuse of so many double forms, as e.g. the substitution of the single form of *ais* for *ais* and *ebhis*, as the ending of instrumental cases of nouns in *a*, the limitation of the strong case-forms, which in the Vedas are used very irregularly, the regulation of the reduplication and many other differences of this description between the Vedic, or ancient, and the regenerated Sanskrit,—it is just these points which determine us to explain the latter (the modern Sanskrit) principally through the predominance of the vernacular dialects: those persons who wrote the regenerated Sanskrit were too much accustomed to these vernaculars to do more in general than to turn the speech

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It is true that we cannot point out the exact forms of all the Sanskrit words in use at the latest period at which it was so employed as a spoken tongue; especially as the language of conversation always differs to some extent from the language of formal composition or of books, and the vernacular Sanskrit was no doubt undergoing a perpetual alteration till it merged into Prākṛit.

Second:—The case which I have supposed here of Sanskrit having been once a spoken language, and having at length ceased to be employed in ordinary discourse, while the provincial dialects which sprang out of it, and gradually diverged more and more from it and from each other, have taken its place as the popular vehicles of conversation,—is by no means a singular occurrence, unprecedented in the history of language; on the contrary, the manner in which the Italian, French, and Spanish languages (to which Burnouf and Lassen refer in a passage cited above, p. 69) have been formed out of Latin, presents a very close parallel to the mode in which the various mediæval Indian Prākṛit bhāshās (which in their turn have given birth to the modern Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, etc.) grew out of Sanskrit. During the existence of the Roman empire, Latin, as is quite well known, was the spoken language of Italy, and other western portions of Europe. It is now in nearly all those countries a dead language, and is only known to the learned who study the works of the Latin philosophers, historians, and poets; just as it is only the Pandits of India and other scholars who can understand the Sanskrit Śāstras. But while Latin has itself ceased to be a spoken language for eight hundred or a thousand years, various vernacular dialects have (as I have said) sprung out of it, such as Italian and the other modern tongues already specified; the Latin words which compose the greater part of their vocabulary being variously modified, and the ancient Latin inflections being either corrupted, or dropped, and replaced by particles and auxiliary verbs. Of these derivative dialects, the Italian, which is

with which they were familiar into Sanskrit according to the reflex rules (Reflexgesetze) which were known to them. It was only a constantly deeper study of the old remains of the genuine vernacular Sanskrit and the compositions which were more closely connected with it that brought back many of its at first neglected peculiarities into the regenerated Sanskrit, a point which can be proved by the express testimony of Pāṇini himself in reference to the participles of the reduplicated perfect. (Compare Pān. iii. 2. 108; and my complete Sanskrit Grammar, p. 413, note 13, and shorter Grammar, § 361, 369.)"

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spoken in Italy, has retained the closest resemblance to its mother-language. Many of the changes which Latin words have undergone in Italian, resemble very closely the modifications which Sanskrit words have undergone in Pāli and Prākṛit, as has been already remarked in the passage quoted, in p. 69, from Burnouf and Lassen's Essay on the Pāli.

To exhibit the wonderful similarity (amounting in some cases to identity) of the processes by which these two ancient languages, the Sanskrit and the Latin, are modified in their modern derivatives, I shall place in juxtaposition a few of the most remarkable instances of it which occur to me.[157]

I.—Phonetic Changes.

(1). Words in which the *c* or *k* is dropped from a compound letter *ct*, *nct*, or *kt*, while the *t* is doubled.

Latin forms, as modified in Italian.			Sanskrit forms, modified in Pali and Prakrit.		
Latin.		Italian.	Sanskrit.		Pali and Prakrit.
perfectus	becomes	perfetto	muktas	becomes	mutto
dictus	,,	detto.	yuktas	,,	jutto.
junctus[158]	,,	giunto.[159]	bhaktas	,,	bhatto.
fructus	,,	frutto.	sikthakā	,,	sitthao.
pactum	,,	patto.	parityaktas	,,	parichchatto.
tractus	,,	tratto.	bhuktas	,,	bhutto.
factus	,,	fatto.	saktas	,,	satto.
actus	,,	atto.			
octo	,,	otte.			
doctus	,,	dotto.			

(2). Words in which the *p* of *pt* is dropped, and the *t* doubled.

ruptus	becomes	rotto.	uptas	becomes	utto.
aptus	,,	atto.	suptas	,,	sutto.
inceptus	,,	incetto.	guptas	,,	gutto.
septem	,,	sette.	luptas	,,	lutto.
captivus	,,	cattivo.	tṛiptis	,,	titti.
assumptus	,,	assunto.	taptas	,,	tatto.
subtus	,,	sotto.	saptamas	,,	sattamo
(With many others).			naptā	,,	nattā.
			prāptas	,,	patto.
			paryāptas	,,	pajjatto.
			kshiptas	,,	khitto.
			liptas	,,	litto.
			dīptas	,,	dītto.

[157] Since the first edition of this volume was published, this subject has been handled in a pamphlet of 68 pages published in 1869, entitled Vergleichung des Prakrit mit den Romanischen Sprachen, von Friederich Haag. In a review of this book in the Lit. Centralblatt for May 14, 1870, p. 594, f. reference is made to its being accompanied by Tables, which, however, I do not find in my copy.

[158] The Latin *c* is sounded *k* in Sanskrit.

[159] *giu*, in Italian, is sounded as *ju* in Sanskrit.

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(3). Words in which the *l* of a compound letter, *pl* or *kl*, is dropped.[160]

Latin forms, as modified in Italian.			Sanskrit forms, modified in Pali and Prakrit.		
Latin.		Italian.	Sanskrit.		Pali and Prakrit.
planctus	becomes	pianto.	viklavas	becomes	vikkavo.
planus	,,	piano.			

(4). Words in which the *b* of the compound letter *bj* is dropped.

subjectus	becomes	soggetto.	kubjas	becomes	khujjo.[161]
objectus	,,	oggetto.[162]	abjas	,,	ajjo.

(5). Words in which the letters rejected, or changed, are not the same in the Italian and Prākṛit, but in which both languages show the same tendency to simplification.

absorptus	becomes	assorto.	utpalam	becomes	uppalam.
absurdus	,,	assurdo.	skandhas	,,	khandho.
externus	,,	esterno.	dharmas	,,	dhammo.
mixtus	,,	misto.	dushkaras	,,	dukkaro.
sextus	,,	sesto.	kshamā	,,	khamā.
textus	,,	testo.	mugdhas	,,	muddho.
saxum	,,	sasso.	mudgas	,,	muggo.
somnus	,,	sonno.	labdhas	,,	laddho.
damnum	,,	danno.	śabdas	,,	saddo.
autumnus	,,	autunno.	nimnas	,,	nimmo.[163]
domina	,,	donna.	āmnāyas	,,	āmmāyo.
			pradyumnas	,,	pajjummo.
			janman	,,	jammo.
			rājñā	,,	raññā.

A large portion of the simplifications in Pāli and Prākṛit arise from the rejection of *r* before or after another consonant, as in the words *kaṇṇa* for *karṇa*, *savva* for *sarvva*, *mitta* for *mitra*, *putta* for *putra*, etc. This elision of *r* is not usual in Italian.

II.—I give an instance or two to show the manner in which the Latin case-terminations have been dropped in Italian. In Latin the word *annus*, a year, is thus declined.

Singular.		Plural.	
Nom. - - - -	annus.	Nom. - - - -	anni.
Gen. - - - -	anni.	Gen. - - - -	annorum.
Dat. and Abl. - -	anno.	Dat. and Abl. - -	annis.
Accus. - - - -	annum.	Accus. - - - -	annos.

In Italian, on the contrary, there is only one form in the singular,

[160] In Prākṛit, however, a compound letter, of which *l* is the final portion, is generally dissolved into two syllables, as *glāna* becomes *gilāna*.

[161] Var. II. 34. [162] Pronounced as if written in English, *sojjetto*, *ojjetto*.

[163] I can only infer, from the rule in Vararuchi, III. 2, that the *n* is thrown out and the *m* doubled in this and the two following words, as I have not met them anywhere.

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anno; and one in the plural, *anni*; the case-terminations being supplied by prepositions with or without the article, as follows:

Singular.		Plural.	
Nom. and Accus.	l' anno.	Nom. and Accus.	gli anni.
Gen.	dell' anno.	Gen.	degli anni.
Dat.	all' anno.	Dat.	agli anni.
Abl.	dall' anno.	Abl.	dagli anni.

III.—In Italian verbs, the Latin forms of the active voice are preserved in a modified shape, as the following example will show:—

Present Tense.		Imperfect Tense.	
Latin.	Italian.	Latin.	Italian.
1. vendo.	vendo.	1. vendebam.	vendeva.
2. vendis.	vendi.	2. vendebas.	vendevi.
3. vendit.	vende.	3. vendebat.	vendeva.
4. vendimus.	vendiamo.	4. vendebamus.	vendevamo.
5. venditis.	vendete.	5. vendebatis.	vendevate.
6. vendunt.	vendono.	6. vendebant.	vendevano.

Perfect Tense.		Pluperfect Tense.	
1. vendidi.	vendei.	1. vendidissem.	vendessi.
2. vendidisti.	vendesti.	2. vendidisses.	vendessi.
3. vendidit.	vendè.	3. vendidisset.	vendesse.
4. vendidimus.	vendemmo.	4. vendidissemus.	vendessimo.
5. vendiditis.	vendeste.	5. vendidissetis.	vendeste.
6. vendiderunt.	venderono.	6. vendidissent.	vendessero.

But (IV.) in the passive voice the Italian language has entirely lost the Latin forms of conjugation. Thus instead of the Latin forms *ego laudor*, "I am praised;" *ego laudabar*, "I was praised;" *ego laudarer*, "I should be praised," etc., the Italians employ in all tenses (as the Latin had already done in a few), the substantive verb with the past participle, and say *Io sono lodato*, *Io era lodato*, *Io sarei lodato*, "I am," "I was," "I should be, praised."

These few instances will suffice to show the Indian reader how the Latin words and inflections are modified in Italian.

It is thus manifest from the history of Italy in ancient and modern times that the people of that country once spoke Latin, and now speak Italian, a vernacular dialect derived from Latin, and differing from it in many respects, as the Indian Prākṛits do from Sanskrit, while Latin equally with Sanskrit is in most of the countries where it was formerly current a dead language, known only from ancient books, or from its

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use in the public worship of the Roman Catholic Church, or from its occasional employment by modern scholars in their writings, or in scholastic discussions, in Italy and other countries. But if it be true that a language like Latin, with its numerous and varied inflections, was once the common speech of the whole Roman people, there can be no difficulty in supposing that while the modern Hindus (excepting a few Pandits) can only speak Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, etc., and while their ancestors spoke different Prākṛit dialects, which are the immediate parents of the modern vernaculars, the Hindus of a still earlier period should have spoken Sanskrit, i.e. the old Ārian language, itself, from which there is no doubt that the older forms of Prākṛit were immediately derived. If even in our own day Pandits can talk Sanskrit, why should not the vernacular use of it, in a simple and natural style, have, in former ages, been common, not only among Brāhmans, but also among other persons in all the different classes of society? The complex structure of a language, i.e. the multitude of its forms of inflection and conjugation, which, to those who are accustomed to a simpler form of speech, may appear to afford grounds for doubting that a language of the former description could ever have been vernacularly spoken, is, in fact, rather an argument in favour of that supposition; for such complexity of structure appears to be a characteristic of language as it exists in the earlier stages of society, whilst the dialects formed out of these earlier tongues, on their decay, are observed to become simpler in their forms. This is exemplified in the case of the Latin and its derivatives.

Third:—The fact that the dramatic authors put Sanskrit into the mouth of Brāhmans and other persons of the higher ranks, affords an argument of considerable force that Sanskrit was once spoken by the whole community, and by the upper classes down to a much later period (see above, p. 140): and even the common employment of the same language by learned Indians in their schools and disputations down to the present day, may go some way to prove its more general currency as a vernacular at an earlier date. For if Brāhmans did not at one time employ it in their ordinary discourse, how did they ever get into the habit of speaking it with so much ease and fluency? But if Sanskrit was at one time ordinarily spoken by Brāhmans, the use of it would easily be propagated from one generation of learned men to another.

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Fourth:—Manu mentions a difference of speech in ancient India among the Dasyus, or non-Ārian tribes, some classes of them speaking the language of the Āryas, and others the language of the Mlechhas.[161] The language of the Āryas to which he alludes must have been derived from Sanskrit, or old-Sanskrit itself: whether it was the one or the other must depend on the age in which we suppose this particular text of Manu's Institutes to have been composed. This passage, at any rate, leaves the impression that there was a broad distinction between the Ārian language and the indigenous dialects with which it was contrasted; and that the varieties, if any, recognized as existing in the former, were regarded as comparatively insignificant.

Fifth:—In some of the oldest Indian grammarians, such as Yāska and Pāṇini, we find the obsolete language of the Vedas distinguished from the ordinary Sanskrit of the day. The former is alluded to or designated by the terms *anvadhyāyam* (in the Veda), *chhandas* (metre), or *ārsha* (the speech of the ṛishis), etc.; while the contemporary Sanskrit is referred to as *bhāshā* (the spoken language). Thus Yāska, the ancient author of the Nirukta, in the introductory part of his work, I. 4, speaking of particles (*nipātāḥ*), says: *teshām ete chatvāraḥ upamārthe bhavanti iti | "iva" iti bhāshāyāṁ cha anvadhyāyaṁ cha "Agnir iva" "Indraḥ iva" iti | "na" iti | pratishedhārthīyo bhāshāyām ubhayam anvadhyāyam | "na Indraṁ devam amaṁsata" iti pratishedhārthīyaḥ ityādi |* "Of them these four are particles of comparison. '*Iva*' has this sense both in the common language (*bhāshā*) and in the Veda (*anvadhyāyam*): thus *Agnir iva, Indra iva,* 'like Agni,' 'like Indra.' '*Na*' has in the *bhāshā* a negative sense. In the Veda, it has the sense both of a negative and also of a comparative particle. Thus in the text *na Indram devam amaṁsata,* 'they did not regard Indra as a god,' it has a negative sense," etc. Again, in the next section (I. 5), he says similarly: *"nūnam" iti vichikitsārthīyo bhāshāyām | ubhayam anvadhyāyāṁ vichikitsārthīyaḥ padapūraṇaś cha |* "The particle '*nūnam*' is used in the *bhāshā* to signify uncertainty; in

[161] Manu, x. 45. The verse is quoted and translated in Vol. I. of this work, p. 482; but I repeat it here for facility of reference. *Mukha-bāhūru-paj-jānāṁ yāḥ loke jātayo vahiḥ | mlechchhavāchas' chārya-vāchaḥ sarve te Dasyavaḥ smritāḥ |* "Those tribes which are outside of the classes produced from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet [of Brahmā, i.e. Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras], whether they speak the language of the Mlechhas or of the Āryas, are called Dasyus."

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the Veda, too, it has that signification, and is also a mere expletive." Again, Yāska says, Nir. II. 2: *athāpi bhāshikebhyo dhātubhyo naigamāḥ kṛito bhāshyante "damūnāḥ" "kshetrasādhāḥ" iti | athāpi naigamebhyo bhāshikāḥ "ushṇam" "ghṛitam" iti | athāpi prakṛitayaḥ eva ekeshu bhāshyante vikṛitayaḥ ekeshu | "śavatir" gati-karmā kambojeshv eva bhāshyate | vikāram asya āryeshu bhāshante "śavaḥ" iti | "dātir" lavanārthe prāchyeshu dātram udīchyeshu* | "Again, there are Vedic (*naigama*) nouns (as *damūnāḥ* and *kshetrasādhāḥ*) which are derived from roots found in the *bhāshā;* and also formations in the *bhāshā*, such as *ushṇam*, *ghṛitam*, which come from Vedic roots. Further, the roots only are employed in the speech of some; the derived forms [or nouns] in that of others. *Śavati*, as a verb for 'going,' is used in the language of the Kambojas only: its derivative, *śava* ('a corpse'), is in use in the language of the Āryas. The verb *dāti* is employed in the sense of 'cutting' by the people of the East: while the noun *dātram* ('a sickle') only is known to those of the North." Here it will be observed that pure Sanskrit words are referred to as being used in the speech not only of the Āryas, but also of the Kambojas, a people living to the north-west, who are distinguished from the Āryas.

In the Sūtras of Pāṇini the Vedic dialect is referred to as follows: 1, 2, 36, *vibhāshā chhandasi* | "in the *chhandas* (Veda) there is an option:" 1, 4, 20, *ayasmayādīni chhandasi* | "In the *chhandas* we have the forms *ayasmaya* [instead of *ayōmaya*]," etc.; and so in numerous other aphorisms. The word *mantra* is put for Veda in the following Sūtras, 2, 4, 80; 6, 1, 151; 6, 1, 210; 6, 3, 131; 6, 4, 53; 6, 4, 141. The word *nigama* is similarly used in 6, 3, 113; 6, 4, 9; 7, 2, 64; 7, 4, 74:—and the expressions *ṛishau* ('in a ṛishi'), and *ṛichi* ('in a Vedic verse'), are employed in the same way, 4, 4, 96; 6, 3, 130; and 6, 3, 133. In contradistinction to the Vedic dialect, on the other hand, the current Sanskrit is designated by Pāṇini as *bhāshā* in the following Sūtras, 3, 2, 108: *bhāshāyām sadavasaśruvaḥ* | "in the current language the roots *sad*, *vas*, and *śru*, take *kvasu;*" 6, 3, 20: *sthe chā bhāshāyām* | "and in the case of *stha* in the current language." The same use of the word will be found in Sūtras, 6, 1, 181; 7, 2, 88; 8, 2, 98.[165]

[165] Compare Weber's Indische Literaturgeschichte, pp. 56, 139, and 167, with note 2, and Ind. Studien, iv. 76. Dr. F. Hall writes, pref. to his edition of the Vāsava-

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Scholars are not agreed as to the periods when Yāska and Pāṇini respectively lived, or even as to which of the two was the more ancient. Professor Müller considers Yāska to have lived in the fifth century B.C. ("Chips," 1st ed., p. 74, published in 1867),[166]—and, as a passage in his History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 163, f. (published in 1859), is understood by Professor Goldstücker (Pāṇini, p. 221, published in 1861),—places him after Pāṇini. Professor Lassen, in his Indian Antiquities (vol. i., first edition, p. 739, and pp. 864 and 866 of the second edition; and vol. ii., p. 476), thinks that as Yāska shows himself unacquainted with the highly artificial terminology of Pāṇini, and was named by him, he must be older, and that the difference of their grammatical methods is so great that an interval of fifty years will scarcely suffice to explain it. Professor Goldstücker (Pāṇini, p. 221) agrees with Lassen that Pāṇini is more recent than Yāska, but regards the former as having, in all probability, lived before Buddha (Pāṇini, p. 227), whose death he seems to concur with Lassen in placing in 543 B.C. Lassen, however, does not agree with Goldstücker

dattā, p. 24, note: "The word bhâshâ signifies 'classical Sanskrit,' as contrasted either with the archaism of the Veda, or with the various Prākṛits." The following account of this *bhāshā* by Professor Weber is in consonance with the views which have already been quoted from him (above p. 129, ff.). "After the immigration into India of the several Indo-aryan tribes, a greater unity had in course of time been restored in their different dialects by their association and intermixture in their new abodes and their aggregation into larger communities, while on the other hand, the grammatical study which was gradually becoming necessary for the explanation of the ancient texts, and was growing up in connexion therewith, had the effect of fixing the linguistic usage (*usus loquendi*), so that a generally recognized language known as the *bhāshā* had arisen, in which the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras are composed."—Ind. Lit. p. 167.

On the subject of this same term I quote some remarks of Professor Roth from his review of Weber's History of Ind. Lit. in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1853, p. 605:—"Contradistinguished from these Prākṛit dialects, stands the proper and therefore originally nameless speech, *bhāshā*, the later name of which, *Sanskṛita*, we must regard as one formed with reference to the Prākṛita, and answering to it. Too much meaning therefore appears to be introduced into the word, when it is explained as the cultivated language, as Weber also does. The use of the word elsewhere does not justify the explanation, which at the same time aims at an incorrect contrast. I believe that we shall come nearer to the truth if we merely assign to this somewhat arbitrarily chosen collection of roots which are also contained in Prākṛit the value (signification?) of the already existing speech, to which another form of speech is referred."

[166] In the same Essay, printed under the title of the "Last Results of the Sanskrit Researches," in Bunsen's Outline of the Phil. of Un. Hist. i. 137 (published in 1854), Prof. Müller had placed Yāska in the fourth century B.C.

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in regarding Pāṇini as anterior to Buddha (Ind. Ant., vol. i., second edition, p. 864). Professor Weber also (Ind. Stud. v. 136, ff.) rejects the opinion that Pāṇini was prior to Buddha.[167] If we accept the view of Böhtlingk and Lassen that Pāṇini flourished about 330 years B.C. (Lassen, vol. i., second edition, p. 864), and that Yāska was more than fifty years earlier, the latter may be placed about 400 B.C. If, further, we adopt the opinion expressed by Prof. Benfey (see last section, pp. 138, 143) that Sanskrit had ceased to be vernacular in the time of Buddha, i.e. in the sixth century B.C., the colloquial use of that language must have died out some centuries before the age of Yāska; and a somewhat longer period before the time of Pāṇini. In this case, these authors could not employ the word *bhāshā*, when referred to Sanskrit, in the sense of a universally spoken contemporaneous language; for the language then actually in general use must have been a species of Pāli or some of the earlier forms of Prākṛit. But still the spoken language of that day had not departed so far from the Sanskrit but that its close relation to the latter as its parent, or rather as its standard, would be evident to every scholar; and thus Sanskrit would still be called the *bhāshā*, or language *par excellence*. We have consequently, in the continued use of this word, an argument of considerable force to show that the Sanskrit had at one time been a spoken tongue.

Again, in the Mahābhāshya (pp. 22 and 63 of Dr. Ballantyne's edition) we find the following passage :—

Bhūyāṁso 'paśabdāḥ alpīyāṁsaḥ śabdāḥ | ekaikasya hi śabdasya bahavo 'pabhraṁśāḥ | tad yathā "gaur" ity asya śabdasya "gāvī" "gonī" "gotā" "gopotalikā" ity-evam-ādayo bahavo 'pabhraṁśāḥ |

"Incorrect words are the most numerous, and [correct] words are the fewest; for of each word there are many corruptions (*apabhraṁśāḥ*). Thus there are numerous corruptions of the word *goḥ* (cow); such as the following, viz., *gāvī*, *gonī*, *gotā*, *gopotalikā*, etc." This reference to incorrect forms, such as those of the word *go*, which seem to be Prākṛit,[168] indicates that Sanskrit, even if not still spoken by a considerable class of persons, was at least regarded as the standard of all spoken language; and that all deviations from it were looked upon as mere

[167] Compare the same writer's remarks on this question in his review of Mr. D'Alwis's Kāchchāyana in the Journal of the Germ. Or. Society, xix. 653.

[168] In the Mṛichhakaṭi, pp. 98, 99, the word *gonā* occurs in the sense of oxen.

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vulgarisms: for there would have been no ground for such a mode of comparison between words which were regarded as belonging to different languages; nor would the Prākṛit synonyms of *go* have been wrong because of their variety of form.

Sixth:—In the 164th hymn of the 1st book of the Rigveda, the following verse (the 45th) occurs: *Chatvāri vāk parimitā padāni tāni vidur brāhmanāḥ ye manīshiṇaḥ | guhā trīṇi nihitā nengayanti turīyaṁ vācho manushyāḥ vadanti |* "There are four measured grades of language: with these intelligent Brāhmans are acquainted. Three hidden in secret indicate nothing. The fourth grade of speech is uttered by men." I quote part of the comment on this verse, which is given in the Pariśishṭa, or Supplement to the Nirukta, i. 9:—

Katamāni tāni chatvāri padāni | "oṁkāro vyāhṛitayaś cha" ity ārsham | "nāmākhyāte cha upasarga-nipātāś cha" iti vaiyākaraṇāḥ | "mantraḥ kalpo brāhmaṇaṁ chaturthī vyāvakārikī" iti yājnikāḥ | "ṛicho yajūṁshi sāmāni chaturthī vyāvahārikī" iti nairuktāḥ | "sarpāṇāṁ vāg vayasāṁ kshudrasya sarīsṛipasya chaturthī vyāvahārikī" ity eke | "paśushu tūṇaveshu mṛigeshu ātmani cha" ity ātmapravādāḥ | athāpi brāhmaṇam bhavati "sā vai vāk sṛishṭā chaturdhā vyabhavad | eshv eva lokeshu trīṇi paśushu turīyam | yā pṛithivyāṁ sā Agnau sā rathantare | yā antarikshe sā Vāyau sā vāmadevye | yā divi sā āditye sā bṛihati sā stanayitnāv atha paśushu | tato yā vāg atyarichyata tām brāhmaṇeshv adadhuḥ | tasmād brāhmaṇāḥ ubhayīṁ vadanti yā cha devānāṁ yā cha manushyāṇām" iti |

"What are these four grades? The explanation of the ṛishis is, that 'they are the four mystic words, *om*, *bhūḥ*, *bhuvaḥ*, and *svar*.' The grammarians[169] say 'they are the four kinds of words, nouns, verbs, prepositions, and particles.' The ceremonialists declare them to be '(1st) the mantras; (2nd) the kalpas (liturgical precepts); (3rd) the brāhmaṇas; and (4th) the current language.'[170] The commentators (nairuktāḥ) explain them as being '(1st) the ṛich; (2nd) the yajush; (3rd) the sāman texts; and (4th) the current language.' Others think they denote the speech '(1st) of serpents; (2nd) of birds; (3rd) of

[169] See the Mahābhāshya, pp. 28, 29.

[170] See Sāyaṇa's commentary on R.V. i. 164, 45. He there defines thus the words *vyāvahārikī vāk: Bhoga-vishayā "gām anaya" ityādi-rūpā vyāvahārikī* | "The common language is that which refers to objects of enjoyment, such as *gām, ānaya*, 'bring the cow.'" These words are of course Sanskrit.

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small reptiles; and (4th) the current language.' The philosophical school explains the four grades as having reference to 'cattle, musical instruments, wild animals, and soul.' On this point we have also the following text in a Brāhmaṇa: 'Speech, when created, became divided into four parts, of which three abide in these three worlds (earth, the atmosphere, and the sky), and the fourth among the beasts. Terrestrial speech abides in fire and in the Rathantara texts; atmospheric speech abides in the wind, and in the Vāmadevya prayers; celestial speech abides in the sun, in the Bṛihat metre, and in thunder. The [fourth portion of speech was] in the beasts. The speech which was most excellent[171] was placed in the Brāhmans: hence the Brāhmans speak two sorts of language; both that of gods and that of men.'"

The Pariśishṭa appended to the Nirukta is more modern than the time of Yāska, though it is regarded as a part of his work by Durga, the commentator, who refers to the Nirukta as consisting of 14 parts. (See his comment on Nir. i., 20, which is quoted below, pp. 166, ff.) But though itself subsequent in date to the Nirukta, the preceding passage refers to the opinions of various ancient writers, and may, therefore, be held to carry us back to a remoter period. Three of the ancient schools which are quoted assert the current language (*vyāvahārikī vāk*) to be the fourth kind of speech alluded to in the Vedic text as being spoken by men. By this we are perhaps to understand old Sanskrit. It is true that in the Brāhmaṇa which the author of the Pariśishṭa cites a remark is made (connected with what precedes) that the Brāhmans speak two languages, that of the gods and that of men; and this might seem to prove that, as in later times (see above, p. 47), a distinction was drawn, at the time when the Brāhmaṇa was composed, between Sanskrit, the language of the gods, and Prākṛit, the language of men. But the reference may be to the Vedic and the ordinary Sanskrit; or to cultivated and rustic speech, or perhaps to some piece of mysticism.[172] And, in any case, as we are ignorant of the date of the Brāhmaṇa from which the citation is

[171] Benfey, Gött. Gel. Anz. for 1861, p. 134, would render "was the first."

[172] In the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 1, 1, and in the S'atap. Br. xiv. 6, 11, 2, it is said, *paroksha-priyāḥ iva hi devāḥ pratyaksha-dvishaḥ*, "for the gods love, as it were, what is mysterious, and hate what is manifest." The first part of this formula is of frequent occurrence in the Brāhmaṇas. The commentator on the Taitt. Br. i. 5, 9, 2, where it occurs, remarks, "Hence also in common life teachers avoid such names as Devadatta, and like to be honoured by such appellations as 'upādhyāya,'

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made, no conclusion can be drawn from the passage adverse to the vernacular use of Sanskrit in the Vedic age.

Seventh:—In the Rāmāyana several passages occur in which the colloquial use of Sanskrit is mentioned. These are the following[173]:—

Hanuman, the monkey general, is represented as having found his way into the palace of Rāvaṇa, the Rākshasa king, and as reflecting how he is to address Sītā, who is there confined. He says (Sundara Kāṇḍa, xxx. 17, Bombay edition): *ahaṁ hy atitanuś chaiva vānaraś cha viśeshataḥ | vāchaṁ chodāharishyāmi mānushīm iha saṁskṛitām*[174] | 18 | *yadi vācham pradāsyāmi dvijātir iva saṁskṛitām | Rāvaṇam manyamānā māṁ Sītā bhītā bhavishyati* | 19 | *avaśyam eva vaktavyam mānushaṁ vākyam arthavat | mayā sāntvayituṁ śakyā nānyatheyam aninditā* | "For I am very small, and above all a monkey; I shall now utter polished (*saṁskṛitām*) human speech. If I utter polished speech like a Brāhman, Sītā will think I am Rāvaṇa, and will be frightened. I must certainly speak human and significant language; for thus only can I comfort the blameless lady."

The reading in Gorresio's edition of the Sundara Kāṇḍa, xxix. 16, is somewhat different from the above, and is as follows: *anenāśvāsayishyāmi śokenāpahitendriyām | ahaṁ hy aviditaś chaiva vānaraś cha viśeshataḥ* | °17 | *yadi vāchaṁ vadishyāmi dvijātir iva saṁskṛitām | seyam ālakshya rūpaṁ cha Jānakī bhāshitaṁ cha me | Rāvaṇam manyamānā mām punas trāsam gamishyati | tato jāta-paritrāsā śabdaṁ kuryād*

'Miśra,' and so forth," (*ataḥ eva loke 'pi Devadattādi-nāma parityajya āchāryāḥ upādhyāyāḥ miśrāḥ ityādi-ṇāmabhiḥ pūjyāḥ paritushyanti*). It is well known that, according to Indian custom, Pandits are not named by their pupils, but are referred to as my Guru, etc.

In the Iliad, ii., 813, f., mention is made of an eminence called by men Batieia, and by the gods the tomb of Myrine; on which Faesi remarks in his note that the former was the common, the latter the older, but more distinctive and significant name. (Comp. Iliad i. 403; xiv. 291; xx. 74.) On Iliad ii. 813, Prof. Blackie remarks (Homer, vol. iv. 114), "With regard to the double name—the human and the divine—by which this place was known, I have little doubt that Lobeck (Aglao. p. 858), Nitzsch (Od. x. 305), and Göttling (Hes. intro. xxx.) are right in saying that by the language of men in such cases is understood the popular or vulgar name; by the language of the gods, the sacerdotal, oracular, or poetical designation."

[173] For the references to most of the texts here quoted I am indebted to Weber, Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft, for 1854, p. 851, note.

[174] These words are thus explained by the commentator: *mānushīm manushya-śarīra-sādhyām | "saṁskṛitām" vyākaraṇa-saṁskāravatīm |*

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manasvinī | "I shall console her, whose senses are overwhelmed with this grief. But I am both unknown, and above all a monkey. If I were to speak in polished language, like a twice-born man, Jānakī (Sītā), perceiving my appearance, and [hearing] my words, would think that I was Rāvaṇa, and would again become terrified; and would scream in consequence of her fright." Considering that this would lead to a discovery, he concludes as follows (verses 33 and 34 of the same section): *Rāmam aklishṭakarmāṇaṁ nimittair anukīrtayan* | *tasmād vakshyāmy ahaṁ vākyam manushyaḥ iva saṁskṛitam* | *nainām udvejayishyāmi tad-buddhi-gata-mānasām* | "Announcing by signs the undaunted Rāma, I shall address to her such polished language as a man would. [Thus] I shall not occasion her any alarm, as her mind will be fixed on the thoughts of her husband."

As the reason assigned in these passages for not addressing Sītā in Sanskrit such as a Brāhman would use, is not that she would not understand it, but that it would alarm her, and be unsuitable to the speaker, we may take them as indicating that Sanskrit, if not spoken by women of the upper classes at the time when the Rāmāyaṇa was written (whenever that may have been[175]), was at least understood by them,[176] and was commonly spoken by men of the priestly class, and other educated persons. By the Sanskrit proper to an [ordinary] man, alluded to in the second passage, may perhaps be understood not a language in which words different from those of Brahmanical Sanskrit were used, but the employment of diction correct, but neither formal and elaborate, nor familiar and vulgar. It would be comparatively easy, even for persons who could not speak correct Sanskrit, to understand it when spoken, at the early period here in question, when the contemporary vernacular, if different from Sanskrit, deviated from it so very much less than the modern Indian vernaculars do.

[175] Lassen, Ind. Alt., vol. i., pp. 484, ff., does not determine its date.

[176] In the Mṛichhakaṭī, however, written probably at a later period (see above, p. 12, note 4), a woman's pronunciation, when reading or repeating Sanskrit is spoken of as something laughable (p. 44, Stenzler's ed.):—*mama dāva duvehiṁ jjeva hassaṁ jāadi itthīāe sakkadam paḍhantīe manusseṇa a kāaliṁ gāanteṇa* | *itthīā dāva sakkadam paḍhantī diṇṇanavaṇassā via giṭṭhī adhiam susuāadi*, which is thus translated by Professor Wilson (Theatre of the Hindus, i. 60):—"Now, to me, there are two things at which I cannot choose but laugh, a woman reading Sanskrit, and a man singing a song; the woman snuffles like a young cow, when the rope is first passed through her nostrils."

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Again, an expression occurs in the Araṇya Kāṇḍa, xi. 56, from which it seems as if the use of Sanskrit was a characteristic of Brāhmans; and no doubt they were the persons who chiefly spoke it (Bombay edition): *dhārayan brāhmaṇaṁ rūpam Ilvalaḥ saṁskṛitaṁ vadan | āmantrayati viprān sa śrāddham uddiśya nirghṛiṇaḥ* | [177] "Assuming the form of a Brāhman, and speaking Sanskrit, the ruthless Rākshasa Ilvala invited the Brāhmans to a funeral ceremony."

In the Sundara Kāṇḍa, lxxxii. 3 (Gorresio's edition), the discourse of Prahasta, one of the Rākshasas, is characterized as *saṁskṛitaṁ hetu-sampannam arthavach cha* | "polished (*saṁskṛitam*), supported by reasons, and judicious in its purport;" and in the Yuddha Kāṇḍa, (civ. 2) the god Brahmā is said to have addressed to Rāma a discourse which was *saṁskṛitam madhuraṁ ślakshṇam arthavad dharma-saṁhitam* | "polished, sweet, gentle, profitable, and consonant with virtue." But in neither of these two passages does there appear to be any reference to the special meaning of the word *saṁskṛita*.

In the subjoined lines (Sundara Kāṇḍa, xviii. 18, f.), the word *saṁskāra* is employed, if not in a technical signification, corresponding to that of *saṁskṛita*, at all events in a manner which enables us (as Weber observes) to perceive how that technical sense of the word arose: *duḥkhena bubudhe chainām Hanumān Marutātmajaḥ | saṁskāreṇa yathā hīnām vācham arthāntaraṁ gatām* [178] | *tishṭhantīm analankārām dīpyamānāṁ sva-tejasā* | "Hanumān, Son of the Wind, recognized Sītā with difficulty, standing, as she was, unadorned, radiant only with her own brilliancy: just as a word is not readily understood, when its sense is changed by the want of its correct grammatical form."

[177] The commentator explains the first line thus: "*brāhmaṇa-rūpaṁ*" *brāhmaṇa-sadṛiśa-veshaṁ* | "*saṁskṛitaṁ vadan*" *brāhmaṇa-vad iti śeshaḥ* |

[178] The reading of this line is identical in the Bombay edition, xv. 39; and the commentator there has the following note: *Snānānulepanādir anga-saṁskāraḥ* | *vācho vyākaraṇa-jnānādi-jaḥ saṁskāraḥ* | *devyāḥ arthāntara-gatatvaṁ deśāntara-gatatvam* | *vāchas tu vivakshitārthād anyārtha-bodhakhatvam* | *vācho'rtho yathā vyākaraṇādy-abhyāsa-duḥkhena vyutpattiṁ sampādya budhyate tad-vat Sītāṁ kashṭena bubudhe* | "Bathing, anointing, etc., are the decoration (*saṁskāra*) of the body. The decoration (or correctness, *saṁskāra*) of speech is derived from a knowledge of grammar, etc. The phrase *arthāntaragatatva*, when applied to Sītā, signifies her having gone to a foreign country; but when applied to speech, it signifies the denoting of another meaning than the one intended. As the sense of speech is understood after proficiency has been attained with difficulty by the study of grammar, so he (Hanuman) recognized Sītā by hard effort." Professor Aufrecht has furnished

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Eighth:—From the researches of Professors Kuhn[179] and Benfey[180] it appears that many words, which in modern Sanskrit are only of one, two, or three, etc., syllables, have, in the Veda, to be read as of two, three, or four, etc., syllables, i.e., as of one syllable longer, in order to make up the full length of the lines required by the metre employed by the Vedic poets. Thus *tvam* has to be read as *tuam; vyushṭau* as *viushṭau; turyam* as *turiyam; martyāya* as *martiāya; vareṇyam* as *vareṇiam; amātyam* as *amātiam; svadhvaram* as *suadhvaram;* and *svastibhiḥ* as *suastibhiḥ*. Now as this mode of lengthening words is common in Prākṛit, it would appear that the Prākṛit pronunciation agrees in this respect with that of the old Sanskrit in contradistinction to the more recent. But as the Prākṛit pronunciation must have been borrowed from a previously existing popular pronunciation, which was at the same time that employed by the Vedic poets, we find here another reason for concluding that the old spoken language of India and the Sanskrit of the Vedas were at one time identical.[181]

me with the following text on the subject of Sanskrit being at one time spoken. He informs me: "The Sarasvaṭīkaṇṭhābharaṇa speaks, in the beginning of the second chapter, of the use of the vulgar tongue in poetry, and says in śloka 16: *ke 'bhūvann ādya-rājasya rājye prākṛita-bhāshiṇaḥ | kāle śrī-Sāhasāṅkasya ke na saṁskṛita-vādinaḥ |* According to the author, Sanskrit was universally spoken in the time of Sāhasāṅka, whom we know as the founder of an era. This is an individual view, but it is curious as coming from a Hindu, who lived, say, 1,050 years after Christ." The sense of the verse quoted by Professor Aufrecht is as follows: "During the reign of the first king, who spoke Prākṛit? In the time of Sāhasāṅka (Vikramāditya), who did not speak Sanskrit?"

[179] Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, iii. 80.

[180] Sāma-veda, Introduction, p. liii., ff. See also the articles of Dr. Bollensen in Orient und Occident, ii. 457, ff., and in the Zeitsch. der Deut. Morg. Gesellschaft, xxii. 569, ff., and Prof. Müller's translation of the R.V., vol. i., pref. pp. lxxviii, ff.

[181] I quote some remarks of Benfey, Sāma-veda, Introd. p. liii.:—"The necessity for frequently changing the liquids *y* and *v* into the correspondent vowels *i* and *u*, had been remarked by the Indian writers on prosody, who teach that, wherever the metre requires it, *iy* and *uv* should be read instead of *y* and *v*. In many words the former mode of writing appears to have prevailed; as is rendered probable by the differences of reading between the Sāma-veda and the Rig-veda, the former, for instance, reading *tugriya, subhuvaḥ, sudruvam*, where the latter reads *tugrya, subhvaḥ, sudrvam;* and the latter, on the contrary, reading *samudriya*, where the former reads *samudrya*. . . . . But the necessity of making the change in order to obtain a reading conformable to the metre, is of such ordinary occurrence that we are soon led to conclude that, at the time when the Vedas were composed, the liquids (*y* and *v*), which appear in the Sanhitās as we now have them, had not yet, for the most part,

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SECT. X.—*Various stages of Sanskrit literature, and the different forms in which they exhibit the Sanskrit language: the later Vedic commentators: earlier expounders: the Nirukta: the Brāhmaṇas: the Vedic hymns: imperfect comprehension of them in later times from changes in the language: the hymns composed in the vernacular idiom of their age.*[182]

As I have shown in the preceding section that Sanskrit was once a spoken language, it must, in that its earlier stage, have been exposed to the mutations to which all spoken languages are subject from their very nature. Sanskrit must, in the course of ages, have become very different from what it originally was.[183] And, in fact, we find from the records of Indian literature, that the Sanskrit, as it is brought before us in the different Śāstras, has gone through different phases. The most modern is that in which we find it in the Itihāsas, Purāṇas, and Smṛitis. The Itihāsas and Purāṇas are undoubtedly not to be ranked with the oldest Sanskrit writings, for they all imply that there

begun to be pronounced, but that, in their stead, the corresponding vowels *i* and *u* were employed." On the other hand, *y* and *v* must sometimes be read instead of *iy* and *uv* (p. lvi.). The fifteen verses of the Purusha Sūkta (cited in the first volume of this work, pp. 8, f.), which are composed in the Anushṭup metre, will be generally found to have the proper number of feet, if not in other respects to scan correctly,—if the preceding remarks be attended to. Thus in the first verse, line second, the words *vṛitvā* and *atyatishṭhat* must be read apart, and *not* united by sandhi. *Bhāvyam* (in the first line of the second verse) must be lengthened to *bhāviyam; vyakrāmat* (second line, fourth verse) to *viakrāmat; sādhyā* (second line, seventh verse) to *sādhiyā; ājyam* (first line, eighth verse, though not in second line, sixth verse) to *āǰiam; grāmyāścha* (second line, eighth verse) to *grāmiāścha; vyadadhuḥ* and *vyakalpayan* (first line, eleventh verse) to *viadadhuḥ* and *viakalpayan;* and *rājanyaḥ* (first line, twelfth verse) to *rājaniaḥ*.

[182] In revising this section (composed originally in 1858) for the press, I have had the assistance of Professor Müller's work on Ancient Sanskrit Literature, which has enabled me to make a few additions, and to modify some of my previous statements. [Note to first edition.]

[183] I fear that the text of Patanjali (Mabābhāshya, p. 104) may be cited against me here:—*nityāś cha śabdāḥ | nityeshu cha śabdeshu kūṭasthair avichālibhir varṇair bhavitavyam anapāyopajana-vikāribhiḥ |* "Words are eternal; and in the case of eternal words we must have immutable and immovable letters, free from diminution, or increase, or alteration." But the words which Bhāskara Acharyya applied to astronomy are equally applicable to grammar:—*atra ganita-skandhe upapattimān eva āgamaḥ pramāṇam |* "In this astronomical department scripture is authoritative only when it is supported by demonstration." This is true, also, of all other matters, which, like Grammar, come within the sphere of science.

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were many older records of Hindu antiquity existing when they were compiled, and often quote various ancient verses.[184] The Mahābhārata frequently introduces old legends with the following formula, which, however, may often mean nothing: *atrāpy udāharantīmam itihāsam purātanam* | "Here they adduce this ancient narrative." (See vol. i., p. 127.) In all these different classes of works, which, in their present form, are comparatively recent parts of Indian literature, the Sanskrit language is substantially the same. At the time when even the oldest of these works were reduced into their present form, we must suppose that the Sanskrit had nearly ceased to be a spoken tongue, and had become gradually stereotyped as a polished and learned language, by the precepts of those grammarians who preceded Pāṇini, as well as of that scholar himself and his successors.[185] As the language which had thus been polished, improved, and fixed by precise grammatical rules, ceased to be popularly spoken, it was preserved from any future changes. In this way the Sanskrit language has remained almost unaltered for more than two thousand years, till it has acquired the appearance of immutability; while its antiquity, and the perfection of form which it eventually acquired, and has so long retained, have caused it to be regarded as of divine origin; just as every science which has descended from a remote age, or even from a period comparatively recent, is

[184] That they are not all of one age is held by an enlightened Indian Pandit, Īśvara Chandra Vidyāsāgar, in the Bengalī preface to his Ṛijupāṭha, or Sanskrit selections, as follows:—*sŏkŏl purāṇ ŏpekhyā Vishṇupurāṇer rŭchŏnā prāchīn bōdh hŏy | yābŏtīyŏ purāṇ Vedŏbyāsproṇīt boliyā prŏsiddhi āchhe | kintu purāṇ sŏkŏler rŭchŏnā pŏrŭspŏr etŏ bibhinn je ek byŏktir rŭchit bŏliyā bōdh hŏy nā | Vishṇupurāṇ Bhāgŭbŏt ō Brŏhmŏbaibŏrttŏpurāṇer ekek ŏṁś pāṭh kŏrile ei tin grŏnth ek lekhŏnīr mukhhŏite vinirgŏt bŏliyā prŏtīti hŏōyā dushkŏr | Vishṇupurāṇ prŏbhritir sŏhit Mŏhābhāraŏter rŭchŏnār etŏ bibhinnŏtā je jini Vishṇupurāṇ kimbā Bhāgŭbŏt ŏthŏbā Brŏhmŏbaibŏrttŏpurāṇ rŭchŏnā kŏriyāchhen tāṁhār rŭchit bōdh hŏy nā |*

"The composition of the Vishṇu-purāṇa appears to have preceded that of all the other Purāṇas. It is commonly said that all the Purāṇas were composed by Veda-vyāsa. But the style of the different Purāṇas is so various that they cannot be conceived to be the work of one person. After reading a portion of the Vishṇu-purāṇa, another of the Bhāgavata, and a third of the Brahmavaivartta-purāṇa, it is difficult to believe them all to have proceeded from one pen. . . . So, too, there is such a discrepancy between the style of the Mahābhārata and that of the Vishṇu-purāṇa, and the other works mentioned above, that it cannot be imagined to be the composition of the same person by whom they were written.

[185] See, however, the distinction made by Lassen between the Epic poems (Itihāsas) and the Purāṇas, in the passage cited above, p. 133, note.

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regarded by the people of India as supernatural.[186] Prior to this era, however, and as long as it had continued to be commonly spoken by the lower or upper classes, the Sanskrit had been liable to constant fluctuations in the forms of its inflections. Accordingly, in the works which are more ancient than the Smṛitis and Itihāsas, we find various differences of grammatical form, and a style altogether more antique. This is to some extent the case in the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads, where we encounter a simplicity of syntax and a tautology of style, together with many particles, and some modes of construction and forms, which are foreign to the later works.[187] The Brāhmaṇas, however, are only to be regarded as a middle stage between the Vedic hymns (mantras) and the more modern Sanskrit. It is to the hymns of the Rigveda, most of which are separated by an interval of several centuries, even from the Brāhmaṇas, that we must resort if we would discover how wide are the differences between the Sanskrit in its oldest known form and its most modern shape. In these hymns we find various forms of inflection and conjugation which are not to be traced in more modern writings, and numerous words which either disappear altogether in later authors, or are used by them in a different sense. These hymns are, in fact, by far the oldest parts of Indian literature. That this is the case, is proved by the whole nature and contents of the other portions of that literature which is connected with those hymns. The hymns are the essential part of the Veda; all the other writings which bear the name of Veda are dependent on the hymns, and subservient to their explanation or liturgical use. In the commentary called the Vedārtha-prakāśa, on the Taittirīya Sanhitā, p. 9, it is said: *Yadyapi Mantra-brāhmaṇātmako Vedas tathāpi Brāhmaṇasya mantra-vyākhyāna-rūpatvād mantrāḥ eva ādau samāmnātāḥ* | "Al-

[186] The philosophers Rāmānuja and Mādhvāchāryya are called incarnations of S'esha and Vāyu (Wilson's Hindu Sects, pp. 24 and 87), and S'ankara Āchārya is celebrated in the Vṛihad Dharma-purāṇa as an incarnation of Vishṇu.—Colebrooke's Essays, i. 103, 104.

[187] Thus, e.g. any one who is familiar with modern Sanskrit will recognize in the passage cited from the Kaushītakī-brāhmaṇa in the first volume of this work (p. 328), a dissimilarity of style. The separation of the particle *abhi* from the verb *abhavat*, in the phrase *abhi Saudāsān abhavat* | "He became superior to the Saudāsas," is a remnant of the Vedic usage. In modern Sanskrit the preposition would not be thus severed from the verb. In the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 5, 1, 10, and 12, the following ancient forms occur, *tāt* for *tasmāt*, "from that," *vṛiṇāsai*, "Do thou choose," or "thou shalt choose."

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though the Veda consists of Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, yet, as the Brāhmaṇas have the character of explanations of the Mantras, [it follows that] the latter were the first recorded." And in a verse referred to by Śankara Āchārya in his commentary on the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad (Bib. Ind. ii. 855, ff.) it is said: *Brāhmaṇa-prabhavāḥ mantrāḥ* | "The mantras are the sources of the Brāhmaṇas." This may be made clearer by beginning with the most recent parts of the literature connected with the Vedas, and going gradually back to the oldest parts.

First:—Two of the most recent commentators on the Vedas are Sāyaṇa Āchārya, who lived in the fourteenth century A.D.,[188] and wrote a detailed commentary called Vedārthaprakāśa, on the whole of the Rigveda; and Mahīdhara, who compiled a commentary entitled Vedadīpa on the Vājasaneyī Sanhitā of the Yajur-veda.

Second: In such works as these we find reference made to earlier writers on the Vedas, such as Śaunaka, the author of the Bṛihaddevatā, Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, and many others, with quotations from their works.

Professor Müller[189] divides the Vedic literature, properly so called, into four periods, which, in the inverse order of their antiquity, are the Sūtra period, the Brāhmaṇa period, the Mantra period, and the Chhandas period. The Chhandas period, during which the oldest hymns preserved in the Rigveda collection were written, he supposes to have lasted from 1200 to 1000 B.C. Then followed the Mantra period, from 1000 to 800 B.C., in the course of which the more recent of the Vedic hymns were composed, and the whole were gathered together into one Sanhitā (or collection). Next in order was the Brāhmaṇa period, from 800 to 600 B.C., during which the chief theological and liturgical tracts bearing this title were composed and collected.[190] And, lastly, we have the Sūtra period, extending from 600

[188] Professor Wilson's Rigveda Sanhitā, Vol. I. Introduc. p. xlviii. Müller, "Chips," (1st ed.) p. 24. Roth, Introd. to Nirukta, p. liii. refers Mahīdhara (if not Sāyaṇa also) to the sixteenth century.

[189] See his "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 70, 244, 249, 313, 445, 497, 572.

[190] Professor Haug thinks all these works are older. In the Introduction to his Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, vol. i. p. 47, he writes: "We do not hesitate therefore to assign the composition of the bulk of the Brāhmaṇas to the years 1400–1200 B.C.;

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to 200 B.C., in which the ceremonial precepts of the earlier tradition were reduced (by men who, however, were no longer, like their predecessors, regarded as inspired) into a more tangible, precise, and systematic form than they had previously possessed. The works of this period were not all composed in the concise form of Sūtras, but some were in verse and others in prose.

Among the latter is the work of Yāska, who (as we have seen, p. 153) is supposed by Professor Müller ("Chips," p. 74) to have lived in the fifth century B.C. Yāska found an earlier work entitled the Nighaṇṭus, made up of classified lists of Vedic, and partly obsolete, words, existing in his day; to which he alludes in the following passage, at the very commencement of his work (i. 1): *samāmnāyaḥ samāmnātaḥ | sa vyākhyātavyaḥ | tam imaṁ samāmnāyaṁ "Nighaṇṭavaḥ" ity āchakshate* | "A sacred record (*samāmnāya*) has been compiled, which is to be expounded. This is called the Nighaṇṭus."[191]

And again (in i. 20): *sākshātkṛita-dharmāṇaḥ ṛishayo babhūvuḥ | te 'varebhyo 'sākshātkṛitā-dharmabhyaḥ upadeśena mantrān samprāduḥ | upadesāya glāyanto 'vare bilma-grahaṇāya*[192] *imaṁ granthaṁ samāmnāsishur vedaṁ cha vedāngāni cha | [bilmam bhilmam bhāsanam iti vā].*[193]

"The ṛishis had an intuitive insight into duty. They, by tuition, handed down the mantras to subsequent preceptors, who were destitute of this intuitive perception. These later teachers, declining in the power of communicating instruction, for facility of comprehension through the division of the subject-matter, arranged this book (the Nighaṇṭus), the Veda, and the Vedāngas. [*Bilma* means *bhilma*,

for the Saṁhitā we require a period of *at least* 500–600 years, with an interval of about 200 years between the end of the proper Brāhmaṇa period. Thus we obtain for the bulk of the Saṁhitā the space from 1400–2000; the oldest hymns and sacrificial formulas may be a few hundred years more ancient still, so that we would fix the very commencement of Vedic Literature between 2400–2000 B.C." See the first volume of this work, 2nd ed., p. 2, ff.

[191] On this the commentator Durgācharya annotates as follows: *sa cha [samāmnāyaḥ] ṛishibhir Mantrārtha-parijñānāya udāharaṇabhūtaḥ panchādhyāyī śāstrasangraha-bhāvena ekasminn āmnāye granthīkṛitaḥ ity arthaḥ.* "The sense is, that 'This sacred record which had been set forth by ṛishis as a specimen of the mode of explaining the sense of the mantras, has been formed into one collection in five chapters.'"

[192] "Das splitterweise Fassen," B. and R.

[193] The words in brackets are regarded by Prof. Roth as spurious (Illust. Nirukta, p. 14, f.). I quote them, however, as they are commented on by Durga.

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division, or *bhāsana*, illustration.]" This passage proves at once the priority of the Nighaṇṭus to the Nirukta, and also the still greater antiquity of the hymns which form the subject of explanation in both.[194]

The following are the remarks of Durgāchārya, the commentator, on this passage (Nir. i. 20):—

Sākshātkṛito yair dharmaḥ sākshād dṛishṭo prativiśishṭena tapasā te ime "sākshātkṛita-dharmāṇaḥ" | ke punas te iti | uchyate | "ṛishayaḥ" ṛishanti amushmāt karmaṇaḥ evam-arthavatā mantreṇa saṁyuktād amunā prakāreṇa evaṁ-lakshaṇa-phala-vipariṇāmo bhavati iti ṛishayaḥ | "ṛishir darśanād" iti vakshyati | tad etat karmaṇaḥ phala-vipariṇāma-darśanam aupachārikyā vṛittyā uktaṁ "sākshātkṛita-dharmāṇaḥ" iti | na hi dharmasya darśanam asti | atyantāpūrvo hi dharmaḥ | āha | kiṁ teshām iti | uchyate | "te 'varebhyo 'sākshātkṛita-dharmabhyaḥ upadeśena mantrān samprāduḥ" | te ye sākshātkṛita-dharmāṇas te 'varebhyo 'vara-kālīnebhyaḥ śakti-hīnebhyaḥ śrutarshibhyaḥ | teshāṁ hi śrutvā tataḥ paśchād ṛishitvam upajāyate na yathā pūrveshāṁ sākshātkṛitadharmāṇāṁ śravaṇam antarā eva | āha | kiṁ tebhyaḥ iti | te 'varebhyaḥ "upadeśena" śishyopādhyāyikayā vṛittyā mantrān granthato 'rthataś cha "samprāduḥ" samprattavantaḥ | te 'pi cha upadeśena eva jagṛihuḥ | atha te 'py "upadeśāya glāyantaḥ avare bilma-grahaṇāya imaṁ granthaṁ samāmnāsishur vedaṁ cha vedāṅgāni cha" iti | "upadeśāya" upadeśārtham | kathaṁ nāma upadiśyamānam ete śaknuyur gṛihītum ity evam artham adhikṛitya glāyantaḥ khidyamānāḥ teshv [?] agṛihnatsu tad-anukampayā teshām āyushaḥ

[194] Professor Roth, in his Introduction to the Nirukta, p. xiii, remarks thus on this passage:—"Here Yāska ascribes the compilation of the small collections of words and names which forms the basis of his explanation, in an undefined way to an ancient tradition, not indeed dating from the earliest period, when faith and doctrine flourished without artificial aids, but from the generations next to that era, which strove by arrangement and writing to preserve the treasures which they had inherited. He further puts the Naighaṇṭuka in one class with the Vedas and Vedāṅgas. By the composition of the Vedas, which Yāska here places in the second period of Indian history, he cannot mean the production of the hymns transmitted by the rishis, which were always esteemed in India as the essential part of the Vedas, and were regarded in the same light by Yāska in the passage before us. All, therefore, that could be done by later generations was to arrange these hymns, and commit them to writing. We find here a recollection of a comparatively late reduction into writing of the mental productions of early ages, an event which has not yet attracted sufficient notice in its bearing upon the history of Indian literature."

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sankocham avekshya kālānurūpāṁ cha grahaṇa-śaktim "bilmagrahaṇāya imaṁ grantham" gavādi-devapatny-antaṁ samāmnātavantaḥ | kim matam etena iti | uchyate | "vedaṁ cha vedāngāni cha" itarāṇi iti | katham punaḥ samāmnāsishur iti | āha | śṛiṇu | vedaṁ tāvad ekaṁ santam atimahattvād duradhyeyam aneka-śākhā-bhedena samāmnāsishuḥ sukhagrahaṇāya vyāsena samāmnātavantaḥ | te ekaviṁśatidhā bāhvṛichyam ekaśatadhā ādhvaryavaṁ sahasradhā sāmavedaṁ navadhā ātharvaṇam | vedāngāny api | tad yathā | vyākaraṇam ashṭadhā niruktaṁ chaturdaśadhā ityevam-ādi | evaṁ samāmnāsishur bhedena grahaṇārtham | katham nāma | bhinnāny etāni śākhāntarāṇi laghūni sukhaṁ grihṇīyur ete śaktihīnāḥ alpāyusho manushyāḥ ity evam-artham samāmnāsishuḥ | bilma-śabdam bhāshya-vākya-prasaktaṁ nirbravīti | yad etad bilmam ity uktam etad bhilmam vedānām bhedanam | bhedo vyāsaḥ ity arthaḥ | "bhāsanam iti vā" | athavā bhāsanam evam bilma-śabdeṇa uchyate | vedānga-vijñānena bhāsate prakāśate vedārthaḥ iti | ataḥ idam uktam bilmam iti | evam bhider bhāsater vā bilma-śabdaḥ | evam idam ṛishibhyo niruktaśāstram āyātam itarāṇi cha angāni iti pariśodhitaḥ āgamaḥ |

"They to whose minds duty was clearly present, i.e., by whom through eminent devotion it was intuitively seen, were the persons described by the term *sākshāt-kṛita-dharmāṇas*. Again, who were they? The ṛishis,[195] who are called so because they flow (*ṛishanti*); because from a particular ceremony accompanied by a mantra of such and such import, in a certain way, such and such a reward results. And the author will afterwards declare that the word 'ṛishi' comes from 'seeing' (*darśaṇāt*). Here 'those who have an intuitive perception of duty' are spoken of in a metaphorical way, as 'seeing' that a reward results from a ceremony; for duty cannot be seen, being something entirely invisible. He proceeds. But what of these ṛishis? He tells us: 'They handed down the mantras by oral tuition to subsequent men, who had not the same intuitive perception of duty,' i.e. those ṛishis who had an intuitive perception of duty handed down the mantras to subsequent men, i.e. to those who were ṛishis by audition (*śrutarshis*), of a later age, and destitute of power; 'ṛishis,' whose

[195] About the different kinds and races of ṛishis, see vol. i. of this work, p. 400, note, and Prof. Aufrecht's Catalogue, p. 41, col. 2; as well as the 3rd vol. of this work, passim; see the index.

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ṛishihood arose from what they had heard from others, and not without hearing, as was the case with those earlier ṛishis who had an intuitive perception of duty. He proceeds. What did the earliest ṛishis do to these later ones? They handed down the mantras by tuition (viz., by the function of instructing their pupils) according to their text and meaning;[195] and the pupils received them through tuition. Then 'these later men, being grieved,[197] with the view of affording instruction, arranged this book and the Veda, and the Vedāngas, in portions, for facility of comprehension.' 'For the purpose of instruction:' 'grieved,' afflicted by the apprehension that their pupils would not comprehend what was taught them; and when they did not understand, being actuated by compassion towards them, and having regard to the greater shortness of their lives, and to the diminution in their power of comprehension, which was occasioned by the influence of the times, they compiled this book [the Nighaṇṭu], beginning with '*gau*,' and ending with '*devapatnyas*,' in parts, for facility of comprehension by division of the subject-matter. He next tells us what is meant by this: the Vedas, and the other Vedāngas. But how did they compile these works? He tells us, listen: By separation, they arranged the Veda (which being up to that period one, was difficult to study, from its extreme magnitude) in a number of different Śākhās, for the purpose of easier comprehension. The Rigveda was arranged in 21 śākhās, the Yajush in 101, the Sāma in 1,000, the Ātharvaṇa in 9: and similarly the Vedāngas; grammar in 8 books, the Nirukta in 14, and so on, in order that they might be apprehended in a divided state; i.e. that powerless and shortlived men might easily be able to understand these several Śākhās, when divided and of limited extent. He now explains the word '*bilma*.' . . . . *Bilma* = *bhilma*, means the division of the Vedas, and division stands for separate arrangement. Or it means *bhāsanam*, elucidation; i.e. the sense of the Vedas becomes clear from a knowledge of the vedāngas, or supplements to the Veda. Thus *bilma* is from the root *bhid*, or the root *bhās*. In this way this

[196] So Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 522) renders *granthato arthataścha*, denying to the word "grantha" the sense of *written book*. This rendering is approved by Prof. Goldstücker (Pāṇini, p. 32), though he holds that "grantha" properly means a written book (*ibid.* p. 27).

[197] It will be seen that in p. 165, I have understood the word *glāyantaḥ* in the sense of "declining."

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Nirukta Śāstra, and the other Vedāngas have descended from the ṛishis. Thus the scripture has been elucidated."

The Nighaṇṭus, the lists of words which form the subject of the preceding remarks, were prefixed by Yāska to his own work, the Nirukta, in which, by commenting on them, he endeavours to throw light on the obscurities of the Veda.[198] When this work of Yāska was written, and even at a much earlier period, it is evident that the sense of many of the Vedic words had been commonly forgotten. This appears from the very fact of such works as the Nighaṇṭus and Nirukta being composed at all. For what occasion was there for compiling vocabularies of Vedic words, if the sense of these words had continued all along familiar to the students of the Vedas? The necessity for works like his own is argued by Yāska in the following passage (Nir. i. 15):

Athāpi idam antareṇa mantreshv artha-pratyayo na vidyate | artham apratiyato nātyantaṁ svara-saṁskāroddeśaḥ | tad idaṁ vidyā-sthānaṁ vyākaraṇasya kārtsnyaṁ svārtha-sādhakaṁ cha |

"Now without this work the meaning of the hymns cannot be understood; but he who does not comprehend their meaning cannot thoroughly know their accentuation and grammatical forms. Therefore, this department of science is the complement of grammar, and an instrument for gaining one's own object."[199]

The same thing is also clear from many passages in his work, in which he attempts to explain Vedic words by their etymologies[200]

[198] "The Naighaṇṭuka," says Professor Roth (Introd. to Nirukta, p. lii.), "especially the second portion of it, was a collection of difficult and obsolete words, which formed a basis for instruction in the mode of expounding the Veda, such as was usually given in the schools of the Brahmans. At that period no need was felt of continuous commentaries; and in fact learning had not then become separated into so many branches. A memorandum of the terms denoting the ideas of most frequent occurrence in the Veda, and of the principal passages which required elucidation; a simple list of the gods and the objects of worship, such as we find in the Naighaṇṭuka, sufficed as a manual for oral instruction. At a later era this manual became the subject of formal and written explanation. To this period belongs the Nirukta."

[199] This passage is translated by Roth, Nirukta, Erläuterungen, p. 11. And Sāyaṇa says in the Introd. to his Commentary on the Rigveda, vol. i. p. 39, *tasmād vedārthāvabodhāya upayuktam niruktam* | "Hence the Nirukta is serviceable for the understanding of the meaning of the Veda."

[200] See Roth's Erläuterungen to Nirukta, p. 219, ff. "Vedic interpretation could impose on itself no greater obstruction than to imagine that the Indian commentators were infallible, or that they had inherited traditions which were of any value. Even a superficial examination shows that their plan of interpretation is the very opposite

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(a process, often tentative, which would have been unnecessary if their meanings had been perfectly known), or in which he cites the opinions of different classes of interpreters who had preceded him, and who had severally propounded different explanations. This further shows that in Yāska's time the signification of the hymns had formed the subject of investigation by learned men of different schools for many ages preceding. The following passage will illustrate this, as well as afford some insight into the subjects and manner of discussion at the period when he lived. In the Nirukta, i. 15, 16, he thus (in continuation of the passage last cited) alludes to the opinion entertained by one of his predecessors, Kautsa,[201] regarding the value

of traditional, that it is in reality a grammatical and etymological one, which only agrees with the former method in the erroneous system of explaining every verse, every line, every word by itself, without inquiring if the results so obtained harmonize with those derived from other quarters. If the fact that none of the commentators are in possession of anything more than a very simple set of conceptions regarding, e.g., the functions of a particular god, or even the entire contents of the hymns, which they are continually intruding into their interpretations, be regarded as a proof of their having inherited a tradition, it will at least be admitted that this poverty of ideas is not a thing which we have any reason to covet. In this set of conceptions are included those scholastic ideas which were introduced at an early period indeed, but not until the hymns had already become the subject of learned study, and the religious views and social circumstances on which they are based had lost all living reality. . . . What is true of Sāyaṇa, or any of the other later commentators, applies essentially to Yāska also. He, too, is a learned interpreter, who works with the materials which his predecessors had collected, but he possesses an incalculable advantage, in point of time, over those compilers of detailed and continuous commentaries, and belongs to a quite different literary period; viz., to that when Sanskrit was still undergoing a process of natural growth." Compare Benfey's remarks on the Vedic scholiasts, in the Introduction to his Sāmaveda, pp. lxv, f., where he observes: "How high soever may be the antiquity assigned to the oldest grammatical and hermeneutical treatises on the Vedas, a long period appears to have intervened between these and the composition of the greater portion of the hymns, during which very much that was peculiar to the Vedas was forgotten. Their interpretations rest essentially (as is shown not merely by the commentaries which have been alluded to, but also by Yāska's Nirukta) on etymology, on conclusions drawn from the context, and the comparison of similar passages. The oldest attempts at interpretation seem to be contained in Brāhmaṇas, in collections of passages (*nigama*), in collections of words (*nighaṇṭu*) and in explanations (*nirukta*), of which last, two are mentioned by Sāyaṇa (R.V. vol. i. p. 45, lines 16 and 18), viz., one by Śākapūṇi and another by Sthaulāshṭhīvi, in addition to that of Yāska."

[201] See Roth, Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda, p. 21, f. where he writes: "The rationalistic Kautsa could regard the Veda as devoid of meaning, and the Brāhmaṇas as false interpretations."

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of the Vedic interpretation:

"Yadi mantrārtha-pratyayāya anarthakam bhavati" iti Kautsaḥ | "anarthakāḥ hi mantrāḥ | tad etena upekshitavyam | niyata-vācho yuktayo niyatānupūrvyāḥ bhavanti | athāpi brāhmaṇena rūpa-sampannāḥ vidhīyante | 'uru prathasva' iti prathayati | 'prohāṇi' iti prohati | athāpi aṇupapannārthāḥ bhavanti | 'oshadhe trāyasva enam' | 'svadhite mā enaṁ hiṁsīr' [Taitt. S., i. 2, 1] *ity āha hiṁsan | athāpi pratishiddhārthāḥ bhavanti | 'ekaḥ eva Rudro 'vatastho na dvitīyaḥ' | 'asaṁkhyātā sahasrāṇi ye Rudrāḥ adhi bhūmyām' | 'aśatrur Indra jajnishe' | 'śataṁ senāḥ ajayat sākam Indraḥ' | iti | athāpi jānantam sampreshyati 'Agnaye samidhyamānāya anubrūhi' iti | athāpy āha 'Aditiḥ sarvam' iti 'Aditir dyaur Aditir antarikshaṁ' iti" | tad uparishṭhād vyākhyāsyāmaḥ | "athāpy avispashṭhārthāḥ bhavanti | 'amyak' | 'yādṛiśmin' | 'jārayāyi' | 'kāṇukā' iti" | arthavantaḥ śabda-sāmānyāt | "etad vai yajnasya samṛiddham yad rūpa-samṛiddham yat karma kriyamāṇam ṛig yajur vā 'bhivadati"* (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, i. 4) *iti cha brāhmaṇam | "krīlantau putrair naptṛibhir" iti | yatho etad "niyatavācho yuktayo niyatānupūrvyāḥ bhavanti" iti laukikeshv apy etad yathā "Indrāgnī" "pitāputrāv" iti | yatho etad "brāhmaṇena rūpa-sampannāḥ vidhīyante" ity uditānuvādaḥ sa bhavati | yatho etaj "anupapannārthāḥ bhavanti" ity āmnāyavachanād ahiṁsā pratīyeta | yatho etad "vipratishiddhārthāḥ bhavanti" iti | laukikeshv apy etad yathā "asapatno 'yam brāhmaṇaḥ" "anamitro 'yaṁ rājā" iti | yatho etaj "jānantaṁ sampreshyati" iti jānantam abhivādayate jānate madhuparkam prāha iti | yatho etad "Aditiḥ sarvam" iti laukikeshv apy etad yathā "sarvarasāḥ anuprāptāḥ pānīyam" iti | yatho etad "avispashṭhārthāḥ bhavanti" iti | na esha sthāṇor aparādho yad enam andho na paśyati purushāparādhaḥ sa bhavati | yathā jānapadīshu vidyātaḥ purusha-viśesho bhavati | pārovarya-vitsu tu khalu veditṛishu bhūyo-vidyaḥ praśasto bhavati |*

I will, in my translation, place the answers of Yāska opposite to the objections of Kautsa (though they are separated in the text), and thus economize space, as well as make the discussion clearer.[202]

[202] See Dr. Roth's translation of this passage in the first of his Abhandlungen, p. 21, and in his Erläuterungen to the Nirukta, pp. 11–13. There are, however, some parts of the passage of which I do not clearly understand the bearing.

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Kautsa objects.	*Yāska replies.*
1. "If the science of interpretation is intended to make the sense of the mantras clear, it is useless, for the mantras have no sense. This is to be seen as follows."	1. "The mantras have a sense, for their words are the same (as those in the ordinary language). A Brāhmaṇa (the Aitareya, i. 4) says, 'What is appropriate in its form, is successful in the sacrifice; that is to say, when the verse [*ṛich* or *yajush*] which is recited refers to the ceremony which is being performed.'[203] An example of the identity of the Vedic language with the ordinary speech is this, '*krīlantau*,' etc. ('sporting with sons and grandsons')."
2. "The propositions [in the hymns and texts] have certain fixed words, and a certain fixed arrangement;" [and so require no interpretation?]	2. "This is the case in ordinary language also, e.g. *Indrāgnī, pitāputrau* ('Indra and Agni,' father and son')."
3. "The mantras have the ritual forms to which they refer fixed and enjoined by the Brāhmaṇas [and, therefore, need no further explanation]: thus 'Spread thyself widely out,' [Vāj. S., i. 22] and so he spreads; 'Let me pour out,' and so he pours."	3. "This is a mere repetition of what had been already said [and consequently calls for no further answer?]."
4. "They prescribe what is impracticable: thus, 'deliver him, O plant:' 'Axe, do not injure him,' thus he speaks while striking." [Taitt. Sanh., i. 2, 1; see also Vāj. S., iv. 1; vi. 15.]	4. "According to the sacred tradition it must be understood that no injury is to be inflicted."
5. "Their contents are at variance with each other: thus, 'There exists but one Rudra, and no second;' and again, 'There are innumerable thousands of Rudras over the earth' [Vāj. S., xvi. 54]; and, 'Indra, thou hast been born without a foe' [R. V., x. 133, 2]; and again, 'Indra vanquished a hundred armies at once.'" [R. V., x. 103, 1.]	5. "The same thing occurs in ordinary language: thus, 'This Brāhman is without a rival;' 'The king has no enemies.'"

[203] This version is borrowed from Prof. Haug's translation, p. 11. The words quoted in the Nirukta occur in Ait. Br. i. 4, with the exception of "*yajur vā*."

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6. "A person is enjoined to do an act with which he is already acquainted: thus, 'Address the hymn to the fire which is being kindled' [Śatap. Br., i. 3, 5, 2. This is said by the adhvaryu priest to the hotṛi. Roth.]"[204]

7. "Again it is said: 'Aditi is everything;' 'Aditi is the sky; Aditi is the atmosphere.'" [R. V., i. 89, 10].

8. "The signification of the mantras is indistinct, as in the case of such words as *amyak* [R. V., i. 169, 3], *yādṛiśmin* [R. V., v. 44, 8], *jārayāyi* [R. V., vi. 12, 4], *kāṉukā*." [R. V., viii. 66, 4].[205]

6. "In the same way people are saluted by their names, though they already know them; and the *madhuparka* (a dish of curds, ghee and honey) is mentioned to those who are well acquainted with the custom."

7. "This will be explained further on [see Nir., iv. 23]. The same thing is said in common language: thus, 'All fluids (or flavours) reside in water.'"[205]

8. "It is not the fault of the post, that the blind man does not see it. It is the man's fault. Just as in respect of local usages men are distinguished by superior knowledge; so too, among those learned men who are skilled in tradition, he who knows most is worthy of approbation."

Durga, the commentator, does not enter on a detailed explanation of this passage. He merely refers as follows to its general scope:—

Athāpi idam antareṉa pada-vibhāgo na vidyate | śāstrārambha-prayojanādhikāre varttamāno atha idam antareṉa mantreshv arthāvadhāraṇaṁ nāsti ity ukte yadi mantretyādinā ānarthakya-hetubhir bahubhir ānarthakye upapādite nirukta-śāstrasya Kautsena mantrāṇām arthavattaṁ sthāpayitvā para-paksha-hetavaḥ pratyuktāḥ | teshu sthitam arthavatvam mantrāṇām | teshām arthanirvachanāya idam ārabhyamāṇam arthavad ity upapannam. arthavattvaṁ nirukta-śāstrasya | tad etat sarvam api ṣhodaka-śāstrakāra-vyājena prasaktānuprasaktam uktam prajnāyāḥ vivṛiddhaye śishyasya | kathaṁ nāma asāv avivṛiddha-prajnaḥ śabdārtha-nyāya-sankaṭeshu hetu-samayānabhijnaḥ paraiḥ pratibadhyamāno 'pi padārthān vākyārthāṁś cha asammohena nirbrūyād iti.

"The student being supposed to have an occasion and a right to

[204] See Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 472, note 1

[205] Compare Raghuvaṁśa, x. 16, *rasāntarāṇy ekarasaṁ yathā divyam payo 'śnute*| "As rain water, which has but one flavour, [when it has fallen] imbibes other flavours," etc.

[206] See my article on the interpretation of the Veda in the Journal of the Roy. As. Society, vol. ii. new series, p. 329, 334, 337; and Böhtlingk and Roth, s. vv. *myaksh*, *yādriśa*, (3) *jar*, and *kāṉukā*; as well as Roth's dissertation on the Atharva-veda, p. 21.

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enter on the study of this Śāstra, and the proposition having been laid down that, without the Nirukta, the sense of the mantras cannot be understood, Kautsa, in the words, "if the science," etc., adduces many reasons for declaring the mantras to have no meaning, and on these he grounds an assertion that the Nirukta is useless. Yāska in reply states the reasons on the other side in support of the mantras having a meaning, which point he accordingly establishes. And as this work (the Nirukta), which is being commenced, is useful for the explanation of their meaning, its utility is demonstrated. Thus, under the guise of an objector[207] [who is answered by] the author of the treatise, an opportunity is taken of stating the arguments on both sides, with the view of increasing the student's intelligence. For how is that student, of immature understanding, ignorant too of reasons and conclusions, when he encounters difficulties connected with the proper explication of words, and is even hindered by other persons, to explain without perplexity the meaning of words and sentences?"

It would seem from this that Durgācharya looked upon Kautsa as being merely a man of straw, into whose mouth objections against the significance of the Vedas were put by Yāska, in order that he might himself refute them. It does not, however, appear why Kautsa, whose name appears in the old genealogical lists of teachers in one of the Brāhmaṇas (Müller, Ancient Sansk. Lit., pp. 181, 442), should be viewed in the light of a fictitious "Devadatta," any more than any other of the numerous earlier writers referred to in the Nirukta. There seems to be no other reason than this, that Durga did not, perhaps, wish his contemporaries to believe that there had been in early times any old grammarian who either rejected the authority of the Vedas, or differed from the customary methods of treating and interpreting them.

In Nirukta ii. 16, Yāska refers to the opinions of various former schools regarding the meaning of the word Vṛitra:—

Tat ko Vṛittraḥ | "meghaḥ" iti nairuktāḥ | "Tvāshṭro 'suraḥ" ity aitihāsikāḥ | apāṁ cha jyotishaś cha miśrībhāva-karmaṇo varsha-karma jāyate | tatra upamārthena yuddha-varṇāḥ bhavanti | ahi-vat tu khalu

[207] I am indebted to the late Dr. Ballantyne and Professor Cowell for a correction of the sense I formerly assigned to the word *chodaka*.

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mantra-varṇāḥ brāhmaṇa-vādāś cha | vivṛiddhyā śarīrasya srotāṁsi nivārayāṅchakāra | tasmin hate prasasyandire āpaḥ |

"Who was Vṛitra? 'A cloud,' says the Nairuktas (etymologists): 'an Asura, son of Tvashṭṛi,' say the Aitihāsikas (story-tellers). The fall of rain arises from the mingling of the waters and of light. This is figuratively depicted as a conflict. The hymns and Brāhmaṇas describe Vṛitra as a serpent. By the expansion of his body, he blocked up the streams. When he was destroyed, the waters flowed forth."

In Nir. iii. 8, he alludes to the views of older writers regarding the Vedic word *panchajana*:—"*Panchajanāḥ mama hotraṁ jushadhvam*" | (R.V., x. 53, 4). "*Gandharvāḥ pitaro devāḥ asurāḥ rakshāṁsi*" *ity eke* | "*chatvāro varṇāḥ nishādaḥ panchamaḥ*" *ity Aupamanyavaḥ* | "'Ye five classes of beings, frequent my sacrifice.' These five classes of beings are the 'Gandharvas, Pitṛis, Devas, Asuras, and Rakshases,' say some: They are 'the four castes with the Nishādas for a fifth,' says Aupamanyava."

In Nir. viii. 21, f., Yāska thus speculates on the feelings which had led some of his predecessors to regard the introductory and concluding portions of the ritual of sacrifice, styled *prayāja* and *anuyāja*, as addressed to other deities than Agni:—

"*Atha kiṁ-devatāḥ prayājānuyājāḥ | āgneyāḥ*" *ity eke* | . . "*Agneyāḥ vai prayājāḥ āgneyāḥ anuyājāḥ*" *iti cha brāhmaṇam* | "*chhando-devatāḥ*" *ity aparam* | "*chhandāṁsi vai prayājāś chhandāṁsy anuyājāḥ*" *iti cha brāhmaṇam* | "*ṛitu-devatāḥ*" *ity aparam* | "*ṛitavo vai prayājāḥ ṛitavo 'nuyājāḥ*" *iti cha brāhmaṇam* | "*paśu-devatāḥ*" *ity aparam* | "*paśavo vai prayājāḥ paśavo 'nuyājāḥ*" *iti cha brāhmaṇam* | "*prāṇa-devatāḥ*" *ity aparam* | "*prāṇāḥ vai prayājāḥ prāṇāḥ vai anuyājāḥ*" *iti cha brāhmaṇam* | "*ātma-devatāḥ*" *ity aparam* | "*ātmā vai prayājāḥ atmā vai anuyājāḥ*" *iti cha brāhmaṇam* | *āgneyāḥ iti tu sthitiḥ* | *bhakti-mātram itarat* | *kimartham punar iti* | *uchyate* | *yasyai devatāyai havir gṛihītaṁ syāt tām manasā dhyāyed vashaṭkarishyann iti ha vijnāyate* |

"Now, who is the god to whom the *prayājas* and the *anuyājas* (introductory and concluding sacrificial acts) are addressed? 'Agni,' say some. For a Brāhmaṇa says, 'the *prayājas* and *anuyājas* belong to Agni.' Another opinion is that they have *chhandas* (metre) for their deity. For a Brāhmaṇa says, 'the *prayājas* and *anuyājas* are metres.' A third view is that they have the seasons for their deities.

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For a Brāhmaṇa says, 'the *prayājas* and *anuyājas* are seasons.' A fourth view is that they have sacrificial victims for their deities. For a Brāhmaṇa says, 'the *prayājas* and *anuyājas* are victims?' A fifth view is that they have the vital airs for their deities. For a Brāhmaṇa says, 'the *prayājas* and *anuyājas* are the vital airs.' A sixth view is that they have soul for their deity. For a Brāhmaṇa says, 'the *prayājas* and *anuyājas* are soul.' I maintain the opinion that the hymns have Agni for their deity. The other views arise from mere devotion [to particular gods]. But why are these various views put forward? Because it is well known to be a precept that the person who is about to offer an oblation should meditate on the particular deity for whom it is intended."

In Nirukta xii. 1, he states the different views which had been put forward regarding the gods called Aśvins:—*Aśvair aśvināv ity Aurṇavabhaḥ | tat kāv aśvinau | "dyāvā-pṛithivyāv" ity eke | "ahorātrāv" ity eke | "sūrya-chandramasāv" ity eke | "rājānāu puṇyakṛitāv" ity aitihāsikāḥ |* "'The Aśvins are so called from their horses (*aśvais*),' says Aurṇavābha. But who are the Aśvins? 'Heaven and earth,' say some; 'day and night,' say others: while others again say, 'the sun and moon.' 'They were virtuous kings,' say the Aitihāsikas." [208]

In Nirukta xii. 19, he states the various expositions given of a passage regarding Vishṇu:—*Yad idaṁ kincha tad vichakrame Vishṇuḥ | tridhā nidhatte padaṁ tredhābhāvāya pṛithivyām antarikshe divi iti*

[208] See Roth's Erläut. pp. 220-221, for some remarks on these old interpreters of the Veda. "Older expounders of the Vedas in general are," he says, "called by Yāska simply Nairuktas; and when he notices any difference in the conception of the Vedic gods, those interpreters who take the euhemeristic view are called Aitihāsikas. In addition to the exposition of the Veda in the stricter sense, there existed also liturgical interpretations of numerous passages, such as we find in the Brāhmaṇas and other kindred treatises, in which it was attempted to bring the letter of the received text into harmony with the existing ceremonial. Such liturgical interpretations are called by Yāska those of the Yājnikas, or 'persons skilled in sacrificial rites.' Akin to theirs appears to have been the mode of interpretation adopted by the Naidānas. . . . Under this head we must probably understand that method of explanation which, differing from the grammatical etymologies, referred the origin of the words and conceptions to occasions which were in a certain sense historical. The Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads abound in such historical or mythological etymologies, which are to be found in all ages and among all nations; etymologies which their own inventors do not regard as serious, but which, from their connexion with other ideas, obtain a certain importance in the religious system."

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Śākapūṇiḥ | samārohaṇe vishṇupade gayaśirasi ity Aurṇavābhaḥ | "Vishṇu strode over all this universe: thrice he plants his foot. This he does in order to his threefold existence, 'on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky,' says Śākapūṇi: 'At his rising, in the zenith, and at his setting,' says Aurṇavābha."

In Nir. xii. 41, we have another reference to the Brāhmaṇas:—*Agninā Agnim ayajanta devāḥ | "Agniḥ paśur āsīt | tam ālabhanta tena ayajanta" iti cha brāhmaṇam |* "The gods sacrificed Agni (fire), with fire. 'Agni was the victim; him they immolated, with him they sacrificed;' so says a Brāhmaṇa."

We thus see that in various passages of his work Yāska refers also to the Brāhmaṇas; they must therefore have been older than his time.

The following is a list of the writers whom Yāska quotes as having preceded him in the interpretation of the Vedas:—Agrāyaṇa, Audumbarāyaṇa, Aurṇavābha, Kāṭṭhakya, Kautsa, Kraushṭuki, Gārgya, Gālava, Charmaśirās, Taiṭīki, Vārshyāyaṇi, Śatabalāksha the Maudgalya, Śākaṭāyana, Śākapūṇi, Śākalya, and Sthaulāshṭhīvi.[209]

The subjoined passage from the twelfth section of the first Pariśishṭa or supplement to the Nirukta (considered by Professor Roth, Nir. ii. p. 208, to be the work of some author subsequent to Yāska), relating to the antiquity of the Mantras, and the qualifications necessary for expounding them, is of considerable interest:—

Ayam mantrārtha-chintābhyūho abhyūḍho 'pi śrutito 'pi tarkataḥ | na tu pṛithaktvena mantrāḥ nirvaktavyāḥ prakaraṇaśaḥ eva nirvaktavyāḥ | na hy eshu pratyaksham asty anṛisher atapaso vā | "pārovarya-vitsu tu khalu veditṛishu bhūyo-vidyaḥ praśasyo bhavati," ity uktam purastāt | manushyāḥ vai ṛishishu utkrāmatsu devān abruvan "ko nah ṛishir bhavishyati," iti | tebhyaḥ etaṁ tarkam ṛishim prāyachhan mantrārthachintābhyūham abhyūḍham | tasmād yad eva kincha anūchāno 'bhyūhaty ārshaṁ tad bhavati |

"This reflective deduction of the sense of the hymns is effected by the help of sacred tradition and reasoning. The texts are not to be interpreted as isolated, but according to their context. For a person who is not a ṛishi or a devotee has no intuitive insight[210] into their

[209] Roth, Erläuter., pp. 221, 222.

[210] See the passage above quoted (p. 165) from Nirukta i. 20; and the third volume of this work, pp. 125, ff., 183.

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meaning. We have said before that 'among those men who are versed in tradition, he who is most learned deserves especial commendation.' When the ṛishis were ascending [from the earth], men inquired of the gods, 'Who shall be our ṛishi?' The gods gave them for a ṛishi this science of reasoning, this art of deducing by reflection the sense of the hymns. Therefore, whatever meaning any learned man deduces by reasoning, that possesses authority equal to a ṛishi's."

Here there is to be remarked a recognition of the necessity of reason as a co-factor, in the ascertainment of religious truth, or the definition of ceremonial practice. With this may be compared the whole tendency of the Sānkhya doctrine, which is virtually, if not avowedly, founded on reasoning; and the assertion of Bhāskara (see above, p. 161, note 182), that in the mathematical sciences, scripture, if unsupported by demonstration, is of no authority.

The same confidence in the inherent force of the human intellect is exhibited by Bhāskara in another place, in these memorable words:—*Yadā punar mahatā kālena mahad antaram bhavishyati tadā matimanto Brahmaguptādīnāṁ samāna-dharmiṇaḥ eva utpatsyante | ye tad-upalabdhy-anusāriṇīṁ gatim ururīkṛitya śāstrāṇi vyākarishyanti | ataḥ eva gaṇita-skandho mahāmatimadbhir dhṛitaḥ sann anādy-anante 'pi kāle khilatvaṁ na yāti |* "When, again, after a long period, there shall be a great distance [observable in the position of the stars], then intelligent men of like character with Brahmagupta and other mathematicians will arise, who, admitting a movement in consonance with observation, will compose treatises accordingly. Hence the science of astronomy, being maintained by men of great ability, shall never fail in time, though it has no beginning nor end." See Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, ii. 381.

In the first volume of this work some passages have been already adduced from Yāska regarding the origin of particular Vedic hymns of which he explains verses. One of these texts relates to the Ṛishi Viśvāmitra, and another to the Ṛishi Devāpi. See vol. i., pp. 269, and 338.

Third:—I now proceed to the Brāhmaṇas, to which we have been led back through the ascending series of more recent works, as the oldest expository writings on the Vedic hymns. They are consequently later than the hymns, the most ancient portion of Indian

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literature. But while the other explanatory and prescriptive books connected with the Vedas, such as the grammatical and ceremonial Sūtras, etc., are not regarded as having any independent divine authority, the Brāhmaṇas, on the contrary, are considered as a part of the Veda itself. This will appear from the following passages from Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Rigveda: *Mantra-brāhmaṇātmakaṁ tāvad adushṭaṁ lakshaṇam | ataḥ eva Āpastambo yajna-paribhāshāyām eva āha "mantra-brāhmaṇayor veda-nāmadheyam" iti |*[211] "The definition of the Veda, as consisting of Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, is unobjectionable. Hence Āpastamba says, in the Yajna paribhāshā, 'Veda is the name applied to Mantra and Brāhmaṇa.'" Again: *Mantra-brāhmaṇa-rūpau dvāv eva veda-bhāgāv ity āngīkārād mantra-lakshaṇasya pūrvam abhihitatvād avaśishṭo veda-bhāgo brāhmaṇam ity etal lakshaṇam bhavishyati |*[212] "It being admitted that there are two parts of the Veda, viz., Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, as the Mantra has been already defined, the definition of Brāhmaṇa will be, that it is the remaining portion of the Veda."

In regard to the Sūtras and Smṛitis, the author of the Nyāyamālā-vistara says, i. 3, 24:—

Baudhāyanāpastambāśvalāyana-kātyāyanādi-nāmānkitāḥ kalpa-sūtrādigranthāḥ nigama-nirukta-shaḍanga-granthāḥ Manv-ādi-smṛitayaś cha apaurusheyāḥ dharma-buddhi-janakatvād veda-vat | na cha mūla-pramāṇa-sāpekshatvena veda-vaishamyam iti śankanīyam | utpannāyāḥ buddheḥ svataḥ prāmāṇyāngīkāreṇa nirapekshatvāt | mā evam | uktānumānasya kālatyayāpadishṭatvāt | Baudhāyana-sūtram Āpastamba-sūtram ity evam purusha-nāmnā te granthāḥ uchyante | na cha Kāṭhakādi-samākhyā-vat pravachana-nimittatvaṁ yuktaṁ tad-grantha-nirmāṇa-kāle tadānīntanaiḥ kaiśchid upalabdhatvāt | tach cha avichchhinna-pāramparyeṇa anuvarttate | tataḥ Kālidāsādi-grantha-vat paurusheyāḥ | tathāpi veda-mūlatvāt pramāṇam | . . . . maivam | kalpasya vedatvaṁ na adyāpi siddham | kintu prayatnena sādhanīyam | na cha tat sādhayituṁ śakyam paurusheyatvasya samākhyayā tat-kartur upalambhena cha sādhitatvāt |

"Some persons have asserted that the Kalpa-sūtras and other works designated by the names of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana, Kātyāyana, etc., and the Nigama, Nirukta, and six Vedāngas, together

[211] Rigveda, Müller's edition, vol. i. p. 4.
[212] Rigveda, Müller's edition, vol. i. p. 22

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with the Smṛitis of Manu and others, are superhuman, because they impart to men a comprehension of duty, like the Vedas; and that they are not to be suspected of dissimilarity to the Vedas, from the fact of their appealing to the authority of the original text; for the knowledge of duty which they impart is independent, because it is admitted to be self-evidencing. But this view is incorrect; for the inference in question proceeds upon an erroneous generalization.[213] These works are called by the names of men; as, 'the Sūtras of Baudhāyana,' 'the Sūtras of Āpastamba,' etc.; and these designations cannot properly be derived from the fact that these works were studied by those whose names they bear, as is actually the case in regard to the Kāṭhaka and other parts of the Veda; for it was known to some of their contemporaries at the time of the composition of these Sūtras and Smṛitis, etc., that they were then being composed: and this knowledge has come down by unbroken tradition. Hence, like the works of Kālidāsa and others, the books in question are of human origin. Nevertheless, from being founded on the Veda, they are authoritative." . . . And again: "It is not yet proved that the Kalpa-sūtras are part of the Veda; and it would require great labour to prove it; and, in fact, it is impossible to prove it. For the human origin of this book is established by its name, and by its being observed to have had an author."[214]

The Brāhmaṇas, however, as I have said, notwithstanding their antiquity, and the authority which is ascribed to them as a constituent part of the Veda, are far from being so old as the hymns. On the subject of these works Professor Roth makes some remarks in his Introduction to the Nirukta, p. xxiv. ff.; which I translate with some abridgments.[215]

"The difference in contents between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kalpa-books, if judged according to detached passages, might appear to be very small and indeterminate, though even at first sight it is undeniable that the two classes of writings are easily distinguishable as regards their position and estimation in the whole body of religious

[213] See the third volume of this work, pp. 84, note 89, 179, f., 290, and 312.

[214] On the difference in authority between the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras, etc., see Müller's "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 75-107.

[215] I refer for further information to Prof. Müller's section on the Brāhmaṇas in his "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," particularly to pp. 342, ff., 389, 428, 429, 431–435.

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literature. In fact, the difference between them is most essential. Though both treat of divine worship in its widest extent, yet in the Brāhmaṇa it is the subject of description in quite a different sense from what it is in the Kalpa-śāstra. The object of the latter is to represent the whole course of the sacred rites which have a place in any particular department of worship, e.g. it defines exactly which of the priests present at a ceremony has to perform a part at each point of the sacred rite. This is a very essential matter in Indian sacrifices. . . . It is further prescribed in these works what hymns and invocations are to be uttered, and how. As a rule, however, the strophes are indicated only by the initial words, and pre-suppose other collections in which they must have been put together according to the order of their employment in worship. . . . Finally, these works prescribe the time, the place, the forms, of the rites of worship, with all the preceding and following practices. In short, the Kalpa-books are complete systems of ritual prescription, which have no other object than to designate the entire course of the sacred ceremonial with all that accuracy which is demanded for acts done in the presence of the gods, and to their honour.

"The aim of a Brāhmaṇa is something very different. As its name indicates, its subject is the 'brahma,' the sacred element in the rite, not the rite itself. Something holy, the conception of the divine, lies veiled beneath the ceremony. It has now obtained a sensible form, which must, however, remain a mystery for those to whom that conception is unknown. He only who knows the divinity, its manifestation and its relation to men, can explain the signification of the symbol. Such an explanation the Brāhmaṇa aims at giving; it proposes to unfold the essence of theological wisdom, which is hidden under the mode of worship inherited from ancient times. From this cause arises the mysterious, concise, often dark, style of the language which we find in these books. They are, indeed, the oldest prose which is preserved to us in Indian literature.

"An example of these symbolical explanations is subjoined, from the beginning of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa:—At the commencement of certain sacrifices, clarified butter is offered to Agni and Vishṇu in eleven platters. This is done by preference to these two deities, the Brāhmaṇa explains, because they embrace the whole pantheon, Agni

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as the lowest of the gods (the fire of the hearth and altar), and Vishṇu as the highest (the sun in the zenith); and thus sacrifice is offered to all the gods in the persons of these two. Eleven platters are presented, though there are only two gods; eight of the platters are claimed by Agni, because the gāyatrī, the metre sacred to him, has eight syllables; three platters belong to Vishṇu, because he traverses the heavens in three strides (the three stations of his rising, his culmination, and his setting).

"Such explanations may as frequently be the mere inventions of a religious philosophy (encountered by us here in its oldest form), which delights in bold parallels, and a pretentious exegesis, as actual recollections of the beginnings of the liturgy, in which, among a people like the Indians, we may reasonably expect to find delicate and thoughtful references. These books will always continue to be to us the most valuable sources for tracing the beginnings of thought on divine things; and, at the same time, sources from which we may draw the most varied information regarding the conceptions on which the entire system of worship, as well as the social and hierarchical order, of India, are founded. In proof of this, I will only refer to the lights which may be derived from the seventh and eighth books of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa on the position of the castes, and on the regal and sacerdotal dignities. The Brāhmaṇas are the dogmatical books of the Brāhmans; not a scientifically marshalled system of tenets, but a collection of dogmas, as they result from religious practice. They were not written as a complete exposition of the principles of belief; but they are necessary towards such an exposition, because they were meant to explain and establish the whole customary ceremonial of worship.

"It is impossible not to perceive that the Brāhmaṇas are based upon a pre-existing, widely-ramified, and highly-developed system of worship. The further the practice of sacred institutions has advanced, the less distinctly are those who practise them conscious of their meaning. Gradually, around the central portion of the ceremony, which in its origin was perfectly transparent and intelligible, there grows up a mass of subordinate observances, which in proportion as they are developed in detail, become more loosely connected with the fundamental thought. The form, becoming more independent, loses its

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symbolical purport. The Indian worship had already reached such a stage, when the religious reflection exhibited in the Brāhmaṇas began to work upon it. Here, as in all the other religious systems of antiquity, the observation is verified that it is not religious dogmas, and reflection upon these, that give birth to forms of worship, but that it is religious worship, which (itself the product of religious feeling, inspired by, and become subservient to, a conception of the divine) becomes, in its turn, the parent of a more developed and firmly defined theology. Such was the relation of the Brāhmaṇas to the current worship. The Brāhmaṇa does not appeal to the dicta of the sacred hymns as its own first and most immediate source, but rather rests upon the customary ceremonial, and upon the earlier conceptions of that ceremonial. The Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, for instance, from which I borrow details, appeals not only to authorities (to whom written compositions are never ascribed), such as the Ṛishi Śrauta (vii. 1); Saujāta, son of Arāḷha (vii. 22); Rāma, son of Mṛigū (vii. 34); Maitreya, son of Kushāru (viii. 38), etc., or to preceding sacrificial ceremonials of the same kind; but further, the whole form of its representation is based upon the tradition of earlier custom. Its customary formula for this, which is continually recurring at the head of a new passage, is *tadā "hus*, 'it is further said,' or *atho khalv āhus*, 'it is moreover said;' and frequent reference is made to difference of opinions; 'so do or say the one set of persons, and the others otherwise.' But I have never met with a citation of an older writing.

"Taking all this into consideration, we may conclude that the Brāhmaṇas belong to a stage in the religious development of India when the Brahmanical faith was full-blown. Those religious conceptions and sacred usages, which, even in the hymns of the Ṛigveda, we can see advancing from a simple and unconnected form to compact and multiform shapes, have now spread themselves over the entire life of the people, and in the hands of the priests have become a power predominant over everything else."

It thus appears that the Brāhmaṇas, though they have come to be regarded as parts of the Veda, are yet in time far posterior to the hymns, from which, further, they differ entirely in character, and to a great extent in language, but which they constantly presuppose, and to which they allude in every page. Thus in the Brāhmaṇas we have

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such expressions continually recurring as, "Thus did the ṛishi say."[216] "Hence this has been declared by the ṛishi."[217] "Ṛishis of the Rigveda have uttered this hymn of fifteen verses."[218] And in Sâyaṇa's Introduction to the Rigveda it is stated as follows (Comment. on R.V., vol. i. p. 2):—*Tathâ cha sarva-veda-gatâni brâhmaṇâni svâbhihite 'rthe viśvâsa-dâḍhyâya "tad etad ṛichâ 'bhyanûktam" iti ṛicham eva udâharanti* | "And so the Brâhmaṇas connected with all the Vedas, in order to strengthen belief in their assertions, refer to the Rigveda, saying, 'This is declared by the Ṛich.'"

The Śatapatha-brâhmaṇa, in a passage at p. 1052 of Weber's edition (corresponding with the Bṛihadâraṇyaka-upanishad, p. 213), refers as follows to a hymn of Vâmadeva in the fourth maṇḍala of the Rigveda:—*Tad ha etat paśyann ṛishir Vâmadevaḥ pratipede "aham Manur abhavaṁ sûryaś cha" iti* | "Wherefore the ṛishi Vâmadeva in vision obtained this text, 'I was Manu and the sun.'" Again, the Taittirîya Saṁhitâ, and the Kaushîtakî, Sâṭyâyana, and Tâṇḍaka Brâhmaṇas refer to Vasishṭha, in passages already quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 328. Now, as Vasishṭha was a Vedic ṛishi, the author of numerous hymns, these Brâhmaṇas must have been later than those hymns.

To illustrate the manner in which the hymns are quoted in the Brâhmaṇas, I will only cite further a portion of the passage from the Aitareya-brâhmaṇa, vii. 13–18, relating the story of Śunaśśepa, which was first given in original in the Appendix to Professor Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 581, 582, and afterwards appeared in Prof. Haug's edition of that Brâhmaṇa:—*Atha ha Śunaśśepaḥ îkshâṁchakre "amânusham iva vai mâ viśasishyanti | hanta aham devatâḥ upadhâvâmi" iti | sa Prajâpatim eva prathamaṁ devatânâm upasasâra "kasya nûnaṁ katamasya amṛitânâm" ity etayâ ṛichâ | tam Prajâpatir uvâcha "Agnir vai devânâṁ nedishṭhaḥ | tam eva upadhâva" iti | so 'gnim upasasâra "Agner vayam prathamasya amṛitânâm" ity etayâ ṛichâ* | [When he saw the preparations made for his immolation], "Śunaśśepa reflected, 'They are about to slay me, as if I were not a man. I shall resort to the gods.' He accordingly addressed him-

[216] *Iti ha sma âha ṛishiḥ* |

[217] Śatap.-br. xiii., 5, 4, 5:—*Tasmâd etad ṛishiṇâ abhyanûktam* |

[218] Weber's Hist. of Ind. Lit., p. 118. Böht. and Roth's Dict., *sub voce* Ṛishi, *Ud etad bahvṛichaḥ panchadaśarcham prâhuḥ* |

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self to Prajāpati, the first of the gods, with this 'ṛich' (Rigveda, i. 24, 1), 'Of whom now, of which of all the immortals,' etc. Prajāpati said to him, 'Agni is the nearest of the gods, resort to him.' He addressed himself to Agni with this 'ṛich' (Rigveda i. 24, 2), 'Of Agni, the first of the immortals,' etc." In the same way he is represented as addressing to various deities in succession the verses composing the remainder of the 24th, and the whole of the 25th, 26th, and 27th hymns of the first book of the Rigveda, ending with the last verse of the 27th sūkta: "Salutation to the great! Salutation to the little!" addressed to the Viśve-devāḥ.[219]

That the Brāhmaṇas were separated from the hymns by a considerable interval of time is manifest from the various considerations which are urged in the passage just quoted (pp. 180, ff.) from Professor Roth; who informs us, for instance, that the Brāhmaṇas, besides alluding to texts in the hymns, appeal on the subject of the ritual to various preceding unwritten authorities; and states his opinion, that the "Brāhmaṇas belong to a stage in the religious development of India, when the Brahmanical faith was full-blown;" and that "those religious conceptions and sacred usages, which, even in the hymns of the Rigveda, can be seen advancing from a simple and unconnected form to compact and manifold shapes, have now [in the Brāhmaṇas] extended themselves over the entire life of the people." This process was no doubt one which required several centuries for its accomplishment.

And Professor Müller says (Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 432, 434), "There is throughout the Brāhmaṇas such a complete misunderstanding of the original intention of the Vedic hymns, that we can hardly understand how such an estrangement could have taken place, unless there had been at some time or other a sudden and violent break in the chain of tradition." And again: "Every page of the Brāhmaṇas contains the clearest proof that the spirit of the ancient Vedic poetry, and the purport of the original Vedic sacrifices were both beyond the comprehen-

[219] *Namo mahadbhyo namo arbhakebhyaḥ*| See Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 413, ff.; Prof. Roth's article in Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 461; Prof. Wilson's article in Journ. R. A. S. vol. xiii., p. 100, and translation of the Rigveda, i. pp. 59–71; Prof. Haug's translation of the Ait. Br. pp. 460, ff.; Dr. Streiter's Diss. de Sunahsepo; and the first volume of this work, pp. 355. ff.

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sion of the authors of the Brāhmaṇas. . . . . We thus perceive the wide chasm between the Brāhmaṇa period and that period by which it is preceded." The Brāhmaṇa period, we have already seen (p. 164 above), is placed by him in the 200 years following the second Vedic period, that of the Mantras.

As time still passed on, and a further development of language and institutions took place, the Vedic hymns became less and less intelligible; and owing to the growth of formal and scrupulous ceremonial prescriptions, the application of the sacred texts to public worship became more and more difficult. As a natural consequence, the literature connected with the explanation of the Mantras, their pronunciation and their ritual uses, continued to augment. Then the different grammatical Prātiśākhya aphorisms, the Śrauta and Gṛihya ritual Sūtras, the Nighaṇṭus and Nirukta were composed. These works, as we have already seen, were the growth of several successive ages subsequent to the date of the oldest Brāhmaṇas.[220]

[220] On this subject Professor Roth remarks (Introd. to Nirukta, p. lii.) as follows:—"In Greece a similar state of things prevailed. There, with the exception of Hesiod (who never rose to the same degree of consideration), Homer was the only source of the highest knowledge, and preeminently the book of the schools; the book which gave the first occasion to grammatical, and almost every other sort of science to develope itself. In India the Veda occupies the place of Homer. It was to the Veda that the Brahmanical people looked as the sole repository of intellectual culture. As a sacred book it was the more naturally a subject of research to the learned man, as he was at the same time a priest, and it became the first problem to be solved by grammar,—a science which was far more commonly studied, and at an earlier period attained a far higher stage, in India than in Greece. At the same time, the Veda, both as regards its language and its subject-matter, stood far further removed from the Indian of the two centuries immediately preceding Buddha (700 and 600 B.C.)—in which the sacerdotal system reached its climax—than Homer did from the Greek of the Periclean era. At that period, or even earlier, were formed the collection of Homeric words which had become obsolete,—the γλωσσαι; while in India, the 'nighaṇṭavas' (a word which I conceive to be identical in meaning with γλωσσαι) had been compiled to illustrate the Veda. In both cases the collections had the same origin; but in the short interval from Pericles to the end of the Alexandrian era, the Greeks had done more for the explanation of Homer than the Indians could accomplish for the comprehension of the Veda, in the long series of ages down to the times of Sāyaṇa and Mahīdhara, in the sixteenth century A.D. The task of the Indians was, in truth, by far the more difficult; and besides, Indian scholarship lay under an incapacity of unfettered movement. It was necessary for orthodoxy to deny the facts of history, and to discover only the circumstances of the present in the monuments of antiquity; for the present was both unable and unwilling to rest on any other foundation than the traditions of an earlier age,

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Fourth:—When at length we ascend above the oldest of the Brāhmaṇas, and arrive at the still more ancient collections ("Sanhitās," as they are called in Sanskrit) of the Vedic hymns themselves, we shall find even here distinct proofs of a difference of age not only between the several collections viewed as aggregates, but also between different component parts of the same compilations. Of the four Vedic Sanhitās, the Ṛik, Yajush, Sāman, and Atharvan, the Ṛigveda is by far the most complete and important collection. Before, however, proceeding to give some account of its contents, I must premise a few words about the other Sanhitās.

(i.) Although the Vedas were sometimes considered to be only three in number, and the Atharvan was not always denominated a Veda, yet many of the hymns or incantations of which it is made up appear to be of great antiquity.[221]

That the title of the Atharvan to be reckoned as one of the Vedas is not so incontestable as that of the three others, will appear from the following considerations. The knowledge of the Indian Scriptures is frequently designated as the triple science *trayī vidyā*,[221*] a phrase which is thus explained in Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon: "The threefold science was originally the knowledge of the sacred word in its triple form of hymn, sacrificial formula, and song: out of this sense subsequently arose another, viz., the knowledge of the three Vedas, which represent that threefold form." In illustration of this the writers proceed to quote or refer to the following and other texts from the Śatapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas, etc. Śatap. Br. iv. 6, 7, 1: *Trayī vai vidyā ṛicho yajūṁshi sāmāni iyam eva* | "The Ṛich-, Yajush-, and Sāman-verses are the threefold science." Śatap. Br. vi. 3, 1, 10; x. 4, 2, 21;

surrounded as these were with a halo of glory, and only half understood. The priesthood supplied the required authentic explanation, without which the reader of those ancient books would never have found in them that which he so easily discovered with that assistance. The spirit of the nation, which had been so injuriously treated, became accustomed to the yoke, and henceforward walked onwards in the track which had been marked out for it; men's feeling for history became irrecoverably lost, and they consoled themselves with the harmless enjoyment, which was still allowed them, of solving grammatical questions. We can therefore, at least, boast, by way of compensation, on behalf of the Indians, that they have far outstripped the Greeks in the department of grammar."

[221] See, on the subject of this Veda, Müller's Anc. Sans. Lit., pp. 38, 446, ff., Weber's Hist. of Ind. Lit. p. 10., and Mr. Whitney's papers in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 305, ff., and iv. 254 ff. [221*] See Appendix, note A.

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xi. 5, 4, 18; Ait. Br. v. 32: *Tebhyo 'bhitaptebhyo trayo vedāḥ ajāyanta ṛigvedaḥ eva Agner ajāyata yajurvedo Vāyoḥ sāmavedaḥ ādityāt | tān vedān abhyatapat | tebhyo 'bhitaptebhyas trīṇi śukrāny ajāyanta bhūr ity eva ṛigvedād ajāyata bhuvaḥ iti yajurvedāt svar iti sāmavedāt | . . . Sa Prajāpatir yajnam atanuta | tam āharat tena ayajata | sa ṛichā eva hotram akarod yajushā ādhvaryavaṁ sāmnā udgītham | yad etat trayyai vidyāyai śukraṁ tena brahmatvam akarot |* "From these (lights), when heated, the three Vedas arose, the Ṛigveda from Agni, the Yajurveda from Vāyu, and the Sāmaveda from Āditya (the sun). He infused warmth into these Vedas. From them, when so heated, three essences arose. 'Bhūr,' from the Rigveda, 'Bhuvaḥ' from the Yajurveda, 'Svar,' from the Sāmaveda. . . . . This Prajāpati prepared sacrifice. He took it and worshipped with it. With the Ṛich he performed the function of the hotṛi priest, with the Yajush that of the adhvaryu, with the Sāman that of the udgātṛi, and with the essence of this triple science he executed the brāhmaṇ's function." In the same way three Vedas only are mentioned in the following passage from the Chhāndogya Upanishad[222] (iv. 17, 1), etc.:—*Prajāpatir lokān abhyatapat | teshāṁ ṭapyamānānāṁ rasāṉ prābṛihad Agnim ṗṛithivyāḥ Vāyum antarikshād Ādityaṁ divaḥ | Sa etās tisro devatāḥ abhyatapat | tāsāṁ tapyamānānāṁ rasān prābṛihad Agner ṛicho vāyor yajūṁshi Sāma Ādityāt | sa etāṁ trayīṁ vidyām abhyatapat | tasyās tapyamānāyāḥ rasān prābṛihad bhūr ity ṛigbhyo bhuvar iti yajurbhyaḥ svar iti sāmabhyaḥ |* "Prajāpati infused warmth into the worlds; and from them, so heated, he drew forth their essences, Agni from the earth, Vāyu from the atmosphere, and Āditya from the sky. He infused warmth into these three deities; and from them, so heated, he drew forth their essences: Rik-texts from Agni, Yajush-texts from Vāyu, and Sāma-texts from Āditya. He infused warmth into this triple science; and from it, so heated, he drew forth its essences, the particle Bhūr from the Rik-texts, Bhuvaḥ from the Yajush-texts, and Svar from the Sāma-texts."

In the following verse (i. 23), Manu repeats the account given in the Brāhmaṇas and the Chhāndogya Upanishad: *Agni-vāyu-ravibhyas*

[222] See Biblioth. Ind. vol. iii. (1850) p. 288. This passage is also quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 5. See also the passage from the S'atap. Br. xi. 5, 8, 1, ff., quoted in pp. 14, f. of the same volume, where in like manner, only three Vedas are mentioned.

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tu trayam brahma sanātanam | dudoha yajna-siddhy-artham ṛig-yajuḥ-sāma-lakshaṇam | "From Agni, Vāyu, and the Sun (Ravi), he drew forth (milked) for the accomplishment of sacrifice the eternal triple Veda, distinguished as Rik, Yajush, and Sāman."

The Atharvaveda may, however, be referred to under the appellation of "chhandas," in the following passages, according to the indication of the St. Petersburg Lexicon, where the second sense of the word chhandas is thus defined: "A sacred hymn, and according to the first three texts about to be quoted, especially that sort which is neither Ṛich, Sāman, nor Yajush: hence, perhaps, originally, an incantation." The texts referred to are A.V. xi. 7, 24: *Ṛichaḥ sāmāni chhandāṁsi purāṇaṁ yajushā saha | uchhishṭāj jajnire |* "The Ṛich-, Sāman-, and Chhandas-, verses, and the Purāṇa with the Yajush, sprang from the Uchhishṭa (remnant of the sacrifice)." R.V. x. 90, 9: *Tasmād yajnāt sarvahutaḥ ṛichaḥ sāmāni jajnire | chandāṁsi jajnire tasmād yajus tasmād ajāyata |* "From that universal sacrifice sprang the Ṛich-, Sāman-, and Chhandas-, verses: from it sprang the Yajush." The third text is from the Harivaṁśa v. 9491: *Ṛicho yajūṁshi sāmāni chhandāṁsy Ātharvaṇāni cha | chatvāro sakhilāḥ vedāḥ sarahasyāḥ savistarāḥ |* "(May) the Ṛich-, Yajush-, and Sāman-, verses, and the texts of the Atharvan, the four Vedas with their Khilas (later appendages), their esoteric doctrines, and their details (preserve me)."

In the Atharvaveda itself, x. 7, 20, it is thus alluded to as one of the Vedas under the title of the Atharvans and Angirases: *Yasmād ṛicho apātakshan yajur yasmād apākashan | sāmāni yasyo lomāni Atharvāṅgiraso mukham | Skambhaṁ tam brūhi katamaḥ svid eva saḥ |* "Tell us who is that Skambha from whom they cut off the Ṛich-verses, from whom they scraped off the Yajush-verses, of whom the Sāman-verses are the hairs, and of whom the Atharvans and Angirases form the mouth."[223]

The Atharvan is similarly mentioned in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, xiii. 4, 3, 7, *Tān upadiśati "Atharvāṇo vedaḥ so 'yam" iti. . . . |8| "Angiraso vedaḥ so 'yam" iti |* "He teaches them thus, 'The Atharvans are a veda; it is this.' . . . (8) The Angirases are a veda; it is this."[224] Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, author of the Prasthāna-bheda,

[223] In verse 14 of the same hymn, however, the other three Vedas only are named.

[224] See Muller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 38.

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while he calls it a Veda, notices at the same time its difference in character from the other three:—*Sa cha (vedaḥ) prayoga-trayeṇa yajña-nirvāhārthaṁ ṛig-yajuḥ-sāma-bhedena bhinnaḥ* | . . . . *Atharva-vedas tu yajñānupayuktaḥ śānti-paushṭikābhichārādi-karma-pratipādakatvena atyanta-vilakshaṇaḥ eva* | "The Veda is divided into Ṛik, Yajush, and Sāman, for the purpose of carrying out the sacrifice under its three different forms. . . . The Atharvaveda, on the contrary, is totally different. It is not suitable for the sacrifice, but only teaches how to appease, to bless, to curse, etc." (Müller, Sansk. Lit. p. 445). In regard to this Veda, Mr. Whitney remarks: "The Atharva is, like the Ṛik, a historical and not a liturgical collection." It was, he thinks, originally composed of only eighteen books. A sixth of the matter of which these books consist is not metrical. "Of the remainder, or metrical portion, about one-sixth is also found among the hymns of the Ṛik, and mostly in the tenth book of the latter; the rest is peculiar to the Atharva. . . . The greater portion of them are plainly shown, both by their language and internal character, to be of much later date than the general contents of the other historic Veda, and even than its tenth book, with which they yet stand nearly connected in import and origin. The condition of the text also in those passages found likewise in the Ṛik, points as distinctly to a more recent period as that of their collection. This, however, would not necessarily imply that the main body of the Atharva hymns were not already in existence when the compilation of the Ṛik took place. Their character would be ground enough for their rejection and exclusion from the canon, until other and less scrupulous hands were found to undertake their separate gathering into an independent collection. The nineteenth book is . . . made up of matter of a like nature which had either been left out when they were compiled, or had been since produced." (Journal of the American Oriental Society, iv. 253, 255.) The priority of the Rigveda to the Atharva may also be argued from the fact that the ṛishis of the hymns in the Rigveda are referred to in the Atharvaveda as men of an earlier period; in proof of which I may refer to the passages quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 330. It is true that the same thing is noticeable to some degree in the Rigveda itself, in some later hymns of which the ṛishis of earlier hymns are referred to by name. In the Atharvaveda, how-

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ever, the names so specified are chiefly those of the more recent ṛishis, while many of the personages referred to in the Rigveda appear to belong to a more primitive age. (See Roth's Litt. und Gesch. des Weda, p. 13.) In the former Veda, too, the Indian institutions appear in a somewhat more developed state than in the Rigveda. There is one point at least in which this development seems to be visible, viz. in the caste system, see the first volume of this work, pp. 280-289. The following extract from Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 10, will exhibit his opinion of the general difference which exists between the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda: "The origin of the Atharva-sanhitā falls within the period when Brahmanism had become dominant. . . . . Many of the hymns which it contains are to be found also in the Rik-sanhitā, but there they are recent interpolations originating in the period when its compilation took place; while in the Atharva collection they are the just and proper expression of the present. The spirit of the two collections is entirely different. In the Rik there breathes a lively natural feeling, a warm love for nature; while in the Atharva, on the contrary, there predominates an anxious apprehension of evil spirits and their magical powers. In the Rik we see the people in the exercise of perfect freedom and voluntary activity; while in the Atharva we observe them bound in the fetters of the hierarchy and of superstition."[224*]

(ii.) The Sāmaveda is a collection of separate texts to be chanted at particular parts of the sacrifice;[225] which, with the exception of a few, are all to be found in different parts of the Rigveda, especially the 8th and 9th maṇḍalas. In the Rigveda we find the entire hymns: in the first part of the Sāmaveda we find only isolated verses of those hymns, dislocated from their natural connexion; though in the second part the extracts are connected, and of greater length. It is not, however, quite clear whether the Sāma collection or the Rik collection may have been first made. Weber remarks (Hist. of Ind. Lit., pp. 9, 62), that the texts of the Sāmaveda frequently exhibit more ancient grammatical forms than those of the Rigveda, and suggests that as the former contains no extracts from any of the later hymns of the latter, it may have been compiled before these later pieces had

[224*] See Appendix, Note B.

[225] See Muller pp. 472 3.

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been composed; but adds that this point has not been yet investigated.[226] Whitney also leaves the question undecided (Journ. Am. Or. Society, iv. 253, 254).

Müller, on the other hand, says (Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 457):—"The other two Sanhitás were more likely the production of the Brāhmaṇa period. These two Vedas, the Yajurveda and the Sámaveda, were, in truth, what they are called in the Kaushítakí-brāhmaṇa, the attendants of the Rigveda."[227] He supposes that the hymns found in the three Vedas were not "collected at three times by three independent collectors. If so, their differences would have been greater than they are." Their actual differences are rather those of Śākhās or branches, he thinks, than of independent Sanhitás or collections.

(iii.) Both the Sanhitás of the Yajurveda are collections of sacrificial formulas in prose, as well as of verses which are partly extracted

[226] In his Ind. Stud i. 63, f. the same author writes as follows:—"As regards the relation of the Sámaveda to the Rigveda, we must clearly represent to ourselves the manner in which in general these hymns arose, how they were then carried to a distance by the tribes when they migrated further, and were then regarded as sacred; whilst in the country where they were produced, they either, as living in the immediate popular consciousness, underwent alterations, or made way for new hymns, and were thus displaced and fell into oblivion. It is only a foreign country which surrounds what was produced at home with a sacred enchantment. The emigrants remain at the old stage, preserving what is ancient with painful exactness; whilst at home life opens out for itself new paths. New emigrants follow the first from their home, join those already settled in the new seats; and now the old and the new songs and rites are blended together, and exactly, but uncritically, learned by travelling scholars from different masters, and then inculcated (on this point several stories of the Bṛihad Áranyaka are especially instructive), so that a varied intermixture arises. Others again, more learned, endeavour to introduce arrangement, to bring together things which are related, to separate what is diverse; and thus a theological intolerance is generated, without which the fixation of a text or a canon is impossible. We should not overlook the influence of courts in this process, e.g. of Janaka, King of Videha, who had found in Yájnavalkya his Homer. Neither the Purāṇas nor the Charaṇavyúha afford us the means of arriving at an approximately clear insight into the mutual relations of the different schools, which could only be attained by a comparison of the different teachers named in the Brāhmaṇas and Sútras with one another, as well as with the text of Páṇini and the Gaṇapáṭha and Scholium thereto belonging. . . . Further, the relation between the Rigveda and the Sámaveda presents a certain analogy to that between the white and the black Yajush; and as we frequently see the teachers who represent the latter abused in the Brāhmaṇa of the former, it cannot surprise us if the Panigins and Kaushítakins [teachers connected with the Rigveda] are similarly treated in the Sámaveda Brāhmaṇa."

[227] *Tat-paricharaṇ-ív itarau vedau* | vi. 11.

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from the Rigveda. There is, however, this difference between the white (or Vājasaneyi) and black (or Taittirīya) Yajurveda Sanhitās, that the latter has partly the character of a Brāhmaṇa, although there is also a separate Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa. Many parts of the Yajurveda exhibit a more advanced development of religious institutions and observances than the Rigveda. Professor Weber, the editor of this Veda,[228] considers (Hist. of Ind. Lit. p. 10), that it "belongs to a period when the Brahmanical element had already become predominant, though it was still exposed to strenuous opposition; and when, at all events, the Brahmanical hierarchy and the system of castes had been completely formed." The same writer tells us (pp. 106, 107), that "the 30th book of the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā of the Yajurveda, in enumerating the different classes of men who are to be consecrated at the Purushamedha, or Human sacrifice, refers to the names of most of the Indian mixed castes, so that we may thence conclude that a complete consolidation of the Brahmanical system had taken place." The Vājasaneyi-sanhitā is divided into forty Adhyāyas or sections, of which Weber thinks (Hist. of Ind. Lit. pp. 103, 104), that those from the 19th to the 25th may be later than the first eighteen; while there is, he remarks, no doubt that the last fifteen adhyāyas are later, and perhaps much later, than the rest of the collection. This is proved by this portion of the Sanhitā being called a Khila, or supplement, both in the anukramaṇī or index, which is ascribed to Kātyāyana, and also in Mahīdhara's Commentary on the Veda.[229] A further proof of the posteriority in date of the last parts of the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā is, Weber

[228] In his Hist. of Ind. Lit. p. 140, Weber tells us that "in the Anukramaṇī of Kātyāyana to the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā of the Yajurveda, the authors (ṛishis) assigned to the particular verses (ṛich) usually coincide with the authors assigned to the same verses in the Anukramaṇī of the Rigveda; but that there are many exceptions to this remark. In particular (as happens also in the Rig-anukramaṇī) the name of the author appears often to be borrowed from some word occurring in the verse. And in the case (a very frequent one) of a verse being repeated in another part of the Vāj.-san., it is often assigned to an author different from the one to whom it had previously been ascribed. Many of the ṛishis here referred to do not occur among those of the Rigveda, and belong to a later stage than the latter; and among these ṛishis peculiar to the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā there are several who are named in the S'atapatha-brāhmaṇa as teachers."

[229] The words of Mahīdhara at the commencement of the 26th adhyāya are as follows: *Idānīm khilāny uchyante* | "The Khilas are now to be explained." See also Müller's Sansk. Lit., p. 358.

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observes, derived from the fact that they are not found in the Sanhitā of the Black Yajurveda, but only in its Brāhmaṇa or in its Āraṇyaka parts, which by their very character are in date subsequent to the Sanhitā (p. 104). Weber is further of opinion (pp. 44, 105 and 106), that the names (Īśāna and Mahādeva) assigned to the god Rudra in adhyāya 39, in addition to those by which he is designated in adhyāya 16 (where he is regarded as the divinity of fire, though addressed by many of the epithets which were subsequently applied to the god Śiva), indicate a more advanced stage in the worship of the deity in question at the time when adhyāya 39 was composed, than at the period when adhyāya 16 was written. Professor Müller thinks that "there is nothing to prove that the hymn book of the Vājasaneyins [the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā] existed previous to their Brāhmaṇa" [the Śatapatha]. Sansk. Lit. p. 360.

(iv.) We come now to the Rigveda-sanhitā, which contains the most extensive collection of the most ancient Vedic hymns in their complete form. It is divided into ten maṇḍalas, and contains in all 1017 hymns (Müller, p. 497). "The Vedas," says Mr. Whitney (Journ. Am. Or. Soc., iii. 295) "contain the songs in which the first ancestors of the Hindū people, at the very dawn of their existence as a separate nation, while they were still only on the threshold of the great country which they were afterwards to fill with their civilization, praised the gods, extolled heroic deeds, and sang of other matters which kindled their poetical fervour.[230] . . . The mass, as it lies before us, is almost exclusively of a religious character; this may have had its ground partly in the end for which the collections were afterwards made, but it is probably in a far higher degree due to the character of the people itself, which thus shows itself to have been at the beginning what it continued to be throughout its whole history, an essentially religious one. . . . Hymns of a very different character are not entirely wanting, and this might be taken as an indication that, had they been more numerous, more would have been preserved to us."[231]

[230] See also, for an account of the contents of the hymns, Professor Wilson's Introduction to his translation of the Rigveda, p. xxiv. ff.; and for numerous specimens, the other volumes of this work, passim.

[231] See my art. "Miscellaneous Hymns from the Rig and Atharva Vedas," in the Journal of the Royal As. Soc., vol. ii. (new series) pp. 26, ff. and the fifth volume

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These hymns are said, by later Indian writers, to have been "seen" by the ancient ṛishis or bards. Thus the Nirukta says (ii. 11): *Ṛishir darśanāt | "stomān dadarśa" ity Aupamanyavaḥ | tad yad enāṁs "tapasyamānān Brahma svayambhv abhy-ānarshat te ṛishayo 'bhavan | tad ṛishīṇām ṛishitvam" iti vijnāyate |* "'A ṛishi is so called from seeing. He saw the hymns:'—This is Aupamanyava's explanation. They became ṛishis, because Brahma, the self-existent, manifested himself to them when they were sunk in devotion. From this, as is generally understood, they acquired their character of ṛishis." There is, however, no doubt that the ṛishis were themselves the authors of these ancient songs, which they addressed to the gods when they were solicitous to obtain any blessing; or composed on other occasions. The scope of these hymns or mantras is well summed up in the following passage from the Anukramaṇī (index) to the Rigveda, quoted by Colebrooke (Misc. Essays, i. p. 26):—*Arthepsavaḥ ṛishayo devatāś chhandobhir abhyadhāvan |* "The ṛishis, desiring [various] objects, hastened to the gods with metrical prayers." It is also said in the Nirukta, vii. 1:—*Yat-kāmaḥ ṛishir yasyāṁ devatāyām arthapatyam ichhan stutim prayunkte tad-devataḥ sa mantro bhavati |* "The hymn has for its deity the particular god to whom the ṛishi, seeking to obtain any particular object which he longs for, addresses his praises." The compositions of one of the ṛishis, Paruchhepa,[232] are distinguished by the repetition of some of the preceding words at the close of the lines. This peculiarity is thus noticed in the Nirukta, x. 42:—*Abhyāse bhūyāṁsam artham manyante yathā, "aho darśanīya, aho darśanīya." Tat Paruchhepasya śīlam: Paruchhepaḥ ṛishiḥ.* "Some consider that greater force is added to a sentiment by repetition, as in the expression, 'O beautiful, O beautiful.' This was Paruchhepa's turn of mind. He was a ṛishi." Here Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, speaks of a particular mode of composition as peculiar to Paruchhepa, one of the Vedic ṛishis. But if the form of the composition was the result of the ṛishi's own particular genius (*śīlam*), he must have done more than "see" the hymn; he must himself

of this work, pp. 421, ff. Professor Aufrecht remarks (Ind. Studien, iv. 8), that "possibly only a small portion of the Vedic poems may have been preserved to us in the Ṛik-sanhitā."

[232] See the third volume of this work, p. 212.

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have determined its particular form. The hymn could not therefore have existed eternally,[233] expressed in its present words. Yāska, therefore, appears to be inconsistent with himself, when he states this doctrine in other passages, as x. 10, 46, where he says, *ṛisher dṛishṭārthasya prītir ākhyāna-saṁyuktā:* "Here the ṛishi, after he had beheld the contents [of a hymn], expresses his pleasure in narration." If, indeed, we are to understand by the word *artha*, "contents," that the matter of the hymn only, without the words, was revealed, there will be no inconsistency. See, in addition to the passages quoted here, those adduced in the third volume of this work, pp. 211, f.

For many ages the successive generations of these ancient ṛishis continued to make new contributions to the stock of hymns, while they carefully preserved those which had been handed down to them by their forefathers.[234] The fact of this successive composition of the

[233] See the third volume of this work, pp. 71, ff., 91, f., and 208.

[234] "The Indian Āryas were disposed to piety, both by their natural character and by the institutions of Manu. They were sustained in these sentiments by the chiefs of certain families in which their religious traditions had been more especially preserved. In those primitive ages the political system was precisely the same as that which Homer depicts;—kings the veritable shepherds of their people; cultivators or herdsmen united around their chiefs, and prepared, whenever necessity arose, to transform themselves into warriors; numerous flocks and a profusion of rural wealth; towns which were only large villages. Some of these villages served as retreats to renowned sages, who, while their dependents were tending their fields and flocks, were themselves engaged in the cultivation of sacred science, in the company of their sons, or their pupils, and fulfilled the functions of a Calchas or a Tiresias to some Indian Agamemnon or Œdipus in their neighbourhood. Invited by the chiefs to perform sacrifice, they arrived with their sacred retinue; they ascended the mountain where an inclosure of lattice-work had been constructed; for temples were then unknown. There, beneath the vault of heaven, they recited their hereditary songs, or a newly-composed hymn; they invoked the grand agents in nature to grant success to the labours of the field, increase to the flocks, and a succession of brave and virtuous descendants. They implored, they threatened their gods; and when the sacred rites had been scrupulously performed, they retired loaded with gifts, carrying away cows, horses, and cars filled with provisions, gold, and precious stuffs. We see thus by what fortune these hymns have been preserved, forming as they did, a patrimony to certain families, a species of productive capital, which it was their interest to turn to the very best account. Composed on certain recognized and venerable themes, and sometimes retouched and renovated by the imagination of a new bard, they grew old, as they were transmitted from age to age, bearing on them, sometimes, the date of their composition, which was indicated by the name of the inspired author, or of some generous prince." Langlois, French translation of Rigveda, vol. i., pref. pp. x, xi. See also Mr. Whitney's remarks in the Journal of the Am. Or. Soc., iv. 249.

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hymns is evident from the ancient index (*anukramaṇī*) to the Rigveda, as continually quoted in the commentary of Sāyaṇa, which shows that these compositions are ascribed to different generations of the same families, as their "seers." For example, some of the hymns of the 3rd maṇḍala are assigned to Gāthin, the father of Viśvāmitra, others to Viśvāmitra himself, others to Ṛiṣhabha, his son, others again to Kaṭṣ, his descendant, and others to Utkila, of the race of Kaṭa. Here we have the "seers" of hymns extending over five generations or more. The same fact, viz. that a long interval elapsed between the composition of the different hymns, is manifest from various passages in these compositions themselves.[235] Thus the second verse of the first hymn of the 1st maṇḍala of the Rigveda is to the following effect: *Agniḥ pūrvebhir ṛishibhir īḍyo nūtanair uta | sa devān ā iha vakshati |* "Let Agni, who is to be worshipped by the former ṛishis, and by the recent ones, bring hither the gods."[236] There are many other verses alluding to a difference of antiquity in the hymns and their authors. Such are the following (R.V. i. 48, 14):—*Ye chid hi tvām ṛishayaḥ pūrve ūtaye juhūre |* "The former ṛishis who invoked thee for succour," etc. (R.V. i. 62, 13) *Sanāyate Gotamaḥ Indra navyam atakshad brahma hari-yojanāya |* "Nodhas, a Gotama, has fabricated this new prayer to thee, O Indra, who art from of old, that thou mayest yoke thy coursers," etc.[237] (R.V. iii. 32, 13) *Yaḥ stomebhir vavṛidhe pūrvyebhir yo madhyamebhir uta nūtanebhiḥ |* "Who [Indra] has grown through praises, ancient, middle, and modern."[238] (R.V. vi. 44, 13) *Yaḥ*

[235] This subject is more fully treated in the third volume of this work, pp. 217, ff.

[236] The comment of Yūska on this passage (Nirukta vii. 16) is as follows: *Agnir yaḥ pūrvair ṛishibhir īlitavyo vanditavyaḥ asmābhiś navataraiḥ sa devān iha āvahatv iti |* "Let Agni, who is to be worshipped, reverenced, by the former ṛishis, and by us the more modern ones, bring the gods hither." Sāyaṇa annotates thus on the passage: *Ayam Agniḥ "pūrvebhiḥ" purātanair Bhṛigv-angiraḥ-prabhṛitibhir "īḍyaḥ" stutyo "nūtanair uta" idānīntanair asmābhir api stutyaḥ |* "This Agni, who is to be worshipped, i.e. celebrated, by the former, i.e. the ancient ṛishis, Bhṛigu, Angiras, and the rest, and by the recent, i.e. the present [ṛishis], ourselves also," etc.

[237] *"Navyam" nūtanam "brahma" etat sūkta-rūpaṁ stotraṁ "no" asmad-artham "atakshad" akarot |* Sāyaṇa. "Fabricated, i.e. made for us this new *brahma*, i.e. praise in the form of this *sūkta*." The same verb *taksh* is also applied to the composition of hymns in R.V. i. 109, 1; ii. 19, 8; and vi. 32, 1.

[238] *Purātanaiḥ | madhye bhavaiḥ | asmābhiḥ kriyamāṇair adhunātanaiḥ stotraiḥ |* "Praises ancient, intermediate, and formed by us at present." This verse is referred to by Müller, p. 482.

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pūrvyābhir uta nūtanābhir gīrbhir vavṛidhe gṛiṇatām ṛishīṇām | "He [Indra] who has grown by the ancient and modern hymns of the ṛishis who praised him." (R.V. vii. 22, 9) *Ye cha pūrve ṛishayo ye cha nūtnāḥ Indra brahmāṇi janayanta viprāḥ* | "O Indra, the wise ṛishis, both ancient and modern, have generated prayers." (R.V. x. 23, 6) *Stomaṁ te Indra Vimadāḥ ajījanan apūrvyam purutamaṁ sudānave* | "The Vimadas have generated,[239] O Indra, for thee, the beneficent, a copious hymn, before unheard."

In the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā of the Yajurveda (xviii. 52), we meet with the following text: *Imau tu pakshāv ajarau patatriṇau yābhyāṁ rakshāṁsi apahaṁsi Agne* | *tābhyām patema sukṛitām u lokaṁ yatra ṛishayo jagmuḥ prathamajāḥ purāṇāḥ* | "But these undecaying feathered pinions, with which, O Agni, thou slayest the Rakshases,—with them let us ascend to the world of the righteous, whither the earliest-born ancient ṛishis have gone."[240] The writer of this verse was himself a ṛishi, and it is clear, according to his statement, that long before his time other ṛishis had gone to the regions of the blessed

And in the Rigveda we find reference made in numerous hymns to earlier ṛishis (who themselves are yet declared by later writers to have been authors of hymns included in the same Veda) having been delivered by the gods in ancient times. Thus Atri, the author of several Vedic hymns (37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 85, and 86, of the 5th maṇḍala), Kaṇva, the author of hymns 37–43 of the 1st maṇḍala, and Vasishṭha, the author of the greater part of the 7th maṇḍala, are spoken of in several other hymns, e.g. in maṇḍala i. 112, 7, 9, 16; i. 117, 3, 8; i. 118, 7, as if they belonged to an earlier age.

The descendants of the most celebrated ṛishis would, no doubt, form complete collections of the hymns which had been composed by their respective ancestors. After being thus handed down, with little alteration, in the families of the original authors for several centuries, during which many of them were continually applied to the purposes

[239] The verb *ajījanan*, "generated," as applied to hymns, also occurs in R.V. viii 77, 4, and viii. 84, 5. See also Sāmaveda, ii. 108, 109, and 1059, with Benfey's translation and note, p. 245.

[240] On the last words the commentator on v. 58 annotates: "*Prathamajāḥ*" *pūrvotpannāḥ* | "*purāṇāḥ*" *purā 'pi navāḥ ajarāmarāḥ ṛishayo yatra loke jagmuḥ* | "The world whither the ṛishis, first-born, i.e. earliest-produced, ancient, i.e. in former times, also, young, imperishable, and immortal, have gone."

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of religious worship, these hymns, which had been gathering an accumulated sanctity throughout all this period, were at length collected in one great body of sacred literature, styled the Sanhitā of the Rigveda—a work which in the Purāṇas is assigned to Vedavyāsa, and one of his pupils.[241]

As the process of hymn composition continued thus to go on for many centuries, it was likely that the collection, when finally completed, would contain many comparatively new hymns, written just before the canon was closed. Even after this latter event took place we find that some hymns were composed which must have had some pretensions to a sacred character, as, though not admitted into the canon of the Rigveda, they are found copied as Khilas or later additions, at the end of some of the sections in the manuscripts of that work; and some passages from them are, as Professor Müller informs me, inserted in the other three Vedas, and are enjoined by Āśvalāyana to be employed on particular occasions, in the ceremonial of sacrifice. Whether or not these Khilas are the oldest extant compositions after those included in the Vedic collections (and their style shows them not to be all so), they must at least, from the position which they have gained of the Vedic apocrypha, be regarded as a link connecting the Vedic hymns with the later parts of Indian literature.

The hymns in the Rik-sanhitā which bear the most modern character, and which from their age stand chronologically nearest to the Khilas just alluded to, are (according to Professor Müller, p. 484) those in which reference is made to a complicated ceremonial, to a great variety of priests with different functions and appellations, or in which the liberality of royal patrons to the sacerdotal class is the theme of celebration. One composition, of which the modern character is acknowledged by most critics,[242] is the so-called Purusha Sūkta, the 90th hymn of the 10th maṇḍala (quoted in pp. 6–11 of the first volume

[241] "I suppose that at different and unknown epochs, on the invitation of some prince, learned and pious persons must have been charged to collect the hymns composed for the use of the several sacerdotal families, and to arrange them in a certain order consistent with the maintenance of the texts. When we observe the spirit which has directed these collectors, we can comprehend how there should be so many repetitions both in the ideas and the words. The ancient bards had borrowed from each other many thoughts which the compilers of different eras have scrupulously reproduced." Langlois, French translation of Rigveda, vol. i., pref. p. xiii.

[242] Prof. Haug is an exception. See the first volume of this work, p. 11.

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of this work), which Mr. Colebrooke[243] characterizes in the following terms:—

"That remarkable hymn is in language, metre, and style, very different from the rest of the prayers with which it is associated. It has a decidedly more modern tone; and must have been composed after the Sanskrit language had been refined, and its grammar and rhythm perfected. The internal evidence which it furnishes, serves to demonstrate the important fact that the compilation of the Vedas, in their present arrangement, took place after the Sanskrit tongue had advanced from the rustic and irregular dialect in which the multitude of hymns and prayers of the Vedas was composed, to the polished and sonorous language in which the mythological poems, sacred and profane (*purāṇas* and *cāvyas*), have been written." (See also the remarks made on this hymn by Prof. Müller, Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 571.) The last-named author thinks it is a mistake to regard any hymn as modern, merely from the presence in it of philosophical ideas. But I must refer to his own work, pp. 556, ff., for a statement of his views on this point.

The sketch which I have now given of Sanskrit literature shows that we can trace it back, by a series of almost continuous links up to the period of its rise.[244] If the Vedic hymns cannot be connected immediately with the literature which follows next after them, they are at least separated from it by no very distant interval; and they are evidently the natural product of the same fertile Indian mind which afterwards gave birth to the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads, the Darśanas, and the different epic and mythological poems.

In the Rigveda we possess, as has been already remarked, a collection of hymns which were composed during many successive generations, but its most ancient portions constitute the earliest of all the extant remains of Indian authorship, and not only display to us the Sanskrit language in the oldest phase in which we can ever see it

[243] Misc. Ess., i. 309, note.

[244] It may, perhaps, be thought that this subject has been treated at a length disproportioned to the purpose which I have immediately in view, viz., to trace the mutations of the Sanskrit language. But a full exhibition of the character and antiquity of the Vedic hymns, and of the relation in which they stand to the other parts of Indian literature, will be found to form a necessary basis for various other discussions which will appear in the sequel of this work, and I have deemed the present a convenient opportunity for its introduction.

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exhibited, but also afford us some of the most authentic materials which we can ever obtain for our researches into the earliest history, religious and political, of the Indian people, and into their pre-historical relations with the other branches of the Indo-European family.

Fifth:—If any further proof be wanted of the greater antiquity of the Vedic hymns, as compared with the other books esteemed more or less sacred by the Hindus, as, for instance, the epic poems and the Purāṇas, it may be found in the great difference between the mythological systems which are discoverable in these two classes of works respectively. As I return to this subject in another volume of this work (the fourth), I may content myself with a very summary notice of it at present. The following extracts from Professor H. H. Wilson's introduction to the first volume of his translation of the Rigveda, pp. xxiv, xxvii, will give some idea of the difference to which I allude:—

"The next question is, who are the gods to whom the praises and prayers [in the Rigveda] are addressed? And here we find also a striking difference between the mythology of the Rigveda and that of the heroic poems and Purāṇas. The divinities worshipped are not unknown to later systems, but they there perform very subordinate parts, whilst those deities who are the great gods—the *Dii majores*—of the subsequent period, are either wholly unnamed in the Veda, or are noticed in an inferior and different capacity. The names of Śiva, of Mahādeva, of Durgā, of Kālī, of Rāma, of Kṛishṇa, never occur, as far as we are yet aware; we have a Rudra, who, in after times, is identified with Śiva, but who, even in the Purāṇas, is of very doubtful origin and identification, whilst in the Veda he is described as the father of the winds, and is evidently a form of either Agni or Indra; the epithet Kaparddin,[215] which is applied to him, appears, indeed, to have some relation to a characteristic attribute of Śiva,—the wearing of his hair in a peculiar braid; but the term has probably in the Veda a

[215] [This epithet occurs in the following passage, verse i. of Sūkta 114, Maṇḍala 1st:—*Imāḥ Rudrāya tavase kapardine kshayadvīrāya prabharāmahe matīḥ | yathā śam asad dvipade chatushpade viśvam pushṭaṁ grāme asminn anāturam* | i.e. "We offer these praises to the strong Rudra, with the braided hair, the destroyer of heroes, in order that health may be enjoyed by bipeds and quadrupeds, and that all beings in this village may be well nourished, and exempt from disease." The same epithet *kapardin* is also applied to Pūshan in R.V. vi. 55, 2, and ix. 67, 11. See the fifth volume of this work, pp. 177 and 462.—J.M.]

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different signification — one now forgotten,—although it may have suggested in aftertime the appearance of SÍVA in such a head-dress, as identified with AGNI; for instance, KAPARDDIN may intimate his head being surrounded by radiating flame, or the word may be an interpolation; at any rate, no other epithet applicable to SÍVA occurs, and there is not the slightest allusion to the form in which, for the last ten centuries at least, he seems to have been almost exclusively worshipped in India—that of the Linga or Phallus; neither is there the slightest hint of another important feature of later Hinduism, the Trimūrtti, or Tri-une combination of BRAHMÁ, VISHṆU, and SÍVA, as typified by the mystical syllable Om, although, according to high authority on the religions of antiquity, the Trimūrtti was the first element in the faith of the Hindus, and the second was the Lingam. —Creuzer, 'Religions de l'Antiquité,' book i. chap. i. p. 140."

Even so late as the time when the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa was composed, the names afterwards appropriated to Mahādeva were applied to Agni, as appears from the following passage, i. 7, 3, 8, p. 70 :—*Agnir vai devaḥ | tasya etāni nāmāni "S'arvaḥ" iti yathā Prāchyāḥ āchakshate "Bhavaḥ" iti yathā Bāhīkāḥ "Paśūnām patiḥ" "Rudraḥ" "Agnir" iti | tāny asya aśāntāny eva itarāṇi nāmāni | "Agnir" ity eva śāntatamam |* "Agni is a god. These are his names, viz., 'Śarva,' as the eastern people call him; 'Bhava,' as the Bāhīkas; 'Paśūnām pati,' 'the lord of animals'; 'Rudra;' and 'Agni.' These others are his ill-omened names. Agni is his mildest appellation." (See Weber's Indische Studien, i. 189, ii. 19-22, 37, 302; the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 3, 10-17, ix. 1, 1, 1, 2, quoted in pp. 283, ff. and 289, f., of the fourth volume of this work; and Jour. Am. Or. Soc. iii. 319.)[246]

[246] I add here some passages not adduced in my fourth volume. The Taittirīya Sanhitā, i. 5, 1, 1, has the following "ākhyāyikā" (little story): *Devāsurāḥ saṁyattāḥ āsan | te devāḥ vijayam upayanto 'gnau vāmaṁ vasu sannyadadhata "idam u no bhavishyati yadi no jeshyanti" iti | tad Agnir nyakāmayata | tena apākrāmat | tad devāḥ vijitya avarurutsamānāḥ anvāyan | tad asya sahasā āditsanta | so 'rodīt | yad arodīt tad Rudrasya rudratvam |* "The Gods and Asuras contended. The Gods, on the eve of gaining a victory, deposited their desirable property with Agni, in order that, as they said, they might retain it in case their enemies should vanquish them. Agni coveted this property, and absconded with it. Then the gods, having conquered their enemies, desired to recover their property, followed Agni, and sought to take it from him by force. He wept. From the fact that 'he wept' (*arodīt*, from the root *rud*), he derives his name and character of 'Rudra.'" In the same Sanhitā, book v., p. 466 of India Office MS., we find the words: *Rudro vai esha*

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Again, in p. xxxiv. of his Introduction, Professor Wilson says, in regard to Vishṇu:—"There is no separate hymn to Vishṇu, but he is mentioned as Trivikrama, or he who took three steps or paces, which Colebrooke thought might have formed the groundwork of the Paurāṇik legend of the dwarf Avatār. It may have been suggestive of the fiction; but no allusion to the notion of Avatārs occurs in the Veda, and there can be little doubt that the three steps here referred to are the three periods of the sun's course—his rise, culmination, and setting."[247] The passage here alluded to by Professor Wilson is as follows: Rigveda i. 22, 16-21:—(16) *Ato devāḥ avantu no yato Vishṇur vichakrame | pṛithivyāḥ sapta dhāmabhiḥ*[248] | (17) *Idaṁ Vishṇur vichakrame tredhā nidadhe padam | samūḷham asya pāṁsure* | (18) *Tṛīṇi padā vichakrame Vishṇur gopāḥ adābhyaḥ | ato dharmāṇi dhārayan* | (19) *Vishṇoḥ karmāṇi paśyata yato vratāni paśpase | Indrasya yujyaḥ sakhā* | (20) *Tad Vishṇoḥ paramam padaṁ sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ | divīva chakshur ātatam* | (21) *Tad viprāso vipanyavo jāgṛivāṁsaḥ samindhate | Vishṇor yat paramam padam* |

"(16) May the gods preserve us from that (place) whence Vishṇu strode across the seven regions of the earth [or, according to the Sāmaveda, over the surface of the earth]. (17) Vishṇu traversed this (universe): in three places he planted his foot, and [the world] was enveloped in his dust. (18) Vishṇu, the preserver, the uninjurable, stepped three steps, upholding thereby fixed ordinances. (19) Behold the deeds of Vishṇu, through which this intimate friend of Indra has perceived the established laws. (20) The wise ever contemplate that supreme station of Vishṇu, placed like an eye in the sky. (21) The wise, ever vigilant and offering praise, kindle that which is the supreme station of Vishṇu."—(See Wilson's translation, pp. 53, 54; Benfey's translation of the Sāmaveda, pp. 223 and 287; his Glossary, p. 191, under the word *sapta*, and his translation of the

yad Agniḥ | "This Agni is Rudra." And in v. 5, 7, 3: *Rudro vai esha yad Agniḥ | sa yathā vyāghraḥ kruddhas tishṭhaty eva vai esha | tarhi sachitam etair upatishṭhate namaskārair eva taṁ śamayati* | "This Agni is Rudra. He stands enraged like a tiger. Then he approaches him when kindled, and quiets him with these prostrations."

[247] "It is expressly so stated by Durgāchārya, in his commentary on the Nirukta. See Burnouf, Introduction to the third volume of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, p. xxii."

[248] Instead of *sapta dhāmabhis*, the Sāmaveda, ii. 1024, reads *adhi sānavi*, "over the surface"

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R.V. in Orient und Occident, p. 30: see, also, the fourth volume of this work, pp. 54, ff.)[249]

The remarks of Yāska on this passage have been already quoted above (p. 176). The following is the note of the commentator, Durgāchārya, on Yāska's explanation of the above passage of the Rigveda (see above, note 247, p. 203):—*Vishṇur ādityaḥ | katham iti | yataḥ āha "tredhā nidadhe padam" nidhatte padaṁ nidhānam padaiḥ*[?] *| Kva tatra tāvat | "pṛithivyām antarikshe divi" iti Śākapūṇiḥ | pārthivo 'gnir bhūtvā "pṛithivyāṁ" yat kinchid asti tad vikramate tad adhitishṭhati "antarikshe" vaidyutātmanā "divi" sūryātmanā | yad uktam "tam ū akṛiṇvan tredhā bhuve kam"* (R.V. x. 88, 10) *| "Samārohaṇe udayagirāv udyan padam ekaṁ nidhatte vishṇupade madhyandine antarikshe gayaśirasy astangirāv" ity Aurṇavābhaḥ āchāryo manyate |*

"Vishṇu is the Sun. How? Because he says, 'thrice he planted his foot.' Where did he do so? 'On the earth, in the firmament, and in the heaven,' says Śākapūṇi. Becoming terrestrial fire, he paces or resides a little upon the earth, in the shape of lightning in the firmament, and in the form of the sun in heaven. As it is said, 'they made him to exist in a threefold form' (R.V. x. 88, 10). Aurṇavābha Āchārya thinks the meaning is, 'He plants one step on the 'Samārohaṇa' (point of ascension), when rising over the eastern mountain, (another) at noon on the Vishṇupada, the meridian sky, (a third) on Gayaśiras, when setting beneath the western hill.'"

Any one who has the slightest acquaintance with the later Hindu mythology will perceive at once how different these Vedic representations are from the Puranic accounts of Śiva and Vishṇu.[250] Such changes as these, in the conception of the gods, must have been the work of time. Here, therefore, we have another proof of the antiquity of the Vedic hymns as compared with the other portions of Indian literature.

[249] Under the word *dharman*, Böhtlingk and Roth quote Vālakhilya iv. 3, where it is said, *Yasmai Vishṇus trīṇi padā vichakrame upa mitrasya dharmabhiḥ |* "For whom (for Indra) Vishṇu strode three paces in the quality of a friend, or according to the custom of a friend." The explanation of the last words of the line are from B. and R.

[250] The modifications which have taken place in the conceptions of these two deities are fully exhibited in the fourth volume of this work, to which I refer for further particulars.

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Sixth: Another proof of the greater antiquity of the Vedic hymns as compared with the later Śāstras may be found in the fact that the former represent to us a considerable difference in the religious institutions of the Indian people at the time when they were composed as compared with the usages of later periods. For information on this subject I may refer to the first volume of this work, passim.

Seventh: How different the Sanskrit of the Vedic age was in many of its forms from those which the later Sanskrit assumed, and still retains, may be seen from the subjoined specimens taken from the Rigveda:

Rigveda, i. 2, 1, with modern Sanskrit interpretation underneath:

Vedic Text.	*Vāyav āyāhi darśata ime somāḥ arankṛitāḥ | teshām pāhi śrudhi havam |*	"Come, O Vāyu, these somas are prepared.[251] Drink of them; hear our invocation."
Mod. Sans.	*Vāyav āyāhi darśanīya ime somāḥ alankṛitāḥ | teshām piba śṛiṇu havam |*	

Here it will be observed that four Vedic words, *darśata*, *arankṛitāḥ*, *pāhi*, *śrudhi*, differ from the modern Sanskrit forms.

Rigveda, i. 3, 7:

Vedic Text.	*Omāsaś charshaṇīdhṛito viśve devāsaḥ āgata | dāśvāṁso daśushaḥ sutam |*	"O Viśve devas, preservers of men, bestowers [of rewards], come to the libation of him who gives you [oblations].
Mod. Sans.	*Omāḥ [rakshakāḥ] charshaṇidhṛito viśvedevāḥ āgachchhata | dātāro dātuḥ sutam |*	

Here the Vedic forms *omāsaḥ*, *devāsaḥ*, and *āgata*, stand for *omāḥ*, *devāḥ*, and *āgachchhata*.

Rigveda, vii. 33, 5:

Vedic Text.	*Vasishṭhasya stuvataḥ Indro aśroḍ urum̃ tṛitsubhyo akṛiṇod u lokam |*	"Indra heard Vasishṭha when he uttered praise, and opened up a wide space to the Tṛitsus." (See vol. i. p. 320.)
Mod. Sans.	*Vasishṭhasya stuvataḥ Indro aśṛiṇod urum tṛitsubhyo akarod u lokam |*	

Here we have the Vedic forms *aśrot* and *akṛinot*, for the modern *aśṛiṇot* and *akarot*.

[251] Prof. Aufrecht suggests that the word *alankṛita* has not the sense of "prepared" in later Sanskrit; that the construction *teshām piba* would be improper there; and that *charshaṇidhṛit* would not be understood in modern times.

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This fact of the frequent diversity between the Vedic and ordinary Sanskrit is recognized in every page of his work by the great grammarian Pāṇini. I will quote one of the Sūtras, in which he refers to some instances of this, together with the illustrations given in the Vārttika (vii. 2, 64):—*Babhūtha ātatantha jagṛibhma vavartha iti nigame || ity etāni vede nipātyante | bhū | "hotā prathamo babhūtha" | "babhūvitha" iti loke | tanu | "yena antariksham uru ātatantha" | "ātenitha" iti loke | graha | "jagṛibhma te dakshiṇam Indra hastam" | "jagṛihima" iti loke | vṛiñ | "vavartha tvaṁ hi jyotishā" | "vavaritha" iti loke|* "The exceptional forms *babhūtha, ātatantha, jagṛibhma* and *vavartha* are employed in the Veda instead of the ordinary forms, *babhūvitha, āteniṭha, jagṛihima*, and *vavaritha;* as in the texts, 'thou wast the first priest,' 'whereby thou didst stretch out the wide firmament,' 'we have seized, O Indra, thy right hand,' 'thou didst envelope with light.'"

In Sutra vi. 4, 102, other instances are alluded to of grammatical forms which are peculiar to the Veda, viz., the imperatives *śrudhi* for *śriṇu*, 'hear'; *kṛidhi* for *kuru*, 'do'; *vṛidhi* for *vṛiṇu*, 'cover'; *pūrdhi* for *pṛiṇīhi*, 'fill.'

In the Vivaraṇa of Nāgesa Bhaṭṭa on the Mahābhāshya, the following reference is made to certain forms which are employed in the Veda only: *Evaṁ cha veda-mātrāntargata-"karṇebhir-devāso-gṛibhṇāmi"-ity-ādy-atirikta-paratā laukika-śabdasya tais tad-vyavahārādarśanāt |* "The term 'secular' (*laukika*) refers to words different from such as *karṇebhiḥ* (for *karṇaiḥ*), *devāsaḥ* (for *devāḥ*), and *gṛibhṇāmi* (for *gṛihṇāmi*), which are to be found in the Veda alone, for we never see them employed by secular people."

Neuter plurals in *ī* and *ā* are also of frequent occurrence in the Vedic hymns, as *trī* and *pūrṇā* for *trīṇi* and *pūrṇāni*. So too the final *i* in nouns ending in *n*, is often left out in the locative, as in *ajman, adhvan, karman, charman, janman, dhanvan, śarman, vyoman*, for *ajmani, adhvani*, etc. So also *ā* is substituted for *au* in the nom. and accus. dual, as in *yā surathā* for *yau surathau*, etc.

In nouns in *i* the instrumental singular is often formed by *ī*, instead of *yā*, as *śaktī* for *śaktyā*, and the locative by *ā* instead of *au*, as *nābhā* for *nābhau*. Nouns in *u* frequently form the instrumental case in *vā* instead of *unā*, as *kratvā, madhvā, śarvā*, for *kratunā*, etc.; the dative

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in *ve*, instead of *ave*, as *kratve*, *śiśve*, for *kratave*, etc.; the genitive in *vaḥ* for *oḥ* or *unaḥ*, as *paśvaḥ* for *paśoḥ*, *madhvaḥ* and *vasvaḥ* for *madhunaḥ*, etc.; and the locative in *avi* instead of *au*, as *anavi*, *trasadasyavi*, *dasyavi*, *druhyavi*, *sānavi*, for *anau*, etc. Words in *ī* make in the nominative singular *īḥ* instead of *ī*, as *adurmangalīḥ*, *kṛishṇīḥ*, *gāndharvīḥ*, *kalyāṇīḥ*, for *adurmangalī*, etc. In adjectives the form *yas* is frequently substituted for *īyas*, as in *ahanyas*, *navyas*, *rabhyas*, *vasyas*, *sahyas*, for *ahanīyas*, etc. The second personal pronoun sometimes takes in the instr. sing. the form *tvā* instead of *tvayā*, and in the loc. *tve* for *tvayi*. According to Yāska (Nir. vi. 7), the plural form *asme* of the first personal pronoun can be used in all the seven cases. The dem. pronoun *idam* makes in the instr. sing. m. and n. *enā*, f. *ayā*, for *anena* and *anayā*, and along with *kim* we find also *kad*. The two words, *nākis*, "never," "no one," and *mākis*, "let not," and "let no one," are peculiar to the hymns, as are also the adverbs *kuha*,[252] "where?" *kathā*, "how?" "whence?" and the preposition *sadha* for *saha*, "with," in the words *sadhastha*, *sadhamā*, *sadhamāda*, and *sadhastuti*. The form *tman* for *ātman*, "self," is found almost exclusively in the hymns. *Na* in the hymns has frequently the sense of "as," as well as of "not" (see Nir. i. 4, quoted above, p. 151).

To the conjugational forms specified above as found in the Vedic hymns, but not in later Sanskrit, may be added the following, viz., *smasi*, *imasi*, *gṛiṇīmasi*, *bharāmasi*, *vadāmasi*, *uśmaśi*, *nāśayāmasi*, etc., for *smaḥ* or *smas*, etc. The past participle in *tvā* takes also the forms *tvī*, and *tvāya*, as in *hatvī*, *pītvī*; *kṛitvī*, *kṛitvāya*; *gatvī*, *gatvāya*; *dṛishṭvāya*, etc. In the infinitive, besides the form in *tum*, we frequently meet with the forms *tave*, *tavai*, *toḥ* (or *tos*), and *adhyai*, as *etave*, *etavai*, *etoḥ*; *kartave*, *kartavai*, *kartoḥ*; *gantave*, *gantavai*, *gamadhyai*; *dhātave* and *dhiyadhyai*; *bhartave*, *apabhartavai*, *bharadhyai* (R.V. vi. 66, 3); *hantavai*, *jīvitavai*, *pṛiṇadhyai*, *pāritaṁsayadhyai*; and an infinitive form *āyai*, "to come," is found in R.V. ii. 18, 3. So also *jīvase*[253] and *chakshase* are used in the sense of the infinitive, as are also *dṛiśe* and *vishkabhe* (R.V. viii. 89, 12), and *vidmane* (R.V. i. 164, 6).

[252] As we have seen above, p. 91, *kuhiṁ* and *kuhaṁ* are employed in Pāli, and *kahiṁ* in the Gāthā dialect, and in Prākṛit, for "where?"

[253] This word is also used in the same way in the Mahābhārata, i. 732, as quoted in B. and R's. Lexicon, *s.v.*

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So too the hymns have some moods called by grammarians *leṭ*, which, according to Prof. Wilson (Grammar, 2nd ed., p. 463), have all the significations of the potential and imperative, as well as of the conditional and impersonal. Such are the forms, *patāti*, "may it fall," *āvahāsi*, "mayest thou bring," *jīvāti*, *vardhān*, *yajāti*, *pachāti*, *vanāti*, *bravāma*; *asat*, "it must be," *bhuvat*, *sunavat*, *dṛiśat*, *śṛiṇavat*, *śravat*, *nindāt*, *ninitsāt*, *yajātai*, *pṛiṇaithe*. In some verbs, the syllable *na* is added to the second person plural imperative, as *pipartana*, *vivaktana*, *tiretana*, *didishṭana*, etc. The pass. fut. participle in *tavya* appears in some verbs in the form *tva*, as in *kartva*, *jantva*, and *sotva* (R.V. x. 160, 2).

The following are some of the variations exhibited in the conjugation of different verbs of common occurrence; *av* makes *aviḍḍhi* instead of *ava* in the imperative; *kṛi*, "to make," takes in the present *karshi*, *karasi*, and *kṛiṇoshi*, for *karoshi*; *akar*, *akaraḥ*, and *akṛiṇoḥ* for *akaroḥ*; *akran* and *akṛiṇvan* for *akurvan*; *akṛinuta* and *akṛinotaṇa* for *akuruta*; *kṛidhi*, *kara*, *kṛiṇu* and *kṛiṇuhi* for *kuru*, etc.; *gam*, "to go," takes the forms *gamati*, *ganti*, *jaganti*, in place of *gachhati*; *gameyam*, and *jagamyām*, for *gachcheyam*; *āgamyāt* for *āgachhet*; *āgatha* for *āgachhatha*; *agan* and *gan* for *agachhat*; *aganma* for *agachhāma*; *agman* and *gman* for *agachhan*; *āgahi* and *āgantu* for *āgachha* and *āgachhatu*; *ganta* and *gantana* for *gachhata*. In the reduplicated perfect the root *tyaj* becomes *tityāja*, instead of *tatyāja*; in the aorist *tan* makes *atān* for *atānīt*. *Dṛiś* makes *adrāk* for *adrākshīt*, and has *dṛiśeyam* where later Sanskrit has *paśyeyam*; *adṛiśran* for *apaśyan*; *dadṛiśre* for *dadṛiśire*, etc. The root *tar* frequently becomes *tir* when prepositions are prefixed, as in *ātirat*, *pratira*, *vitiranti*. *Duh* makes *aduhra*, instead of *aduhata*, "they milked." *Dhā*, "to hold," makes *dhita*, instead of *hita* (though an instance of the same archaic form in the Harivaṁśa 7799 is cited by B. and R., as is also *dhitvā* in the Śatap. Br.). *Dah*, "to burn," makes in the aorist *adhāk* and *dhāk*, instead of *adhākshīt*. *Dā*, "to give," makes *dāti* and *dātu* for *dadāti* and *dadātu*, and *daddhi* for *dehi*. The root *bhū* has in the imperative *bhūtu* for *bhavatu*; and *bhṛi*, to "nourish," or "carry," makes in the reduplicated perfect *jabhāra*, instead of *babhāra*. *Much*, "to free," makes *mumugdhi* and *mumoktu*, instead of *muncha* and *munchatu*. *Yam*, "to hold," "to give," makes *yamati*, *yaṁsi*, *yandhi*, *yanta*, for *yachhati*, *yachhasi*, *yachha*, *yachhata*. *Vṛit* takes the forms *avart* + *ā* = *āvart*, etc., instead

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of *āvarttata* (R.V. vii. 59, 4), *āvavarttati* for the intensive (R.V. viii. 77, 4). *Vid* makes *vidre* (R.V. vii. 56, 2) for *viduḥ* (?), and *vividḍhi* for *viddhi* (?). *Śru*, "to hear," makes in the imperative (besides *śrudhi*, the form given above) *śṛiṇuhi*, *śṛiṇudhi*, for *śṛiṇu*; and *śṛiṇota* and *śrota* (R.V. v. 87, 8) for *śṛiṇuta*. *Spardh*, "to vie," makes *paspṛidhre* for *paspṛidhire*. *Hu*, "to invoke," makes *juhūre* for *juhvire*. In R.V. x. 125, 4, a form *śraddhivam* "deserving belief," is found, which appears to be peculiar to the R.V. (In the Atharvaveda iv. 30, 4, *śraddheyam* is substituted for it.) In future participles the R.V. frequently substitutes *enya* for *anīya*, as in *īḍenya*, *kīrtenya*, *dṛiśenya*, *yudhenya*, *vareṇya*, for *īḍanīya*, etc. Other forms peculiar to the Veda are *gṛibhāyati* (as well as *gṛibhṇāti*), *dabhāyati*, *mathāyati*, *mushāyati*, *stabhāyati*, for *gṛihṇāti*, etc.; and so also are such forms derived from the perfect tense, as *jakshīyāt* from *ghas*, *papatyāt*, *papīyāt*, *mamanyāt*; and the curtailed forms of the first person of the imperative, as *nirayā* (R.V., iv. 18, 2), *pracharā* (viii. 47, 6), and *prabravā* (x. 39, 5), for *nirayāni*, etc.

Other Vedic peculiarities are (*a*) the manner in which adjectives are employed, like the verbs with which they are connected, to govern an accusative, as in the cases *yaṁ yajñam paribhūr asi*, "the sacrifice which thou encompassest" (R.V., i. 1, 4): *vīḷu chid ārujatnubhiḥ*, "who break down even what is firm" (i. 6, 5); *tā somaṁ somapātamā* | "they are great drinkers of soma" (i. 21, 1); *chakrir yo viśvā* | "who made all things" (iii. 16, 4); *babhrir vajram papiḥ somaṁ dadir gāḥ* | "who holds the thunderbolt, drinks soma, and gives cows" (vi. 23, 4); *dadiḥ rekṇas tanve dadir vasu*, "giving property, giving wealth to the poor" (viii. 46, 15; ii. 14, 1; vi. 72, 3): (*b*) compounds formed with present participles, as *ābharad-vasu*, *ṛidhad-ri*, *dhārayat-kavi*, *kshayad-vīra*, *śravayat-sakhā*; and (*c*) the separation of prepositions from verbs, which so frequently occurs, as in the cases *upa tvā emasi* | "we approach thee" (i. 1, 7); *gamad vājebhir ā sa naḥ* | "let him come to us with riches" (i. 5, 3); *ā tvā viśantu āśavaḥ somāsaḥ* | "may the quickly-flowing soma-juices enter thee" (i. 5, 7); *ā tvā vahantu*, "let them bring thee" (i. 16, 3); *ni cha dhīmahi*, "we put down" (i. 17, 6).

It must not, however, be supposed, from these differences in form which we discover to exist between the Vedic and the later Sanskrit, that the two languages are not essentially alike. A great portion of

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the substance, and much of the form of the language, was the same at both periods: a part of the Vedic roots and nouns only have in later times fallen into disuse; and the peculiar Vedic varieties of form are merely the ancient modes of inflection which were in common currency at the time when the hymns were composed, and which gradually became obsolete in the course of ages.[254] Some of them, however, continued for a long time in popular use, as we find in the case of the form of the instr. pl. *ebhis* for *ais*, which we meet with unchanged in the Gāthās of the Lalita-vistara (see the instances given above, in p. 120), and somewhat modified in the Pāli forms *ebhi* and *ehi*.

A further proof of the antiquity of the Vedic hymns is to be found in the fact, already alluded to, p. 169, f., that many words in use in the Veda afterwards became obsolete, as they do not occur in the later Sanskrit literature. The meaning of these words is often extremely difficult to ascertain, as no tradition of their signification seems to have been preserved, and even the oldest interpreters, as Yāska, are obliged to have recourse to etymology in order to arrive at their sense. (See on this subject my article "On the Interpretation of the Veda," in the Journal of the Royal As. Soc., vol. ii., new series, pp. 303, ff.)

As the hymns of the Veda were the compositions of the ancient

[254] The following is Professor Whitney's account of the differences between the Vedic and the modern Sanskrit:—

"The language of the Vedas is an older dialect, varying very considerably, both in its grammatical and lexical character, from the classical Sanskrit. Its grammatical peculiarities run through all departments: euphonic rules, word-formation and composition, declension, conjugation, syntax. . . . . [These peculiarities] are partly such as characterize an older language, consisting in a greater originality of forms, and the like, and partly such as characterize a language which is still in the bloom and vigour of life, its freedom untrammelled by other rules than those of common usage, and which has not, like the Sanskrit, passed into oblivion as a native spoken dialect, become merely a conventional medium of communication among the learned, being forced, as, it were, into a mould of regularity by long and exhausting grammatical treatment. . . . The dissimilarity existing between the two, in respect of the stock of words of which each is made up, is, to say the least, not less marked. Not single words alone, but whole classes of derivations and roots, with the families that are formed from them, which the Veda exhibits in frequent and familiar use, are wholly wanting, or have left but faint traces, in the classical dialect; and this to such an extent as seems to demand, if the two be actually related to one another directly as mother and daughter, a longer interval between them than we should be inclined to assume, from the character and degree of the grammatical, and more especially the phonetic, differences."—Journ. of the Amer. Orient. Soc. iii. 296, 297.

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Indian ṛishis or bards, who, as we have seen above (p. 197, f.), frequently speak of having "made," "fashioned," or "generated"[255] them, they could not possibly have been composed in any other language than that which these ṛishis and their contemporaries were in the habit of using for every-day conversation.

There are, no doubt, in the hymns some apparent traces of an idea that the authors were inspired;[256] as in the following texts: R.V., i. 37, 4: *devattam brahma gāyata* | "Sing the god-given prayer." In R.V. x. 71, 3, it is said of the goddess Vāch: *Yajnena Vāchaḥ padavīyam āyan tām anvavindann ṛishishu pravishṭām* | "By sacrifice they followed the track of Vāch: they found her residing in the ṛishis."

In R.V. x. 125, 5, again, Vāch[257] is made to say: *Yaṁ kāmaye taṁ tam ugraṁ kṛiṇomi tam brahmāṇam tam ṛishiṁ taṁ sumedhām* | "Every man whom I love, I make him terrible; [I make] him a priest; [I make] him a ṛishi; [I make] him intelligent."[258]

In a Vālakhilya (or apocryphal hymn), which, with others, is to be found inserted between the 48th and 49th hymns of the 8th maṇḍala of the Rigveda, the following verse occurs, xi. 6:

Indrā-Varuṇā yad ṛishibhyo manīshāṁ vācho matiṁ śrutam adattam agre |
yāni sthānāny asṛijanta dhīrāḥ yajnaṁ tanvānās tapasā 'bhyapaśyam |

For the complete text of this verse I was first indebted to Professor Müller, who supplied also the following version of it: "Indra and Varuṇa, I have seen through devotion that which, after it was heard

[255] See numerous passages to this effect adduced in the third volume of this work, p. 232, ff.

[256] This subject is treated more at length in the third volume of this work, p. 245, ff. In his illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 85, Roth observes in regard to the fifth hymn of the fourth book of the R.V.: "The author of the hymn, Vāmadeva, himself professes to make known a mysterious and recondite wisdom, which had been revealed to him by Agni (verses 3 and 6)." The third verse is as follows: *Śāma dvibarhāḥ mahi tigmabhṛishṭiḥ sahasraretāḥ vṛishabhas tuvishmān | Padam na gor apagūḷham vividvān Agnir mahyam predu vochad manīshām* || "Agni, the transcently strong, the fierce-flaming, the prolific, the showerer of benefits, the powerful, who knows the venerable hymn, mysterious as the track of a [missing] cow, hath declared to me its knowledge."

[257] See, however, note 27, p. 258, of the third volume of this work.

[258] Vāch thus appears partly, though not entirely, in the character of a Muse. Compare what Homer says of Demodocus, Odyssey viii. 63, 64:

Τὸν πέρι Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε, δίδου δ' ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε,
'οφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε, δίδου δ' ἡδεῖαν ἀοιδήν.

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in the beginning, you gave to the poets—wisdom, understanding of speech; and I have seen the (sacred) places which the sages created in performing the sacrifice."[259]

Though, however, some traces of an idea that the ṛishis were inspired by the gods, by Vāch, or Indra and Agni, or Indra and Varuṇa (but not, in any of the passages which I have here quoted, by Brahma, who in later times was regarded as the source of inspiration: see above, p. 195), may thus be detected in the Rigveda, there is no doubt, on the other hand, that these ancient bards often or generally speak of the hymns as the creation of their own minds; and there is no reason to suppose that they were anything else. But as even an inspired composition, to be generally intelligible, must be delivered in the language current among the people to whom it is first promulgated, there is no pretence for supposing that the Sanskrit of the Vedas was not the vernacular language of the age in which they were first recited.

At that early period there was no language current among the Aryas but the Vedic Sanskrit. A learned language, different from the spoken tongue, was a thing then unknown; and the refinements of grammar had no existence. This accords with the purport of the following curious passage of an ancient Brāhmaṇa,[260] referred to by Sāyaṇa in the introduction to his commentary on the Rigveda, p. 35: *Vyākaraṇam api prakṛiti-pratyayādy-upadeśena pada-svarūpa-tad-artha-niśchayāya upayujyate | Tathā cha Aindra-vāyava-graha-brāhmaṇe samāmnāyate | "Vāg vai parāchī avyākṛitā 'bhavat | te devāḥ Indram abruvann 'imāṁ no Vāchaṁ vyākuru' iti | so 'bravīd 'varaṁ vṛiṇai | mahyaṁ cha eva esha Vāyave cha saha gṛihyātai' iti | tasmād Aindravāyavaḥ saha pragṛihyate*[261] *| tām Indro madhyato 'vakramya vyākarot | tasmād iyaṁ vyākṛitā vāg udyate" iti | "Agnim īḷe purohitam" ityādi-vāk pūrvasmin kāle parāchī samudrādi-dhvani-vad ekātmikā satī avyākṛitā prakṛitiḥ pratyayaḥ padaṁ vākyam ityādi-vibhāga-kāri-grantha-rahitā āsīt |*

[259] In the third volume of this work, p. 263, the verse is translated thus: "Indra and Varuṇa, I have seen through austere-fervour that which ye formerly gave to the ṛishis, wisdom, understanding of speech, sacred lore, and all the places which the sages created, when performing sacrifice."

[260] This passage is found in the Taitt. S. vi. 4, 7, 3, in the very same words, with the addition after "udyate" of the following: *tasmāt sakṛid Indrāya madhyato gṛihyate dvir Vāyave dvau hi sa varāv avṛiṇīta |*

[261] "Pra" omitted in Taitt. S.

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tadānīm̃ devaiḥ prārthitaḥ Indraḥ ekasminn eva pātre Vāyoḥ svasya cha soma-rasasya grahaṇa-rūpeṇa vareṇa tushṭas tām akhaṇḍām̃ Vācham madhye vichhidya prakṛiti-pratyayādi-bhāgam̃ sarvatra akarot | tasmād iyam̃ vāg idānīm api Pāṇinyādi-maharshibhir vyākṛitā sarvaiḥ paṭhyate ity arthaḥ | "Grammar, also, by indicating the crude forms and the affixes, is useful for determining the character of words, and their signification. And accordingly it is thus related in the Aindra-Vāyava-graha-brāhmaṇa (a section, so called, either of the Taittirīya Sanhitā, or of some Brāhmaṇa): 'Vāch (Speech) spoke confusedly, and without articulation. The gods said to Indra, Make this Vāch to become articulate to us. Indra replied, Let me choose a boon; let the soma be given to me and Vāyu together. Hence the soma of Indra and Vāyu is taken together. Indra then, dividing Speech in sunder in the middle, rendered her articulate. Hence she is spoken articulately.' The sense of this quotation, says Sāyaṇa, is this: Speech, such as in the verse *Agnim īḷe purohitam*, etc. (the first verse of the Rigveda), was originally confused, i.e. unvaried like the roar of the sea, etc., and undistinguished, i.e. without articulation to denote crude forms, inflections, words, and sentences, etc. Then Indra, being solicited by the gods, and gratified by the permission to take the soma-juice in the same vessel with Vāyu, divided in the middle Speech, which had previously been without division, and introduced everywhere the distinction of crude forms, inflections, etc. In consequence, this Speech, being now distinguished in its parts by Pāṇini and other great sages, is pronounced by all men."

It may be asked, however, If the Vedic Sanskrit was once the spoken language of India, how did it ever cease to be spoken? To this I reply as follows:—

By the time when the collections of the Vedic hymns were formed, the Sanskrit, the vernacular speech of the ṛishis and their descendants, had undergone a considerable alteration, which had gradually resulted, as we have already seen (compare pp. 36, 68, ff.), both from the general laws of change to which all language is subject (as exemplified in various other ancient tongues), and also from the action of local causes, such as the intercourse of the Āryas, or Sanskrit-speaking race, with the Dasyus, or Mlechhas, who spoke a quite different tongue. In this way, words which had formerly been commonly employed in Sanskrit

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became obsolete, or acquired new meanings, while other new words, borrowed from the dialects of the Mlechhas, were introduced into currency; and forms of inflection which were once current got gradually into disuse, and made way for other novel forms. Thus a twofold alteration was produced in the ancient Indian language (the Sanskrit of the Vedas). First, the Pāli and the Prākṛit, or vernacular dialects, were formed out of it in the manner which has already been described (pp. 33, 68, f., 134, 146); and secondly, a learned language, based upon the Sanskrit of the Vedas, but variously modified (see pp. 138, f.), and polished, was gradually constructed by grammarians, which being removed from the corrupting influences of popular use, has thenceforward continued unchanged (p. 162).

When the process of change had been going on for many generations, the Vedic hymns became exceedingly difficult to understand. The obstacles to comprehension, arising from these intermediate changes of language, were greatly augmented by the obscure and elliptical style in which the hymns were originally composed, which rendered it hard for the men of subsequent ages to understand the brief allusions to ancient ideas, practices, and events with which they abound.

These considerations will sufficiently account for the difficulty which was experienced in the comprehension of the Vedic hymns in later ages, without there being the least necessity for our supposing that they were composed in a language at all different from that which was ordinarily current in India, among the common people of the Āryan race, at the time of their composition.

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CHAPTER II.

AFFINITIES OF THE INDIANS WITH THE PERSIANS, GREEKS, AND ROMANS, AND DERIVATION OF ALL THESE NATIONS FROM CENTRAL ASIA.

From the preceding review it is clear that the Sanskrit language has been undergoing a continual change, from the very earliest times up to which we can follow its course. But if this be the case, it would be contrary to all analogy to suppose that that language had remained unaltered in those yet earlier ages before the Vedas were composed. It must, therefore, now become my object to inquire, whether we can discover any means of following it back to its origin. We are not, it must be confessed, in a position to do this in any other way than that of reasoning and inference; for, in the absence of any Sanskrit writings anterior to the Vedas, we possess no direct means of tracing the history of the Sanskrit language and its mutations any further back than the date of the composition of those hymns. There is, however, another way in which we can arrive at some conception of that history. From facts which are established and evident, we must reason to the unapparent causes which they presuppose, and out of which they have arisen.[1]

Learned men have remarked, that there is a great resemblance between the Sanskrit and other languages, some of which, like it, are now no longer spoken, but were formerly the current and popular speech of ancient nations, and are preserved in written records which

[1] Ὡς ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι, τοῖσι ἐμφανέσι τὰ μὴ γινωσκόμενα τεκμαιρόμενος, "As I conjecture, inferring things unknown from things that are manifest," says Herodotus, ii. 33. Compare Euripides, fragment 5 of the Phœnix, τἀφανῆ τεκμηρίοισιν εἰκότως ἁλίσκεται, "A probable conclusion regarding things unapparent is reached by proofs."

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have descended to us from a remote antiquity. These are 1st, the Zend and other varieties of the ancient Persic; 2nd, the Greek; and 3rd, the Latin.[2] The Zend language is preserved in the Zend Avesta, a collection of writings connected with the ancient religion of Persia. The poems of Homer, which form the oldest relic of the extensive literature of ancient Greece, are supposed to have been written about 2,700 years ago. And there are many Latin books which are 2,000 years old. From the great similarity which exists between these languages and the Sanskrit, of which proofs and instances will be presently adduced, learned men have inferred: 1st, That these forms of speech have all one common origin, i.e., that Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin are all, as it were, sisters,[3] the daughters (some perhaps older and some younger, but still all daughters) of one mother who died in giving them birth, or, to speak without a figure, that they are derivatives from, and the surviving representatives of, one older language, which now no longer exists;[4] and 2ndly, That the races of men who spoke these several languages are also all descended from one stock, and that their ancestors at a very early period all lived together in some country (situated out of Hindustan), speaking one language; but afterwards separated, to travel away from their primeval abodes, at different times and in different directions; the forefathers of the

[2] It is not necessary for my purpose to insist much on the affinities of the Sanskrit to any other languages besides those I have named.

[3] Facies non omnibus una, nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.

[4] From a comparison of the various forms which words of identical signification have assumed in the different derivative tongues, and of the laws which in each case must have governed the mutations which they have undergone, it becomes possible to ascertain, in many cases with certainty, or with high probability, the form which the words had at first in the mother-language, the original Indo-European speech. In the work of the late August Schleicher, entitled "Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen" (i.e. "Compendium of the Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages") 3rd ed., 1871, the letters of the mother-language which continue unaltered in the derivative tongues, and those which have been replaced by others, are specified, and the original forms of inflection and conjugation, as well as of numerous words, are stated. And in August Fick's "Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen," (i.e. "Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages"), 2nd ed., 1870, the words of the original language are given according to the author's conception of their form. These writers, however, though generally, are not always, at one as to the original forms Thus Schleicher thinks the word for "five" was *kankan*, whilst Fick makes it *pankan*. The former takes *svastars* to have been at first the word for "sister," whilst the latter makes it *svasar*.

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Hindus southward or south-eastward to India; the ancestors of the Persians to the south; and those of the Greeks and Romans to the west.[5] The languages of those branches of this great Indo-European stock which remained longest together in their earliest home, viz., the Persians and the Indians, continued to bear the closest resemblance to each other; while the tongues of those offshoots which separated earliest from the parent stock exhibit in later times the least amount of resemblance, the divergencies of dialect becoming wider and wider in proportion to the length of time which had elapsed since the separation.[6]

Sect. I.—*Introductory Remarks on Comparative Philology: affinities of the Sanskrit and Persian with each other.*

I shall proceed to establish these assertions as to the resemblance of the Sanskrit to the Zend, Greek and Latin; after first premising a few simple remarks on comparative philology in general.

A comparison of the various languages which are spoken in different countries of Europe and Asia, has brought to light the fact that they belong to different families or classes; and that the different members of the same family, while they exhibit a more or less close resemblance to each other, have either no resemblance, or a very remote one, to those belonging to any of the other families. It will be sufficient for the purpose of illustration, if I refer to the two great families of speech, universally recognized as distinct, the Semitic and the Indo-European.

[5] For an account of the Greeks and Romans, I refer the Indian student to any of the ordinary historical manuals.

[6] "A comparison of the grammatical structure of the Sanskrit, especially in its oldest form as represented in the Veda, with the Celtic, Greek, Latin, German, Letto-Slavonian, and Persian, etc., teaches us that all these languages have a common basis, or in other words that they are derived from one common original speech; and the gradation of sounds and forms points to the Sanskrit as the language which in general still preserves the most original form, and has departed least from the original tongue. This existence of one common original language necessarily leads us to conclude that at the period when it was still a living and spoken tongue, the people also which employed it formed one nation; and it results that the individual nations as well as their languages were formed by a gradual separation from the Indo-European people, and its language. And, moreover, the greater or less similarity of the several languages among each other, and particularly in reference to the Sanskrit, enables us to conclude whether the separation from the original stock took place in each case at an earlier or a later period."—Weber, Indian Sketches, p. 7.

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The languages which belong to the Semitic branch are the Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, etc. Now all who have studied these languages are well aware that they closely resemble each other in respect of their roots and general character; while they have scarcely any affinity at all in any respect with the languages of the Indo-European stock, in which are included Sanskrit, Zend, the later forms of pure Persian, Greek, Latin, and the Teutonic and Sclavonic languages. Any person who knows both Arabic and Sanskrit is perfectly aware that they have little resemblance to each other either in verbal roots, or nouns, and none in the forms of conjugation and declension.[7]

Now, here we discover the very remarkable fact that two languages,

[7] The question of the difference between the Semitic and Indo-European languages, in point of structure, with their partial correspondence in respect of roots, is ably treated by Renan, "Histoire des Langues Sémitiques," 2nd ed. p. 434, ff. He observes that the criterion of the distinctness of families in languages is to be found in the impossibility of deriving one from another. Thus, he says, it is quite intelligible how, notwithstanding their differences, all the Indo-European tongues may be related to the same type, and have sprung from the same primitive idiom; while it is impossible to explain how, by any series of corruptions, the Zend or the Sanskrit could have become Hebrew, or how the Hebrew could have become changed to Sanskrit or Chinese (p. 434). It is generally recognized that there is a wide distinction between the grammatical system of the Semitic languages and that of the Indo-European tongues, and that the one system could not be derived from the other by any procedure known to comparative philology. If we except the principles common to all, or to most, languages (which are nothing else than an expression of the laws of the human mind), there is scarcely any grammatical mechanism of importance which is common to the two families (p. 444). But in the classification of languages, grammatical are much more important than lexicographical considerations [i.e. the inflections of a language are of much more consequence than the words of which it is composed]. Many languages could be quoted which have enriched or renewed their vocabulary, but very few which have corrected their grammar. Grammar is, therefore, the essential form of language, that which constitutes its individuality (pp. 447, 448). On the other hand, M. Renan admits that the Semitic and Indo-European languages have a considerable number of roots which are common to both, independently of such as they have borrowed from each other within the historical period. But he doubts whether this circumstance is sufficient to prove the primitive unity of the two families, and scarcely ventures to hope that a demonstrative result will ever be attained on this point. The greater part of the roots common to the two families owe their similarity, he considers, to natural causes, as they belong to the class of biliteral and monosyllabic onomatopœias, which reappear in the triliteral radicals actually existing, and in which original sensations appear to have left their traces. Is it at all strange, he asks, that in order to express outward action, the primitive man, still sympathizing so closely with nature, and scarcely separated from her, should have sought to imitate her, and that the same objects should have been universally imitated by the same sounds? (pp. 449, 450.) M. Renan illustrates these remarks by a number of instances, but admits that,

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both very perfect and polished in their forms and structure, and both of which are spoken by learned men, of the Hindu and Mahomedan religions respectively, living together, side by side, in the same cities of India, are totally different from each other in almost every respect in which one elaborate and complicated language can be distinguished from another language of the same character. And what is the explanation of this, at first sight, so startling phenomenon? It is, of course, that Arabic is (as its name implies) the language of the Arabs, a Semitic tribe; and was introduced into India by the Mahomedan invaders of that country, who, though not Arabians by descent, have yet, as their designation imports, been converted to the faith of the Arabian conqueror Mahomed, and have learned the language in which their sacred volume, the Koran, is written: while Sanskrit, on the other hand, is the language of the Brāhmans, who are descended, more or less purely, from a race which has no affinity (unless it be a primordial one) with the Semitic, viz., the Arian. It is not, therefore, wonderful that the Sanskrit and Arabic languages, which, though they meet in India, have been introduced into that country from quarters so perfectly distinct, should be totally different from each other.

But the Musulmans of India are not only acquainted with the Arabic tongue, but with the Persian also, which is the living dialect of Persia, one of the countries which lie intermediate between Arabia and India. The Persian language, which the Persians now speak, and which the learned Musulmans of India write, is a composite form of speech, i.e. one chiefly made up of a mixture of Arabic with the ancient Persic, which was originally devoid of Arabic words. Now in that portion of the modern Persian language which has not been borrowed from Arabic, but inherited from the ancient Persic, we find many words

among the roots which appear to be common to the Semitic and the Indo-European languages, there are a certain number in which the reason of the onomatopœia is more difficult to seize (p. 452). He concludes that in the present state of philological science, a sound method of theorizing requires us to regard the Semitic and Indo-European families of language as distinct (p. 457); while at the same time he remarks that nothing which he has adduced invalidates the hypothesis of a primordial affinity between the races by whom the Semitic and the Indo-European languages respectively were spoken (p. 451). For details I must refer to his work itself. Much has been written on the same subject by other scholars, which it is unnecessary to specify. I refer only to Dr. Nöldeke's paper in Benfey's Orient. und Occident, vol. ii., p. 375, ff.

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which are manifestly of the same origin as the Sanskrit nouns or verbs of the same signification.

The following list of words may suffice to prove the assertion just made, that the Persian language has, in its purely Persic element, an affinity with Sanskrit, while Arabic has no such affinity:—

TABLE No. IX.

Comparative Table of Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic Words.

SANSKRIT.	PERSIAN.	ARABIC.	ENGLISH.
pitar	*padar* [8]	*ăbū*	father.
mātar	*mādar*	*ămm*	mother.
duhitar	*dukhtar*	*bint*	daughter.
jāmātar	*dāmād*	*hāfid*	son-in-law.
yuvăn	*jawān*	*shābb*	young man.
năra	*nar*	*zhăkăr*	male.
gharma	*garm*	*hārr*	heat.
ăśva	*ăsp*	*fărăs*	horse.
ăp	*āb*	*mā*	water.
nāman	*nām*	*ism*	name.
śushka	*khushk*	*yābis*	dry.
pāda	*pā*	*qădăm*	foot.
bāhu	*bāhū, bāzū*	*sā'id*	arm.
năvă	*nau*	*jădīd*	new.
eka	*yak*	*ăhăd*	one.
dvi	*do*	*ithnăn*	two.
chătur	*chăhār*	*ărbā'a*	four.
păncha	*pănj*	*khams*	five.
shăṭ	*shăsh*	*sătt* [9]	six.
săptăn	*hăft*	*saba'a*	seven.
ăshṭăn	*hăsht*	*thămăniyat*	eight.
navan	*nuh*	*tasa'a*	nine.
dăśăn	*dăh*	*'ashar*	ten.
viṁśati	*bist*	*'ashrūn*	twenty.
śatam	*ṣad, sad*	*māyat*	hundred.
sahasra	*hāzār*	*alaf*	thousand.

I subjoin many additional instances of affinity between Persian and Sanskrit words, adding the equivalents in the Zend, one of the earliest forms of the Iranian language, but omitting all reference to the Arabic.[10]

[8] See p. 18, note 23.

[9] In this case the Arabic word does resemble the Sanskrit.

[10] In the preparation of these lists I have had the advantage of drawing from the Etymological Persian and Latin Lexicon of Dr. J. A. Vullers, including the supplement containing the Persian roots illustrated by reference to the older Persic dialects, the Sanskrit, etc.; the Persian Grammar of the same author (1st edition, 1840, 2nd edition, 1870); and Dr. Justi's Zend Dictionary. Dr. Vullers's Grammar, in which the Persian is compared with the ancient Persic dialects and with Sanskrit, might, if translated from Latin into English, form a useful handbook for Indian students desirous of learning the history and affinities of the Persian language.

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I. VERBS AND PARTICIPLES.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	PERSIAN.	ENGLISH.
dar	. . .	*darīdan*	to tear.
kar	*kar*	*kardan*	to do.
kṛiṇu (imperat. vedic)	. . .	*kun*	do thou.
dā	*dā*	*dādan*	to give.
grabh (vedic)[11]	*garew, garefsh*	*giriftan*	to take.
bhar	*bar*	*burdan*	to bear.
bandh	*bañd*	*bastan, bandad* (3rd pers. sing. pres.)	to bind.
āp	*ap, āf*	*yāftan*	to obtain.
śru (*śṛiṇoti*)	*śru*	*shanūdan*	to hear.
sthā	*śtā*	*istādan*	to stand.
jīv	*ji, jish, jīv*	*zīstan*	to live.
mar	*mar*	*murdan*	to die.
svap	*qup, qafś*	*khuftan*	to sleep.
svapna	*qafna*	*khwāb*	sleep.
char	*char*	*charīdan*	to wander, graze.
dhāv	. . .	*davīdan*	to run.
pach	*pach*	*pukhtan*	to cook.
duh	. . .	*dokhtan, doshīdan*	to milk.
jnā	*zā*	*dānistan*	to know.
jānāti	. . .	[*mī*] *dānad*	he knows.
jānāmi	. . .	[*mī*] *dānam*	I know.
sṛij	. . .	*sirishtan*	to create.
sṛishṭi	. . .	*sirisht*	creation, nature.
han	*jan*	*zadan* (*zanad* 3rd pers. sing.)	to strike.
tras	*tareś*	*tarsīdan*	to fear.
trāsa	*tarsti*	*tars*	fear, trembling.
mih	*miz*	*mekhtan*	to make water.
jaj, janj	. . .	*jangīdan*	to fight.
tapas	*tafnu*	*tap, tāb*	heat, fever.
ruh	*rud*	*rustan, royīdan*	to grow.
prachh (*pṛichhati*)	*pareś*	*pursīdan*	to ask.
ve, vabh[12]	. . .	*bāftan*	to weave.
khan	. . .	*kandan*	to dig.
karsh	*karesh, kash*	*kashīdan*	to draw.
krī	. . .	*kharīdan*	to buy.
dham	*dam*	*damīdan*	to blow (as wind or breath).
jan	*zan.*	*zādan*	be born, beget.
jāta	*zāta*	*zādah*	born.
tan (*tanoti*)	*tan*	*tanīdan, tanūdan*	to extend.
śuch	*śuch*	*sokhtan*	to shine, burn.
varsh, vār, vāri (water)	*vār*	*bārīdan*	to rain.
ni+*dhā*	*ni*+*dā*	*nihādan*	to place.

[11] The later form *grah* is one of the early instances of the same process by which in Prākrit *h* was substituted for *kh*, *gh*, *th*, *dh*, *ph*, and *bh*.

[12] The existence of this root may be inferred from the presence of a derivative from it in the word *ūrṇavābhi*, "spider."

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SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	PERSIAN.	ENGLISH.
gam	. . .	*chamīdan*	to go, walk.
jam	. . .	*zamīdan*	to eat.
chi	. . .	*chīdan*	to collect.
pra+sthā	*fra+stā*	*feristādan*	to send, go forward.
nam	*nam*	*namīdan*	to bend, be disposed
pat	*paṭ*	*uftādan, fitūdan*	to fall. [to.
dhi (vedic)	*dī*	*dīdan*	to perceive, see.
bhū	*bū*	*būdan*	to be.
bhavāmi	. . .	[*mī*] *buvam*	I am.
bhavati	. . .	[*mī*] *buvad*	he is.
abhūvam	. . .	*būdam*	I was.
abhūt	. . .	*būd*	he was.
abhūvan	. . .	*būdand*	they were.
asmi	*ahmi*	*am, hastam*	I am.
asti	*aṣti*	*hast, ast*	he is.
santi	*heñti*	*and*	they are.
stu	*ṣtu*	*sitūdan*	to praise.
śudh	*ṣud*	*shustan*	to cleanse, wash.
mard	*mared*	*mālīdan* [13]	to grind, rub, etc.
nard	. . .	*nālīdan*	to sound, lament.
dhăr	*dăr*	*dāshtan* (imperat. *dār*)	to hold.
karsh	*karesh*	*kāshtan* (imperat. *kār*)	to cultivate.
tap	*tap*	*tapīdan, tāftan* (imperat. *tāb*)	to be hot, to heat.
vah	*vaz*	*wazīdan*	to carry, blow (as
bhraj	. . .	*birishtan*	to roast. [wind).
kshar	*khshar*	*shārīdan*	to flow.
chhid	*ṣkeñd, ṣchiñd*	*shikastan*	to cut, break.
svan	*qan*	*khwāndan*	to sound, call, read.
śak (*śaktum*, infin.)	*ṣaoh* (to give, learn)	*sākhtan* (imperat. *sāz*)	to be able, make.
kush (to tear, tear out)	. . .	*kushtan*	to kill.

II. NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, PRONOUNS, PARTICLES, ETC. [14]

bhrātar	*brātar*	*birādar*	brother.
svasar	*qañhar*	*khwāhar*	sister.
putra	*puthra*	*pisar, pusar*	son.
śvasura	*qaśura*	*khusr*	father-in-law.
śvaśrū	. . .	*khusrū*, or *khusrah*	mother-in-law.
vidhavā	. . .	*bewah*	widow.
jani, gnā	*jēni, ghĕna*	*zan*	woman, wife.
martya	*marĕta*	*mard*	mortal, man.
vatsa	. . .	*bachah* [15]	child.
jīva, jīvita	*jīti, jīsti*	*zī, zīst, zindagī*	life.

[13] See p. 23 above, note 41, and the line to which it refers.

[14] It is possible that in some of the instances of similarity here adduced, the Persian word may have been borrowed at a comparatively recent period from the Sanskrit, or vice versâ; but this cannot well be the case when an ancient Zend equivalent also is forthcoming.

[15] See page 16, note 10.

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SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	PERSIAN.	ENGLISH.
tanu	*tanu, tanus*	*tan*	body.
majjā	*mazga*	*maghz*	brain.
śiras	*śara*	*sar*	head.
asthi	*aśti, aśta*	*astah, ustukhān*	bone.
pārshṇi	*pāshna*	*pāshnah*	heel.
chakshu	*chashman*	*chashm*	eye.
aśru	*aśru*	*ars*	tear.
dant	*dañtan*	*dandān*	tooth.
jihvā	*hizva*	*zabān*	tongue.
dos	. . .	*dosh*	shoulder.
aratni	. . .	*āranj*	elbow.
hasta[16]	*zaśta*	*dast*	hand.
mushṭi	*musti*	*musht*	fist, handful.
angushṭha	*añgusta*	*angusht*	thumb, finger.
nakha	. . .	*nākhūn*	nail.
rom	. . .	*roman*	hair.
stana	*fstāna*	*pastān*	female breast.
yakṛit	. . .	*jigar*	liver.
jānu	*zhnu*	*zānu*	knee.
pād	*pādha*	*pā*	foot.
keśa	. . .	*ges, geso*	hair, ringlet.
pṛishṭhu	*parsti*	*pusht*	back.
ushṭra	*ustra*	*ushtar, shutr*	camel.
kapi	. . .	*kabī, kapī*	ape.
go	*gāo*	*gāo*	ox, or cow.
śūkara	*hu*	*khūk*	boar.
khara	*khara*	*khar*	ass, or wild ass.
aśvatara	. . .	*astar*	mule.
mesha	*maēsha*	*mesh*	sheep, ram.
mūsha	. . .	*mūsh*	mouse.
parṇa	*parĕna*	*par*	feather, wing.
parṇin	*perenin*	*parindah*	winged, a bird.
chanchu	. . .	*chang*	beak of a bird.
kapota	. . .	*kabūtar*	pigeon.
gṛidhra	. . .	*gīd*	a vulture.
śṛigāla	. . .	*shaghāl*	jackal.
kurankara	. . .	*kulang*	crane.
makshikā	*makshi*	*magas*	fly.
kṛimi	*kerema*	*kirm*	worm.
kaśyapa / *kachhapa*	*kaśyapa*	*kashaf*	tortoise.
karka	. . .	*kark, kharchang*	crab.
gūtha	. . .	*gūh*	excrement.
matsya	*maśya*	*māhī*	fish.
kshīra	*kshīra*	*shīr*	milk.
hiraṇya	*zaranya*	*zar*	gold.
ayas	*ayañh*	*āhan*	iron.
charman	. . .	*charm*	skin.
āhāra	. . .	*āhār*	food.
nirāhāra, anāhāra	. . .	*nāhār*	fasting.
kṛishi (*kṛishṭa*)	*karsti*	*kisht*	cultivation, ploughed field.
vrīhi	*berejya*[17]	*birinj*	rice.

[16] Could the original form of this word have been *dhasta*?

[17] See Vullers's Persian Grammar, 2nd edition, pp. 50, 56. In Justi's Lexicon *berejya* is said to be the name of a deity who protects crops.

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SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	PERSIAN.	ENGLISH.
godhūma	. . .	*gandum*	wheat.
yava	*yava*	*jau*	barley.
dhānya	*dāṇa*	*dānah*	grain.
jangala	. . .	*jangal*	thicket.
kshupa	. . .	*chob*	a bush, wood.
dāru	*dāuru*	*darod*	wood.
śākhā	. . .	*shāk<u>kh</u>, shāk<u>kh</u>chah*	branch.
ārā	. . .	*ărăh*	saw.
yuga	. . .	*jugh*	yoke.
jāla	. . .	*jāl*	net.
bhāra	. . .	*bār*	weight.
vāra	. . .	*bār*	time.
ekavāra	. . .	*yakbār*	once.
dvāra	*dvără*	*dar*	door.
panjara	. . .	*pinjarah*, *panjarah*	cage.
dāman	. . .	*dām*	net, bond.
chakra	*chakhra*	*char<u>kh</u>*	wheel.
deva	*daēva*	*dev*	god, demon.
dman	*aśman*	*āsmān*	stone, heaven.
jagat	. . .	*jahān*	the world.
bhūmi	*būmi*	*būm*	ground, earth.
jmā, gmā	*zem*	*zamīn*	earth.
svar, sūrya	*hvare*	*<u>kh</u>ūr*	heaven, sun.
mitra, mihira[16]	*mithra*	*mihr*	name of a god, sun, friend, friendship.
vasishṭha	*aṅhu vahista*	*behisht*	best, paradise.
mās	*māoñh*	*māh*	moon, month.
stăr (vedic)	*śtăre*	*sitārah*	star.
abhra	*awra*	*abr*	cloud.
megha	*maegha*	*megh*	cloud.
kshapā	*kshap*	*shab*	night.
gharma	*garĕma*	*garmā*	heat, summer.
hima	*zima*	*zam*	winter, cold.
vāta	*vāta*	*bād*	wind.
chhāyā	. . .	*sāyah*	shade.
chhatra	. . .	*chatar*	umbrella.
ranga	. . .	*rang*	colour.
gandha	*gaiñti*	*gand*	smell, bad smell.
karpūra	. . .	*kāfūr*	camphor.
soma	*haoma*	*hom*	soma plant.
atharvan	*ātharvan*	*āturbān*	priest, fire-priest, saint.
namas	*nĕmañh*	*namāz*	adoration, prayers.
manas	*manañh*	*mansh*	mind, disposition.
guṇa	*gaona*	*gūnah*	quality, colour.
drugdha	*draogha*	*darogh*	injury, lie.
tṛishṇā	*tarshna*	*tishnagī*	thirst.
tṛishita, tṛishṇaj	. . .	*tishnah*	thirsty.
śoka	. . .	*sog*	grief.
bhī, bhīma	. . .	*bīm*	fear, terrible.
kāma	. . .	*kām*	wish, desire.
rahas	. . .	*rāz*	secret.
kārya	*kāra*	*kār*	work.

[16] *Mihira* is mentioned by Böhtlingk and Roth as occurring in the Mahābhārata iii. 191, as a name of the sun. Mitra occurs in the same sense in the same line.

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SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	PERSIAN.	ENGLISH.
bhishaj	*bhaēshaza*	*bắchashk, bijishk*	physician.
kulālą	. . .	*kulāl*	potter.
ishṭikā (?)	*istya*	*khisht*	brick.
yātu	*yātu*	*jādū*	sorcerer, sorcery.
gola	. . .	*golah*	a ball.
tāra	. . .	*tār*	wire, chord, musical note.
jyā	. . .	*zih, zĕh*	a bowstring.
tira	. . .	*tīr*	arrow.
vistara	. . .	*bistar*	bed.
paryanka, palyanka	. . .	*palang*[19]	bed.
rathyā	*raithya*	*rāh*	road.
kumbha	. . .	*khumb*	jar.
sthūnā	. . .	*sitūn*	pillar.
sthāna	*s'tāna*	*āstān*	place, threshold.
dāha	*dăgha*	*dāgh*	burning, a mark from burning.
ārāma	*rāman*	*ārām*	rest, pleasure, garden.
kunja	. . .	*kunj*	corner, arbour.
drapsa	*drafsha*	*dirafsh*	drop, spark, banner, lightning.
tokman	*taokhman*	*tukhm*	a blade of grain, seed.
sangama	*hañjamana*	*anjuman*	an assemblage.
pratāpa	. . .	*parto*	lustre.
śakuna	. . .	*shagūn*	bird, omen.
chaturanga	. . .	*shatrang*	chess.
dūra	*dūra*	*dūr*	far.
nedishṭha	*nazda*	*nizd*	near.
mahat	*maz, mazañt*	*mih*	great.
mahattara	. . .	*mihtar*	greater, chief.
guru, garīyas	. . .	*girān*	heavy.
tanu	. . .	*tanuk*	slender.
sama	. . .	*hamah*	all.
vam	. . .	*ham*	together.
sarva	*haurva*	*har*	all.
nema	*naēma*	*nīm*	half.
śukra (bright)	*śukhra*	*surkh*	red.
śubha	. . .	*khūb*	fair.
savya	*havya*	*chap*	left.
rajishṭha (vedic)	*razista*	*rāst*	straight.
śveta	*śpaēta*	*saped, safed*	white.
śyāma, śyāva	*śyāva*	*siyāh*	black, brown.
pūrṇa	*pĕrĕna*	*pur*	full.
tigma, tīkshṇa, tejas, tij (to sharpen)	*tighra, tizhin*	*tej*	sharp, sharpness.
dīrgha	*darĕgha*	*darāz*	long.
rāma	*rāma*	*rām*	pleasant, pleasantness, happy.
nashṭa	. . .	*nashat*	destroyed.
sthāvara	*stawra*	*ustuwār*	firm
maṭta	. . .	*mast*	intoxicated.

[19] See p. 19, note 26.

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SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	PERSIAN.	ENGLISH.
durnāman	. . .	*dushnām*	bad name, abuse.
durmanas	. . .	*dujmanish*, *dushman*	hostile, disturbed in mind.
kva, *kutra*, *kuha* (vedic)	*kuthra*	*ku*[*jā*]	where?
na	*na*	*nah*	not.
tvam	*tūm*	*tū*	thou.
yushmat	. . .	*shumā*	you.
sva	*qa*, *hava*, *hva*,	*khūd*	you, own, self.
katama	. . .	*kadām*	who?
tara	*tara*	*tar*	sign of comp. degree.
antar	*añtare*	*andar*	within.
upari	*upairi*	*bar*	above.
paśchāt, *paścha*	*paśkāt*, *pascha*	*pas*	after.
idānīm	. . .	*īdūn*	now.
vimśati	*vīsaiti*	*bīst*	twenty.
panchāśat	. . .	*panjāh*	fifty.
shashṭi	*khshasti*	*shast*	sixty.
saptati	*haptāiti*	*haftād*	seventy.
aśīti	*astāiti*	*hashtād*	eighty.
navati	*navaiti*	*navad*	ninety.
śata	*śata*	*ṣad*	a hundred.
sahasra	*hazañra*	*hazār*	a thousand.
durvāra	. . .	*dushwār*[20]	difficult to stop, difficult.

NOTE.—On the other hand, I may specify the instance of *āfat* (Ar.) and *āpad* (Sans.), in which a word of similar sound has the same sense of "calamity" in Arabic and Sanskrit.

Now the old language of Bactria or Persia, from which the words in the above list, still forming part of the modern Persian, must be derived, was a language closely connected with the Sanskrit. That language, in one of its branches, and at a certain stage of its progress, was the Zend, which we find employed in the Zendavesta, or sacred volume of the Zoroastrians, or Parsīs, a work which still exists, and is studied with increasing success by European scholars.

In the same way, if we compare Sanskrit with the language of the ancient Greeks (who lived to the north-west of Persia, on the eastern and western shores of the Ægean Sea), and with that of the Romans, who inhabited Italy, we shall find a close resemblance, and frequently an almost perfect identity in very many words, both as regards the roots and the inflection.

[20] *Wār* is a Persian suffix, perhaps unconnected with the Sanskrit *vāra*; but there is no doubt of the identity of the Persian particle *dush* and the Sanskrit *dus*.

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The resemblances between languages may be twofold. First, as regards the roots of the words. For instance, in Sanskrit we have the word *nāman*, "name," and we find the same word *nām* in the same sense both in Persian and Hindī. The second resemblance is in the mode of inflection. Here we do not find any resemblance in regard to the way in which this word *nāman* is declined between the Sanskrit and the Persian and Hindī languages. The Sanskrit has three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, and seven cases (besides the vocative) in each number, whereas the Persian and Hindī have only two numbers, singular and plural, and the cases are formed in quite a different way from those of the Sanskrit. To prove this it will be sufficient to give the different cases of the singular number of this word in each of the languages.

	SANSKRIT.	PERSIAN.	HINDĪ.
NOM.	nāma	nām	nām
ACC.	nāma	nāmrā	nāmko
INST.	nāmnā	wanting, and supplied by prepositions.	nām se, nām karke
DAT.	nāmne		nāmko
ABL.	nāmnas		nām se
GEN.	nāmnas		nāmkā
LOC.	nāmni		nām meñ
VOC.	nāma	nām	nām

If now we compare the Latin word for "name" with the Sanskrit, we shall find not only that the root is the same, but also that the mode of inflection is very similar: thus,—

Singular.

	SANSKRIT.	LATIN.
NOM.	nāma (from crude form nāman)	nomen
ACC.	nāma	nomen
INST.	nāmnā	nomine
DAT.	nāmne	nomini
ABL.	nāmnas	nomine
GEN.	nāmnas	nominis
LOC.	nāmni	nomine
VOC.	nāma	nomen

Plural.

	SANSKRIT.	LATIN.
NOM.	nāmāni	nomina
ACC.	nāmāni	nomina
INST.	nāmabhis	nominibus
DAT.	nāmabhyas	nominibus
ABL.	nāmabhyas	nominibus
GEN.	nāmnām	nominum
LOC.	nāmāsu	nominibus
VOC.	nāmāni	nomina

The Latin language has no dual.

We see here that while the same root expressing the word "name" is common to all these languages, the Persian and Hindī have lost the ancient forms of inflection, while the Sanskrit and Latin have preserved them. There thus exists a double resemblance, viz.; first of roots, and second of inflections, between the Latin and the Sanskrit, and the same remark is equally true of the Greek and the Zend.

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Now, when we find that a multitude of roots coincide in any two languages, of which the one does not derive them from the other, we may be sure (even though the one may have no complex system of inflections, while the other has), that those two languages have a common origin, especially if we can show that the one which is deficient in inflections has gradually lost them by a particular process of alteration which can still be traced. But if any two languages resemble one another both in roots and inflections, the proof of their affinity is then greatly strengthened.

SECT. II.—*Detailed illustrations of the affinities of Sanskrit with the Zend, Greek, and Latin languages.*

I proceed now to furnish, first, some specimens of words which as roots correspond to each other in Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin; and I shall afterwards exhibit the mutual resemblances of these four languages in point of inflection also.

The following is a list of words (derived from the publications of Bopp, Benfey, Aufrecht, Curtius, Fick, Justi, and others) which correspond both in sound and sense in Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin.

In many of these words the resemblance is so close that no doubt can be entertained of their affinity, that they are all the representatives (more or less changed) of some one particular word in the original language from which they have all been derived. In other cases where the resemblance is not so apparent, the affinity can nevertheless be satisfactorily proved by observation of the fact that one or more of the letters of words having the same signification in the different languages always or generally vary from one another in a uniform manner in the different languages. It will be necessary to illustrate this point in detail.

I should first remark that the original forms of the cognate words in question, as they existed in their assumed mother-language, cannot in all cases be determined with certainty, but in most instances they can be fixed with an approach to precision. Thus, from a comparison of the Sanskrit *ahi* with the Greek *ekhis*, and the Latin *anguis*, we may gather with probability that the original form was *aghi*, or *anghi* Similarly the Sanskrit *duhitar* and the Greek *thugatēr* seem to come from *dughatar* or *dhughatar*; *aśva* and *equus* from *akva*; *śvan* and *kuon*

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from *kvan; jānu* and *gonu* from *gānu; jnā, gignoskó* and *nosco* (*cognosco*) from *gnā*, etc. Some of the consonants found in Sanskrit do not appear to have existed in the original Indo-European tongue, such as *cha, chha, ja, jha*, which are considered to have been developed out of *k* and *g*. From a comparison of the different cognate words, it results that certain consonants of the original language remain uniform in all the derivative tongues, whilst others vary in one or more of the latter. This is shown in the following table, abridged from that given in Schleicher's Compendium der vergl. Grammatik (3rd ed.), p. 328.

Indo-European.	Sanskrit (or old Indian).	Zend (or old Bactrian).	Greek.	Latin.
k	k (kh), ch ś, p	k (kh), ch ś, p	k (κ), g (γ) p (π), t (τ)	c, qv
g	g, j	g (gh), j ž, z	g (γ), b (β)	g, gv, v.
gh	gh, h	g, gh, ž, z	kh (χ)	g, gv, v, h, f.
t	t, th	t (th, ṭ)	t (τ)	t
d	d	d (dh)	d (δ)	d, l.
dh	dh	d (dh)	th (θ)	d, f, b.
p	p, ph	p (f)	p (π)	p.
b [21]	b	b [17]	b (β)	b.
bh	bh	b (w)	ph (φ)	b, f.
n	n	n	n (ν)	n.
m	m	m	m (μ)	m.
r	r, l, (r, ṛ, & l as vowels)	r	r (ρ), l (λ)	r, l.
y	y	y	i (ι), ĕ (ε), ds (ζ), h (')	j, i.
s	s, sh	s, sh, ś, h, ñh, n'h, qh	s (σ), h (')	s, r.
v	v	v, (w), p, b	u (υ) *F*	v, u.
sk	chh	. . .	. . .	. . .
sv	. . .	qh	. . .	. . .

In Sanskrit the dental letters (t, th, d, dh, s) sometimes become linguals (or cerebrals ṭ, ḍ, etc.), and the nasals n and m become ṅ, ṅ, and ñ, in consequence of certain phonetic laws. In Greek ky, khy, ty, thy = ss; dy, gy = ζ (ds).

These laws and variations are exemplified in such words as the following:—

(*a*) where k remains common to Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin—as in aksha, axon(=aksōn); axis(=aksis) or dakshina, dexios (=deksios), dexter (=dekster); or kshura = xuron (=kshuron).

(*b*) where k in Greek and c (=k) in Latin are represented by ś (श) in

[21] Schleicher places a mark of interrogation (?) after the b, and in the Zend column omits the b and puts only a mark of interrogation.

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Sanskrit—as in deka, decem = daśan; ekaton, centum = śatam; kuōn, canis = śvan; derk = darś. According to Bopp, (Comp. Gram., 2nd ed.) sec. 21*a*, the Sanskrit ś is almost always the corruption of an original k. Schleicher (p. 165) says it was originally a k, and ought perhaps properly to be pronounced as the German ch, which is in sound not unlike the Persian and Arabic khe (خ).

(*c*) G in Greek and Latin is in Sanskrit frequently represented by j, as in ago, ago = ajāmi; in gignosko, nosco = jānāmi; gennao, gigno = jajanmi; agros, ager = ajra.

(*d*) Kh (χ) in Greek is represented by gh, and h in Sanskrit, and by h and g in Latin, as in elakhus = laghus, ekhis = ahi and anguis, kheima = hima and hiems.

(*e*) Th (θ) in Greek is represented by dh in Sanskrit, and by f or d in Latin, as in tithēmi = dadhāmi; mĕthu = madhu; thumos = dhūma, fumus.

(*f*) Ph (φ) in Greek is represented in Sanskrit by bh, and in Latin by f and b, as in phuo = bhavāmi and fui; ophrus = bhrū; phero = bharāmi and fero; phratria = bhratār, frater.

(*g*) G in Sanskrit is sometimes represented by b in Greek and Latin, as in go = būs, bos.

Numerous other illustrations will be found in the tables which follow.

Table No. X

I. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
pitar	*patar*	*patēr*	*pater*	father.
mātar	*mātar*	*mētēr*	*mater*	mother.
tāta	. . .	*tetta*	*tata*	father.
nănā	. . .	*nanna*	. . .	mother, aunt.
bhrātar	*brātar*	*phratria* (a clan)	*frater*	brother.
svasar	*qañhar*	. . .	*soror*	sister.
duhitar	*dughdhar*	*thugatēr*	. . .	daughter.
naptar, napāt	*napa*	*anepsios*	*nepos*	grandson, cousin
naptrī	*napti*	. . .	*neptis*	grand-daughter.
devar, devara	. . .	*daer*	. . .	husband's brother.
snushā	. . .	*nuos*	*nurus*	daughter-in-law.
jāmātar	*zāmātar*	*gambros*	*gener*	son-in-law.
śvaśura	*qaśura*	*hekuros*	*socer*	father-in-law.
śvaśrū	. . .	*hekura*	*socrus*	mother-in-law.
pitṛivya	. . .	*patrōs*	*patruus*	father's brother.
sūnu	*hunu*	*huios*	. . .	son.
vidhavā	. . .	. . .	*vidua*	widow.

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SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
nara	*nara*	*anēr*	. . .	man.
jani, gnā	*jēni*	*gunē*	. . .	woman.
vīra	. . .	*hērōs* ?	*vir*	hero, man.
vīratā	. . .	. . .	*virtus*	valour.
śūra	*śūra*	. . .	*kurios*	strong, hero, lord.
rājan	. . .	. . .	*rex*	king.
rājnī	. . .	. . .	*regina*	queen.
jaras	*zaurva*	*gēras*	. . .	old age.
jaran	*zaorura*	*gĕron*	. . .	old man.
yuvan	*yavan*	. . .	*juvenis*	young man.
pati	*paiti*	*posis*	*potis, potens*	lord, husband, able.
patnī	. . .	*potnia*	. . .	mistress, honourable.
ātman	. . .	*atmos, aütmēn*	. . .	breath, soul, vapour.
an (to breathe)	. . .	*anemos*	*animus*	wind, mind.
kṛip (to make)	*kerefs* (nom.)	. . .	*corpus*	body.
hṛidaya	*zaredhaya*	*kardia*	*cor*	heart.
śiras	*śara*	*kara*	*cerebrum*	head, brain.
kapāla	. . .	*kephale*	*caput*	head.
akshi	*ashi*	*ōps, ŏkŏs, ŏkkŏs*	*oculus*	eye.
nās, nāsā, nāsikā	*nāoṅha*	. . .	*nāsus, nāres*	nose.
bhrū	*brvaṭ*	*ophrus*	. . .	eyebrow.
ās, āsya	*āoṅh*	. . .	*ōs*	face.
dat, dantam (acc.)	*dañtan*	*odonta* (acc.)	*dentem* (acc.)	tooth.
hānu	. . .	*genus*	*gena*	jaw, chin, cheek.
nakha	. . .	*onux, onukhos* (gen.)	*unguis*	nail.
jambha	. . .	*gomphos*	. . .	tooth.
gir	. . .	*gērus*	. . .	speech.
bāhu	*bāzu*	*pēkhus*	. . .	arm.
asthi	*aśti*	*osteon*	*ŏs*	bone.
kravya, kravis	. . .	*krĕas*	*caro*	raw flesh, flesh.
pād, pāda	*pādha*	*pūs pŏdŏs* (gen.)	*pēs pĕdis* (gen.)	foot.
padāti	. . .	*pezos*	*pedes* (*peditis*)	footman.
pāda	. . .	*pĕdon*	. . .	field.
jānu	*zhnu*	*gŏnu*	*genu*	knee.
udara	*udara*	. . .	*uterus*	belly.
jaṭhara	. . .	*gastĕr*	. . .	belly.
antra	. . .	*entĕron*	*venter* ?	entrails, belly.
yakṛit	. . .	*hēpar*	*jecur*	liver.
nābhi	. . .	*omphalos*	*umbilicus*	navel.
śrōni	*śraoni*	*klonis*	*clūnis*	hip. end of spine.
kukshi	. . .	*kokhōnē*	*cox*	belly, hipbone, etc.
plīhan	. . .	*splēn*	*lien*	spleen.
keśa, kesa, keśara, kesara	. . .	. . .	*cæsaries*	hair of the head.
ūdhas	. . .	*ūthar* [gen.]	*über*	udder.
śakṛit	. . .	*skōr* (*skatos*,	*stercus*	dung.
āyus	. . .	*aiōn*	*ævum*	life.
toka, takman	. . .	*tĕkos, tĕknon*	. .	child.
paśu	*paśu*	*pōu* ?	*pecu*	cattle.
go	*gāo*	*būs*	*bōs*	ox.
sthūra	*staora*	*tauros*	*taurus*	bull, etc.
aśva	*aśpa*	*hippos*	*equus*	horse.
avi	. . .	*ōis*	*ovis*	sheep.
aja	. . .	*aix*	. . .	goat.

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SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
śvan	*śpā, śūni*	*kuōn*	*cănis*	dog.
śvānam (acc.)	*śpāněm*	*kuna*	*canem*	dog (nom.)
'ūkara, sūkara	*hu*	*sus, hus*	*sus*	hog.
vṛika	*vehrka*	*lukos*	*lupus*	wolf.
ṛiksha	. . .	*arkos*	*ursus*	bear.
lopāśaka	. . .	*alōpēx*	. . .	jackall, fox.
mūsh, mūsha	. . .	*mūs*	*mus*	mouse.
vi	*vi*	*oiōnos*	*avis*	bird.
vartikā	. . .	*ortux*	. . .	quail.
hamsa	. . .	*khēn*	*anser*	goose.
kuhūka, kokila	. . .	*kokkux*	*cuculus*	cuckoo.
kārava	. . .	*corax*	*corvus*	crow.
ulūka	. . .	. . .	*ulula*	owl.
tittirī	. . .	*tetrix*	. . .	partridge.
pika	. . .	. . .	*pīca*	{Indian cuckoo, magpie.
udra, urdra	. . .	*hudros, enudris*	. . .	otter, water ser-
ahi	*azhi*	*ĕkhis*	*anguis*	serpent. [pent.
karka	. . .	*karkinos*	*cancer*	crab.
śarabha	. . .	*karabos*	. . .	locust, beetle.
puluka	. . .	*psulla, psullos*	*pūlex*	insect, flea.
makshikā	*makshi*	*muïa*	*musca*	fly.
Varuṇa	. . .	*Uranos*	. . .	Varuna, Heaven.
Dyaus	. . .	*Zeus*	. . .	The Sky, Zeus.
divya	. . .	*dīos*	*dīvus*	celestial, divine.
Dyaus pitar	. . .	*Zeus pătēr*	{*Diespiter* *Jupiter*	{Dyaus the father, etc.
deva	*daeva*	*theos?*	*deus*	{god [in Zend, demon].
divasa, divā	. . .	. . .	*dies*	day, by day.
naktam, naktā	. . .	*nukta* (acc.)	*noctem* (acc.)	night.
ushas	*usha*	*ēōs, auōs*	*aurora*	dawn.
agni	. . .	. . .	*ignis*	fire.
mās, māsa	*măonh*	*mēn, mēnō*	*mensis*	moon, month.
stār (vedic), *tāra*	*stāre*	*astēr, astron*	*astrum*	star.
śaru	. . .	*keraunos*	. . .	thunderbolt.
nabhas	. . .	*nĕphos*	*nubes*	sky, cloud.
abhra	*awra*	*ombros, aphros*	*imber*	cloud, rain, foam.
uda, udaka	. . .	*hudor*	*unda*	water, wave.
ap, ūpas (nom.pl.)	*ap*	. . .	*aqua*	water.
śankha	. . .	*konkhos*	*concha*	shell, cockle.
hima	*zima*	*khion, kheimon*	*hiems*	winter, snow.
chhāyā	. . .	*skia*	. . .	shadow.
go, gmā	. . .	*gē, gaia*	. . .	the earth.
kshmā	*zem*	*khamai*	. . .	{earth, on the ground.
kshoni	. . .	*kthōn*	. . .	the earth.
kakud, kakudmat	. . .	. . .	*cacumen*	peak, mountain.
ajra (vedic)	. . .	*agros*	*ager*	field.
dru, druma	*dru*	*dru, drumos*	. . .	tree, wood.
dāru	*dāuru*	*doru*	. . .	wood, spear.
madhu	*madhu*	*methu*	. . .	honey, wine.
yava	*yava*	*zĕa*	. . .	barley, etc.
andhas	. . .	*anthos*	. . .	plant, flower.
ayas	. . .	. . .	*aes*	iron, copper.
rajata	*erezăta*	*arguros*	*argentum*	silver.
apas	. . .	. . .	*opus*	work.

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SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
apnas	. . .	*aphenos*	*opes*	wealth.
pur, purī	. . .	*pŏlis*	. . .	city.
dama	*demāna*	*domos*	*domus*	house.
veśa (oḳas?)	. . .	*Foikos*	*vicus*	house, village.
dvār	. . .	*thura*	*fores*	door.
rai	. . .	. . .	*rēs*	thing, possession.
svapna (svap, to sleep)	*gafna*	*hupnos*	*sopor, somnus*	sleep.
aśman	*aśman*	*akmōn*	. . .	stone, anvil, thunderbolt.
śarkarā, karkara	. . .	. . .	*calx*	limestone.
nau	. . .	*naus*	*navis*	ship.
aritra	. . .	*eretmos*	. . .	oar.
aritar	. . .	*eretēs*	. . .	rower.
aksha	. . .	*axōn*	*axis*	axle.
kshura	. . .	*xuron*	. . .	razor.
paraśu	. . .	*pĕlĕkus*	. . .	axe.
asi	. . [dom)	. . .	*ensis*	sword.
kratu (vedic)	*khratu* (wis-	*kratos*	. . .	strength.
vanas, van, (to love)	*van*	. . .	*venus, venustas*	beauty, Venus.
pathin	*pathan*	*patos*	. . .	road.
āgas	. . .	*agos*	. . .	sin, guilt.
dhūma	. . .	*thumos*	*fumus*	smoke, spirit.
budhna	*buna*	*puthmēn*	*fundus*	bottom.
chakra	*chakhra*	*kuklos*	*circus*	wheel, circle, etc
dhūpa	. . .	*tuphos*	. . .	incense, smoke.
kalama	. . .	*kalamos*	*calamus*	reed.
sthūṇā, sthūla (thick)	*śtūna*	*stulos*	. . .	pillar.
kumbha	. . .	*kumbē, kumbos*	. . .	vessel, jar.
svara	. . .	*surinx*	*susurrus*	sound, pipe, whisper.
marmara	. . .	*mormuro* (to murmur)	*murmur*	murmur.
khalīna, khalina	. . .	*khalīnos*	. . .	bridle, etc.
aṁhas	*azaṅh*	*ankhō* (to strangle)	*ango* (to afflict)	straits.
ūrjā, ūrjas	. . .	*orgē*	. . .	sap, power, passion.
ojas	. . .	*augē*	. . .	brilliance.
makha	. . .	*makhē* (battle), *makhaira* (sword, knife)	*mactare* (to kill)	sacrifice.
sana	*hana*	*henos*	*senex*	old.
maṇḍa	. . .	. . .	*mundus*	ornament, world
koṇa	. . .	*gōnia*	. . .	corner.
rasa	. . .	*drosos*	*ros*	liquid, dew.
kūpa	. . .	*kupē, gupe*	. . .	hole, well.
stūpa	. . .	*tumbos*	*tumulus*	mound.
phulla	. . .	*phullon*	*folium*	flower, leaf.
arjana	. . .	*ergon*	. . .	earning, work.
puru, pulu (vedic)	. . .	*pŏlus*	*plus*	much, more.
uru, pṛithu	. . .	*eurus, platus*	. . .	broad.
guru	. . .	*barus*	*gravis*	heavy.
garīyas	. . .	. . .	*gravius*	heavier.
garishṭha	. . .	. . .	*gravissimus*	heaviest.

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SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
varishṭha	. . .	*aristos* ?	. . .	best.
laghu	. . .	*elakhus*	*levis*	light, small.
laghishṭha	. . .	*elakhistos*	*levissimus*	lightest.
mahān	. . .	*megas*	*magnus*	great.
mahīyān	. . .	*meizōn*	*major*	greater.
mañhishṭha (vedic)	. . .	*megistos*	*maximus*	greatest, venerable.
bahu	. . .	*pakhus*	. . .	great, thick.
āśu	. . .	*ōkus*	*ocior*	swift, swifter.
mṛidu	. . .	*bradus*	. . .	soft, slow.
tanu	. . .	. . .	*tenuis*	slender.
rudhira	. . .	*eruthros*	*ruber*	blood, red.
gharma	. . .	*thermos*	*formus*	heat, hot.
śushka	*hisku, huska*	. . .	*siccus*	dry.
pūrṇa	. . .	*pleos*	*plenus*	full.
dīrgha	. . .	*dolikhos*	. . .	long.
barbara, varbara	. . .	*barbaros*	*barbarus*	barbarous.
sama	*hama*	*homos*	*similis*	like.
sthira	. . .	*stereos*	. . .	firm.
bala (strength)	. . .	. . .	*validus* (*valeo*, to be strong)	strong.
dakshiṇa	*dashina*	*dexios*	*dexter*	right (side).
nava	*nava*	*neos*	*novus*	new.
sāmi	. . .	*hēmi*	*sēmi*	half.
madhya	*maidhya*	*mesos*	*medius*	middle.
ekatara	. . .	*hekateros*	. . .	one of two.
satya	. . .	*eteos*	. . .	true.
svādu	. . .	*hēdus*	*svavis*	sweet.
āma	. . .	*ōmos*	. . .	raw.
uttara	. . .	*hustĕros*	. . .	subsequent.
pīvan, pīna	. . .	*piōn*	. . .	fat.
dhrishṭa	. . .	*thrasus*	. . .	bold, rash.
ārdra	. . .	*ardō*	. . .	moist, to moisten.
pṛiśni	. . .	*perknos*	. . .	speckled. [ful.
kalya, kalyāṇa	. . .	*kàlos*	. . .	agreeable, beauti-
palita	. . .	*polios*	*pallidus*	hoary, pale.
mala (dirt), *malina*	. . .	*mĕlas*	*mălus*	dirty, black, bad.
kāla	. . .	*kelainos*	*caligo* (darkness)	black.
tumula, tumala	. . .	. . .	*tumultus* (tumult)	noisy.

II. PREPOSITIONS, PARTICLES, AND PRONOUNS.

sam	*ham*	*sun*	*con*	with.
pari	*pairi*	*peri*	*per*	round.
upari	*upairi*	*huper*	*super*	above.
upa	. . .	*hupo*	*sub*	near, under.
prati	*paiti*	*pros, proti*	. . .	towards.
pra	*fra*	*prŏ*	*prō*	before.
antar	*añtare*	*entos*	*inter, intus*	within.
apa	*apa*	*apo*	*ab*	away.
api	*avi*	*ĕpi*	. . .	towards, on.
abhi	*aibi, aiwi*	*amphi*	. . .	towards, round.
samā, samayā	. . .	*hama*	. . .	together.
păram, pāra	*pāra*	*perā*	. . .	other side, beyond.

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SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
parā	. . .	*para*	. . .	past.
puras, purā	*parō*	*paros*	. . .	before.
tar (to cross), *tiras*	*tarō*	*terma* (limit)	*trans*	across.
su	*hu*	*eu*	. . .	well.
dus	*dush*	*dus*	. . .	ill.
sumanas	*humanañh*	*eumenēs*	. . .	kindly-minded.
durmanas	*dusmaṇañh*	*dusmenēs*	. . .	evil-minded.
nūnam	*nū*	*nūn*	*nunc*	now.
a, an	*a, an*	*a, an*	*in*	privative particle.
na	*na*	*nō*	*nĕ* (*fas*), *non*	negative.
nanu	. . .		*nonne*	is not?
kas, kis	*ko, chis*	*tis*	*quis*	who?
nakis, mākis	*mā+chis*	*ūtis* / *mētis*	*nemo* / *nequis*	no one, let no one.
kim, kad	*kaṭ*	*ti*	*quid*	what?
kataras	*katāro*	*poteros*	*uter*	which of two?
itaras	. . .	*hĕtĕros*	*alter*	other.
ubha	*uba*	*ampho*	*ambo*	both.
anya	*anya*	*enioi*	. . .	other, some.
kva, kuha, kutra	*kva, katha, kuthra*	*pṳ̀, kū* (Ionic)	*quo*	where?
kutaḥ	. . .	*pŏthĕn*	. . .	whence.
kati	*chaiti, chvañṭ*	*pŭsoi, kosoi* (Ionic)	*quot, quotus, quantus*	how many?
tati	. . .	*tosoi*	*tot*	so many.
kadā	*kadha*	*pŏtĕ, kŭtĕ* (Ionic)	*quando*	when?
tadā	*tadha*	*tote*	. . .	then
yadā	*yadā*	*hote*	. . .	when
tatas	. . .	*tothen*	. . .	thence.
yatas	. . .	*hothen*	. . .	whence.
ittham, *itthā* (vedic)	*uiti, avatha*	. . .	*item, ita*	thus
paśchāt, paścha	*paśkāt, paśnō*	*opisthen*	*post*	after.
makshu	. . .	. . .	*mox*	quickly.
anti	. . .	*anti*	*ante*	opposite, near, before.
ati	. . .	*eti*	. . .	beyond, further.
mithas	. . .	*meta*	. . .	mutual, with.
cha	*cha*	*kai*	*que*	and.

III. NUMERALS.

dvi	*dva*	*duo*	*duo*	two.
trayas	*thrāyō*	*treis*	*tres*	three.
tisrus (fem.)	*tishāro* (fem.)			
chatvāras	*chathwāro*	*tessares*	*quatuor*	four.
panchan	*pañchan*	*pente*	*quinque*	five.
shaṭ	*khshvas*	*hex*	*sex*	six.
saptan	*hāptan*	*hepta*	*septem*	seven.
ashṭan	*astan*	*oktō*	*octo*	eight.
navan	*navan*	*hennea*	*novem*	nine.
daśan	*daśan*	*deka*	*decem*	ten.
viñśati	*vīśaiti*	*eikosi*	*viginti*	twenty.
śatam	*śatĕm*	*hekaton*	*centum*	hundred.
prathamas	*fratemo*	*prōtos*	*primus*	first.

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SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
dvitīyas	*daibityo, bityo*	*deuteros*	*secundus*	second.
tritīyas	*thrityo*	*tritos*	*tertius*	third.
chaturthas, turyas	*tūiryo*	*tetartos*	*quartus*	fourth.
panchathas (vedic), *panchamas*	*pukhdho*	*pemptos*	*quintus*	fifth.
shashṭhas	*khstvo*	*hektos*	*sextus*	sixth.
saptamas	*haptatho*	*hebdomos*	*septimus*	seventh.
ashṭamas	*astemo*	*ogdoos*	*octavus*	eighth.
navamas	*naomo, nāumo*	*hennatos*	*nonus*	ninth.
daśamas	*daśemo*	*dekatos*	*decimus*	tenth.
dvis	*bizhvaṭ, bis*	*dis*	*bis*	twice.
tris	*thrizhvaṭ, thris*	*tris*	*ter*	thrice.
dvidhā	. . .	*dikha*	. . .	in two ways.
tridhā	. . .	*trikha*	. . .	in three ways
chaturdhā	. . .	*tetrakha*	. . .	in four ways.
panchadhā	. . .	*pentakha*	. . .	in five ways.
parut	. . .	*perusi*	. . .	last year.
parutna	. . .	*perusinos*	. . .	of last year.
hyas	. . .	*khes*	*heri*	yesterday.
hyastana	. . .	. . .	*hesternus*	of yesterday.

IV. VERBS AND PARTICIPLES.

dar	*dar*	*derō*	. . .	to tear, flay.
dā, dadāmi	*dadhāmi*	*didōmi*	*do*	to give.
dātar	*dātar*	*dotēr*	*dator*	giver (masc.)
dātrī	. . .	*doteira*	*datrix*	giver (fem.)
dāna	*dāṭa, dāthra*	*dōron*	*donum*	gift.
dhā, dadhāmi	. . .	*tithēmi*	. . .	to place.
sthā, tishṭhāmi	*śtā, hiśtāmi*	*histēmi*	*sto*	to stand, place.
asthām	. . .	*estōn*	. . .	I stood.
sthāman	. . .	. . .	*stamen*	strength, thread.
miśrayāmi, mikshāmi	. . .	*mignumi*	*misceo*	to mix.
star, striṇōmi	*śtar*	*stornumi, strōnnumi*	*sterno*	to spread.
stariman	*śtarema*	*strōma*	*stramen*	bed, litter, carpet.
bhar	*bar*	*pherō*	*fero*	to bear.
bhāra	. . .	*phoros, phortion*	. . .	load.
bhū	*bū*	*phuō*	*fui*	to be, I was.
lih, lehmi	. . .	*leikhō*	*lingo*	to lick.
tan, tanōmi	*thañj*	*tanuō, teinō*	*tendo*	to stretch.
tatāna	. . .	. . .	*tetendi*	I stretched.
jan, jajanmi	*zan*	*gennao*	*gigno*	to beget.
janitar	*zāthar*	*genetōr*	*genitor*	father.
janitrī	. . .	*geneteira*	*genetrix*	mother.
jāta	*zāta*	. . .	*gnatus*	born, son.
janus	*gaona*	*genos*	*genus*	birth, kind.
prajā, prajāti	. . .	. . .	*progenies*	progeny.
jnā, jānāmi	*zā*	*gignōscō*	*gnosco*	to know.
jnāta	. . .	*gnōtos*	*(g)notus*	known.
ajnāta	. . .	*agnōtos*	*ignotus*	unknown.
nāman (*jnāman*)	*nāman*	*onoma*	*(g)nomen, cognomen*	name, surname.

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SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
tudāmi	. . .	. . .	*tundo*	to wound, to beat.
tutōda	. . .	. . .	*tutudi*	I have beaten.
sēv, sap[22]	. . .	*sebŏmai*	. . .	to reverence.
lubhyati	. . .	*liptomai* (to long for)	*lubet*	he desires (S.) it pleases. (L.)
tup	. . .	*tuptō*	. . .	to hurt, beat.
ad	*ad*	*edō*	*edo*	to eat.
adana, anna	. . . . .	*edănos* *edētus*	. . . . . .	eatable, food.
vah, vahāmi	*vaz, vazāmi*	*ocheomai*	*veho*	to carry.
avākshit	. . .	. . .	*vexit*	he carried.
skand	. . .	. . .	*scando*	to go, ascend.
lip, limpāmi	. . .	*aleiphō*	. . .	to anoint.
sarp	. . .	*hĕrpō*	*serpo*	to creep.
sarpa	. . .	*hĕrpĕton*	*serpens*	serpent.
vāstu *vas* (to dwell)	. . .	*Fastu*	. . .	habitation, city.
vas	*vanh*	*hĕnnumi*	*vestio*	to clothe.
vastra	*vaśtra*	*hesthēs*	*vestis*	clothing, garment.
vā	*vā*	*aō, aēmi*	. . .	to blow.
vāta	*vāta*	. . .	*ventus*	wind.
pat, patāmi	. . .	*petomai*	*peto*	to fall, fly, seek.
apaptam	. . .	*epipton*	. . .	I fell.
apaptat	. . .	*epipte*	. . .	he fell.
patatri	. . .	*peteinos*	. . .	winged.
śad	*śad*	. . .	*cado*	to fall.
sad, sīdāmi	*had*	*hezŏmai*	*sedeo*	to sink, sit.
sadas	. . .	*hĕdos*	*sedes*	seat.
chhid, chhinadmi	. . .	*schizō*	*scindo*	to cut.
chhindanti	. . .	. . .	*scindunt*	they cut.
bhid, bhinadmi	. . .	. . .	*findo*	to cleave.
bhindanti	. . .	. . .	*findunt*	they cleave.
tarp	. . .	*terpō*	. . .	to be satisfied, please.
dam	. . .	*damaō, damnēmi*	*domo*	to subdue.
arindama	. . .	*ippodamos*	. . .	subduer, of foes (S), horses (G.).
labh	. . .	*lambanō*	. . .	to take.
lapsye	. . .	*lēpsomai*	. . .	I will take.
anj	*añj*	. . .	*ungo*	to anoint.
anktum	. . .	. . .	*unctum*	to anoint.
plu	. . .	*pleō*	*fluo, pluo*	to swim, sail, flow, rain.
man, manye *mnā, manāmi*	. . .	*mnaomai*	*memini*	I think, remember.
manas	*manañh*	*mĕnos*	*mens*	mind, spirit.
hu, juhōmi	. . .	*kheō*	. . .	to pour out.
huta	. . .	*khutos*	. . .	poured out, offered
daś	*daś*	*daknō*	. . .	to bite.
daśhṭa	. . .	*dōktos*	. . .	bitten.
kar, karōmi	*kar*	*krainō*	*creo*	to do, fulfil, create.
ās, āse	*āh*	*hēmai*	. . .	to sit.
āste	. . .	*hēstai*	. . .	he sits.
vam	*vam*	*emeō*	*vomo*	to vomit.

[22] See Benfey's Glossary to S.V.; and *asapanta* in R.V. vii. 83, 6; and Curtius, pp. 474 and 519.

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SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
pard	. . .	*perdomai*	*pedo*	ventris crepitum edere.
svid	. . .	*hidroō*	*sudo*	to sweat.
sveda	. . .	*hidrōs*	*sudor*	sweat.
ard	. . .	. . .	*ardeo*	to afflict, be on fire.
svan	. . .	. . .	*sono*	to sound.
stan	. . .	*stenō*	*tono*	groan, sound, thunder.
stanayitnu	. . .	. . .	*tonitru*	thunder.
lu	. . .	*luō*	*luo*	to cut, loose, pay.
vart	. . .	. . .	*verto*	to be, turn.
varttatē	. . .	. . .	*vertit*	he is, turns.
mih	*miz*	*omikheō*	*mingo*	to make water.
ēmi (from *i*)	. . .	*eimi*	*eo*	I go.
mar	*mar*	. . .	*morior*	to die.
mṛityu	*mĕrĕthyu*	. . .	*mors*	death.
mṛita	[*ava*] *mĕrĕta*	. . .	*mortuus*	dead.
martya	*mārĕta*	*brŭtŏs*	*mortalis*	mortal.
amṛita	*amahrka*	*ambrŭtŏs*	*immortalis*	immortal.
amṛitam	. . .	*ambrŏsia*	*ambrosia*	food of the gods.
darś	. . .	*derkomai*	. . .	to see.
vid, vēdmi	*vid*	*Feido*	*video*	to know, see.
vēda	. . .	*Foida*	. . .	I know.
vidma	. . .	*Fidmen*	*vidimus*	we know, see.
vettha	. . .	*oistha*	. . .	thou knowest.
chi, chiketi	. . .	. . .	*scio*	to perceive, know.
pū, punāmi	. . .	. . .	*puto, pūrus* (pure)	to cleanse.
tap	*tafs*	. . .	*tepeo*	to be hot.
prachh, pṛichhāmi	*parĕś*	. . .	*precor*	to ask, pray.
spaś	*śpaś*	*skeptomai*	*specio*	to see, observe.
tras	*tareś*	*trĕō*	*terreo*	to fear, frighten.
naś	. . .	*nekus* (a dead body)	*necare, nex* (death)	to perish, kill.
sparś	. . .	. . .	*spargo*	to touch, scatter.
masj, majjāmi	. . .	. . .	*mergo*	to sink.
lag	. . .	*legō*	*lego*	to touch, lay, gather.
prich (*parch*)	. . .	*plekō*	*plecto*	to touch, twine.
pṛikta	. . .	*plektos*	*plexus*	touched, twined.
arh	*arej*	*arkhō*	. . .	to be worthy, rule.
lōch, lōk	. . .	*leusso*	. . .	to look.
āloka	. . .	*leukos* (white)	*lux*	light:
ruch	*ruch*	*leukos* (white)	*luceo, lux* (light)	to shine.
vach, vachmi	*vach*	. . .	*voco*	to speak, call.
vāch	*vāch*	*ops*	*vox*	voice.
taksh [23]	*tash*	*tiktō, teukho*	*texo*	to fabricate, beget.
takshan	. . .	*tek. ōn*	*textor*	carpenter, weaver.
budh	. . .	*puntlhanomai*	*puto*	to think, ascertain.
vap [24]	*vap*	*huphaino*	. . .	to weave.

[23] Compare the words *tōka, takman, teknon*, in the list of nouns.

[24] Prof. Aufrecht finds in the word *ūrṇavābhi* the trace of an old root *vabh*, "to weave," which is still closer to the Greek form. See Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, *sub voce ūrṇavābhi*.

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SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
vṛish, varsha	*vār*	*hersē, ersō*	. . .	rain, dew.
bhanj, bhanajmi	. . .	*Fagnumi*	*frango*	to break.
bhuj	. . .	. . .	*fruor?*	to enjoy.
bhukta	. . .	. . .	*fructus*	enjoyed, fruit.
kṛip, kalp	. . .	. . .	*carpo*	to cut, pluck.
bhaj, bhaksh	. . .	*phagō*	. . .	to obtain, eat.
kup	. . .	. . .	*cupio*	to be excited, angry, desirous.
śru, śriṇōmi	*śru*	*kluō*	*cluo*	to hear.
jīv[25]	*jīv*	*bioō*	*vivo*	to live.
van[26]	*van*	. . .	*venero*	to love, worship.
kshan	. . .	*kteinō*,[27] *ktinnūmi*	. . .	to kill.
kshi	. . .	*eu-kti-menos*, *peri-kti-ones*	. . .	to dwell, well-built, dwellers around.
guh, gudh, *gūdha* (hidden)	. . .	*keuthō*	. . .	to hide.
kir	. . .	*krinō*	*cerno*	I scatter, separate.
pā, pibāmi	*pā*	*pinō*	*bibo, potare*	I drink.
papau	. . .	*pepōka*	. . .	I have drunk.
pātum (to drink)	. . .	*pōtos*	*potus*	drunk.
gar, jāgarmi	. . .	*eger, egeiro*	. . .	I wake, rouse.
ajīgar	. . .	*egrēgora*	. . .	he awoke, I am awake.
pish, pinashmi	. . .	. . .	*pinso*	I pound.
pishṭa	. . .	. . .	*pistus*	pounded.
kamp(to tremble)	. . .	*kamptō?*	. . .	to bend.
(*ni*)*dhana*	. . .	*thanatos*	. . .	death.
bhaṇāmi	. . .	*phōneō*	. . .	I speak.
siv, sīvyāmi	. . .	(*kas*)*suō*	*suo*	I sew, patch.
syūta	. . .	. . .	*sutus*	sewn.
nah	. . .	. . .	*necto*	I bind.
drāmi	. . .	(*apo*) *drānai*, *didraskō*	. . .	I run.
adrāmām	. . .	*edramon*	. . .	I went, ran.
apādrān	. . .	*apedran*	. . .	they ran.
diś	*diś*	*deiknumi*	*dico*	I show, tell.
adiksham	. . .	*edeixa*	*dixi*	I showed, told.
adikshata	. . .	*edeixate*	*dixistis*	ye showed.
mā, māmi, mimē	*mā*	*metreō*	*metior*	I measure.
mātra	. . .	*metron*	*metrum*	a measure.
trap[28]	. . .	*trepō*[28]	. . .	I am ashamed, I turn.
trup, truph, trump	. . .	*thruptō*	. . .	to hurt, break.
yat	. . .	*zētō*	. . .	to strive, seek.
mard	. . .	. . .	*mordeo*	to rub, crush, bite.

[25] The original root is supposed to have been *gīv*, afterwards enlarged to *gvīv*, whence the Greek bios, bioo, etc., and the Latin vivo were derived by dropping the initial *g*. See Curtius, p. 418.

[26] See vanas and venus above, p. 233.

[27] Compare *takshan* and *tektōn*, in which also the Sanskrit *ksh* is equivalent to the Greek *kt*, p. 238 above.

[28] These two roots differ in sense; and perhaps have no affinity.

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SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
mamarda	. . .	. . .	*momordi*	I rubbed, crushed, bit.
medh	. . .	*medomai*	. . .	to understand, think on.
nij	. . .	*nizo*	. . .	to cleanse.
āp	*ăp*	*haptō*	*(ad)ipiciscor*	to obtain, touch.
āpta	. . .	. . .	*aptus*	fit.
bandh	*bañd*	. . .	. . .	bind (root).
yuj, yunajmi	*yuj*	*zeugnumi*	*jungo*	to yoke, join.
yuktas	*yukhto*	*zeuktos*	*junctus*	joined.
yuga	. . .	*zugon*	*jugam*	yoke.
lup, lumpāmi	. . .	. . .	*rumpo*	to cut, break.
luptas	. . .	. . .	*ruptus*	dissolved, broken.
sach	. . .	*hepomai*	*sequor*	to follow.
bhrāj	. . .	*phlego*	*fulgeo*	to shine, burn.
bhṛijj	. . .	*phrugō*	*frigo*	to roast.
dhāv	. . .	*theō*	. . .	to run.
pach	*pach*	*pepto*	*coquo*	to cook.
pakva	. . .	*pĕpōn, peptos*	*coctus*	cooked.
lämb, ramb	. . .	. . .	*lābor*	to fall.
yaj	*yaz*	*hazŏmai*	. . .	to venerate.
yājya	. . .	*hagios*	. . .	venerable, holy.
sru, sravāmi	. . .	*reo*	. . .	to flow.
snu, snaumi	. . .	*neo, nao*	. . .	to flow, swim.
stambh	. . .	*stembo*	. . .	to prop, shake.
stambh	. . .	*etaphon*	. . .	to be stupefied, confounded.
stambha	. . .	*thambos*	. . .	stupefaction, astonishment.
trā, trai	. . .	*tēreo*	*traho*	to deliver, keep draw.
mi, mināmi, minomi	. . .	*minutho*	*minus*	to destroy, diminish.
lap	. . .	*lakeo*	*loqui*	to speak.
śraddhā	. . .	. . .	*crēdo*	to believe.
śi, śete	*šī, šāiti, šaētē*	*keitai*	. . .	he lies.
śank	. . .	. . .	*cunctor*	to doubt, delay.
anch, anka	*añku*	*ankulos*	*uncus*	to bend, crooked, hook.
piś	. . .	*poikillo*	*pingo*	to paint.
gunj	. . .	*gonguzō*	. . .	to murmur.
aj	*az*	*ago*	*ago*	to lead, drive.
mṛij, (marj)	*marez*	*omorgnumi*	. . .	to wipe.
vṛij, (varj)	. . .	*eirgo*	. . .	to exclude.
sthag	. . .	*stegō*	*tego*	to cover.
sprih, (sparh)	. . .	*sperkhomai*	. . .	to haste, desire.
hary	. . .	*khairo*	. . .	to rejoice.
naś	*naś*	. .	*nanciscor* (*nactus*, obtained)	to obtain.
ghar, gharāmi, jigharmi	. . .	*khrio*	. . .	anoint.
tij	*tij*	*stizo*	*(di)stinguo*	to be sharp, pierce, distinguish.
tigma	. . .	*stigmē*	. . .	sharp, point.
tṛish, (tarsh)	*taresh*	*tersomai*	*torreo*	to thirst, be dry, roast.
dā, dyāmi	. . .	*deo, didēmi*	. . .	to bind.

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SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
dāman	. . .	*desmos*	. . .	bond.
dī	. . .	*diemai, diomai*	. . .	to fly, haste, chase.
skhad, skhand	. . .	*skedannumi*	. . .	to shed, spill, scatter.
par, piparmi	*par*	*perao*	. . .	to cross.
par, piparmi	*par*	*pimplēmi*	(*im*)*pleo*	to fill.
pū	*pū*	*putho*	*puteo*	to be putrid.
bhā	. . .	*phaino*	. . .	to appear.
bhās	. . .	*phaos*	. . .	light
bhī, bibhēmi	. . .	*phebomai*	. . .	to fear.
idh	. . .	*aitho*	. . .	to burn.
smar	*mared*	. . .	*memor*	to recollect, mindful.
sphalāmi, sphulāmi	. . .	*sphallo*	*fallo*	to hesitate, deceive
vaksh	*vaksh*	*auxo*	*augeo*	to increase.
gā, jigāmi	*gā*	*baino*	. . .	to go.
agām	. . .	*ebēn*	. . .	I went.
raksh	. . .	*alexo*	. . .	to protect.
kvaṇ	. . .	*kanazo*	*cano*	to sound, sing.
much, munchāmi	. . .	*apo* (*musso*)	*mungo*	to remove, free, wipe.
stigh	. . .	*steikho*	. . .	to ascend, walk.
hlād	. . .	*kekhlāda*	. . .	to rejoice, be wanton.
sphar, sphur	. . .	*aspairo, spairo*	. . .	to quiver.
mṛi, mṛiṇāmi	. . .	*marnamai*	. . .	to kill, fight.
ṛiṇomi	*ar*	*ornumi*	*oriri*	to go, rise, excite.
ārta	. . .	*ōrto*	*ortus* (risen)	he rose.
śinj	. . .	*sizo*	. . .	to hiss.
sphurj, sphūrj	. . .	*spharageo*	. . .	to thunder, crack.
kṛit	*kareṭ*	*kertomeos*	. . .	to cut, cutting (as language).
nid	. . .	*oneidizo*	. . .	to reproach.
rad	. . .	. . .	*rādere, rodere*	to scratch, split, gnaw.
manyu	. . .	*mainomai*	. . .	anger, to rage.
śam, śram	. . .	*kamno*	. . .	to be tired.
dāy	*dā*	*daio*	. . .	to divide.
bharv	. . .	*pherbo*	. . .	to eat.

When the Zend word has been omitted in the proper column of the preceding list, I have not found it readily accessible. It will be gathered from the list that in many cases where the Greek language furnishes words equivalent both in sound and sense to certain Sanskrit words, the Latin, as preserved to us, has no words of corresponding form; and that, vice versâ, the Latin has often forms corresponding to the Sanskrit, where the Greek has none. In all the instances I have adduced, the affinity is, of course, not equally certain. Doubtful cases I have generally indicated by a mark of interrogation.

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I now proceed, secondly, to exhibit the resemblances which exist between Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin, in respect of their modes of declension and conjugation, as well as generally in the formation of words from nominal and verbal roots.

I shall first of all adduce as an instance of this similarity, the first and second personal pronouns.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

SINGULAR.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
Nom.	ăhăm	azem	ĕgō	ego	I.
Acc.	mām	mām, mā	mĕ	me	me
Inst.	măyā	. . .	. . .	. . .	by me.
Dat.	măhyăm, mē	maibyō mê, môi	ĕmoi, moi	mihi	to me
Abl.	măt	. . .	. . .	. . .	from me.
Gen.	mămă, mē	mana,me,môi	ĕmou, mou	mei	of me.
Loc.	măyi	. . .	emoi, moi	me	in me.

PLURAL.

Nom.	văyăm, asmē (Vedic)	vaêm	hēmeis	nos	we.
Acc.	asmān, nas	ahma, nô	hēmas	nos	us.
Inst.	ăsmābhis	ehmā	. . .	. . .	by us.
Dat.	ăsmābhyăm, or nas	ahmaibya, ahmāi, nô	hēmin	nobis	to us.
Abl.	ăsmăt	. . .	. . .	. . .	from us.
Gen.	ăsmākăm, or nas	ăhmākĕm	hēmōn	nostrum	of us.
Loc.	ăsmāsu	. . .	hēmin	nobis	in us.

SINGULAR.

Nom.	twăm	tūm	ѕu	tu	thou.
Acc.	twām	thwăm, thwā, tē	ѕe	te	thee.
Inst.	twăyā	thwā	. . .	. . .	by thee.
Dat.	tubhyam, or tē	taibyō, tōi, tē	ѕoi	tibi	to thee.
Abl.	twăt	thwaṭ	. . .	. . .	from thee.
Gen.	tăvă, tē	tava, tôi, tē	ѕou	tui . .	of thee.
Loc.	twăyi	thōi	ѕoi	te	in thee.

PLURAL.

Nom.	yūyam, yushmē (Vedic)	yūzhem yūs	humeis	vos	you.
Acc.	yushmān, vas	vāo, vō	humas	vos	you.
Inst.	yushmābhis	khshmā, vāo	. . .	. . .	by you.
Dat.	yushmabyam, vas	yūsmaibyā, vō	humin	vobis	to you.
Abl.	yushmat	yūshmaṭ	. . .	. . .	from you.
Gen.	yushmākam	yūshmākĕm, vo, vāo	humōn	vestrum	of you.
Loc.	yushmāsu	. . .	humin	vobis	in you.

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The following are examples of the similarity as regards the declension of nouns between the four languages in question.

NOUNS MASCULINE, ending in *a*.

Vṛika, "a wolf."

SINGULAR.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Nom.	vṛikas	vĕhrko	lukos	lupus.
Acc.	vṛikam	vĕhrkem	lukon	lupum.
Inst.	vṛikeṇa	vĕhrkā, vĕhrkā	lukō	lupo.
Dat.	vṛikāya	vĕhrkāi	lukō	lupo.
Abl.	vṛikāt	vĕhrkāṭ	lukō	lupo.
Gen.	vṛikasya	vĕhrkahê	lukou	lupi.
Loc.	vṛikē	vĕhrkê	lukō	lupo.
Voc.	vṛika	vehrkă	luke	lupe.

DUAL.

Nom. Acc. Voc.	vṛikau	vĕhrka	lukō	No dual.
Gen. Loc.	vṛikayōs	vĕhrkayāo	lukoin	
Inst. Dat. & Abl.	vṛikābhyām	vĕkrkaeibya	lukoin.	

PLURAL.

Nom. & Voc.	vṛikās.	vĕhrkâoñhô	lukoi	lupi.
Acc.	vṛīkūn	vĕhrkàn	lukous	lupos.
Inst.	vṛikais	vĕhrkâis	lukois	lupis.
Dat.	vṛikebhyas	vĕhrkaeibyô	lukois	lupis.
Abl.	vṛikebhyas		lukois	lupis.
Gen.	vṛikānām	vĕkrkănàm	lukōn	luporum.
Loc.	vṛikeshu	vehrkaēshva	lukois	lupis.

NOUN FEMININE.

Jihvā, "tongue."

SINGULAR.

Nom.	jihvā	hizvă	glossa	lingua.
Acc.	jihvām	hizvâm	glossan	linguam.
Inst.	jihvāyā	hizvaya	glossē	linguā.
Dat.	jihvāyai	hizvāyāi	glossē	linguæ.
Abl.	jihvāyāḥ	hizvayāṭ	glossē	linguā.
Gen.	jihvāyāḥ	hizvayâo	glossēs	linguæ.
Loc.	jihvāyām	hizvāya	glossē	linguâ.
Voc.	jihve	hizve, hizva	glossa	lingua.

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NOUN MASCULINE, ending in *ṛi*.

SINGULAR.

Pitṛi, "father," and in the Zend column bhrātṛi, "brother."[29]

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin*
Nom.	pitā	brāta	patēr	pater.
Acc.	pitaram	brātarĕm	patĕra	patrem
Inst.	pitrā	brāthra	patĕri, patri	patre.
Dat.	pitre	brāthrē	patĕri, patri	patri.
Abl.	pitus	brāthraṭ	patĕri, patri	patre.
Gen.	pitus	brāthrō	patros	patris.
Loc.	pitari	brāthri ?	patĕri, patri	patre.
Voc.	pitaḥ	brātarĕ	patĕr	pater.

PLURAL.

Nom.	pitaras	brāthrō	patĕrĕs	patres.
Acc.	pitṛīn	brāthrō	pateras	patres.
Inst.	pitṛibhis	brātarebis	patrasi	patribus.
Dat.	pitṛibhyas	brātarĕbyō	patrasi	patribus.
Abl.	pitṛibhyas	brātarĕbyō	patrasi	patribus.
Gen.	pitṛīṇām	brāthrām	paterōn, patrōn	patrium.
Loc.	pitṛishu	brātareshva ?	patrasi	patribus.

ANOTHER FORM OF NOUN MASCULINE, ending in *ṛi*.

SINGULAR.

Nom.	dātā	dātă	dŏtēr	dator.
Acc.	dātāram	dātărĕm	dŏtēra	datorem.
Inst.	dātrā	dāthra	dotēri	datore.
Dat.	dātrē	dāthrē	dotēri	datori.
Abl.	dātŭs	dāthraṭ	dotēri	datore.
Gen.	dātus.	dāthrō	dotēros	datoris.
Loc.	dātări	dāthri	dotēri	datore.

PLURAL.

Nom.	dātāras	dātārō	dotēres	datores.
Acc.	dātṛīn	dātārŏ	dotēras	datores.
Inst.	dātṛibhis	dātarebis	dotērsi	datoribus.
Dat.	dātṛibhyas	dātarebhyō	dotērsi	datoribus.
Abl.	dātṛibhyas		dotērsi	datoribus.
Gen.	dātṛīṇām	dāthraṅm	dotērōn	datorum.
Loc.	dātṛishu	. . .	dotērsi	datoribus.

PRESENT PARTICIPLE ACTIVE.

Bharat, "supporting."

SINGULAR.

Nom.	bharan	barăś	pherōn	ferens.
Acc.	bharantam	barĕntem	pherontă	ferentem.
Inst.	bharatā	barata	pheronti	ferente.
Dat.	bharatē	barĕntē	pheronti	ferenti.
Abl.	bharatas	barantaṭ	pheronti	ferente.
Gen.	bharatas	barĕntŏ	pherontos	ferentis
Loc.	bharati	barĕntĭ ?	pheronti	ferente.
Voc.	bharan	. . .	pheron	ferens.

[29] The paradigms of nouns, etc., given in Justi's Handbuch are often incom-

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NEUTER NOUNS.

Dāna, "a gift." Dāta, "an ordinance" (Zend).

SINGULAR.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
NOM.	dānăm	dātĕm	dōrŏn	donum.
ACC.	dānăm	dātĕm	dōron	donum.
INST.	dānēna	dātă	dōrō	dono.
DAT.	dānāya	dātūi	dōrō	dono.
ABL.	dānāt	dātāṭ	dōrō	dono.
GEN.	dānasya	dātâhê	dōron	doni.
LOC.	dāne	dātê	dōrō	dono
VOC.	dānă	dātă	dōron	donum.

NEUTER NOUN ending with a consonant.

Nāman, "a name."

SINGULAR.

NOM.	nāmă	nåmă	ŏnŏma	nomen.
ACC.	nāmă	nåmă	ŏnŏma	nomen.
INST.	nāmnā	nåmănă	onomati	nomine.
DAT.	nāmnē	nåmainē	onomati	nomini.
ABL.	nāmnas	nåmanaṭ	onomati	nomine.
GEN.	nāmnas	nåmanô	onomatos	nominis.
LOC.	nāmnī	nåmaini	onomati	nomine.
VOC.	nāman	nåmă	onoma.	nomen.

PLURAL.

NOM.	nāmāni	nāméni	onomăta	nomina.
ACC.	nāmāni	nāmăn, nāméni	onomăta	nomina.
INST.	nāmăbhis	naménīs	onomasi	nominibus.
DAT.	nāmăbhyas	nāmăbyô	onomasi	nominibus.
ABL.	nāmabhyăs		ouomasi	nominibus.
GEN.	nāmnām	nāmanăm	onomatōn	nominum.
LOC.	nāmasu	namahva	onomasi	nominibus.

The forms of conjugating verbs in Sanskrit and Greek have a remarkable resemblance, particularly in those Greek verbs in *mi*, in which reduplication of the consonant of the root takes place in the present and imperfect tenses. Greek as well as Sanskrit has the augment in ἔ = ă in the imperfect and aorist, and the reduplication of the consonant in the perfect. The most striking instance of resemblance is, perhaps, the root *dā* or *do*, 'to give'; which I subjoin, together with several other examples; adding occasionally the Latin forms, and the Zend also, where they are easily accessible.

plete, in consequence of all the forms of particular words not being found in the Zend Avesta, and the fact that there is no native grammar of Zend extant. Compare the Tables in Schleicher's Compendium, pp. 576, ff.

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THE VERB *to give.*

Present Tense.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Sing.	dadāmi	dadâhmi	didōmi	do.
	dadāsi	dadhâhi	didōs	das.
	dadāti	dadhâiti	didōsi	dat.
Dual	dadvas	. . .	. . .	. . .
	datthas	. . .	didoton	. . .
	dattas	. . .	didoton	. . .
Plural	dadmas	dadĕmahi	didomen	damus.
	dattha	. . .	didote	datis.
	dadati	dadĕnti?	didousi	dant.

Imperfect.

Sing.	adadām	. . .	edidōn	dabam.
	adadās	. . .	edidōs	dabas.
	adadāt	. . .	edidō	dabat.
Dual	adadva	. . .	. . .	. . .
	adattam	. . .	edidoton	. . .
	adattām	. . .	edidotēn	. . .
Plural	adadma	. . .	edidomen	dabamus.
	adatta	. . .	edidote	dabatis.
	adadus	. . .	edidosan	dabant

Third Preterite.

Sing.	adām	. . .	edōn	. . .
	adās	. . .	edōs	. . .
	adāt	. . .	edō	. . .
Dual	adāva	. . .	. . .	. . .
	adātam	. . .	edoton	. . .
	adātām	. . .	edotēn	. . .
Plural	adāma	. . .	edomen	. . .
	adāta	. . .	edote	. . .
	adus	. . .	edosan	. . .

Reduplicated Preterite.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Sing.	dădau	dedōka	dedi.
	daditha	dedōkas	dedisti.
	dădau	dedōke	dedit.
Dual	dadiva	. . .	. . .
	dădathus	dedōkaton	. . .
	dădătus	dedōkatēn	. . .
Plural	dădĭma	dedōkamen	dedimus.
	dada	dedōkate	dedistis.
	dădus	dedōkasi	dederunt.

The subjunctive and precative moods of the Sanskrit also answer nearly to the optatives of the present and aorist in Greek: thus,

Subjunctive.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*		*Sanskrit.*	*Greek.*
Sing.	dădyām	didoiēn.	Plur.	dadyāma	didoiēmen.
	dădyās	didoiēs.		dadyāta	didoiēte.
	dădyāt	didoiē.		dadyus	didoiēsan.

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Precative.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
Sing.	dēyāsam	doiēn.
	dēyās	doiēs.
	dēyāt	doiē, etc.

There is also a resemblance in the Greek future *dōsō*, "I will give," and the future particle *dōsōn*, to the Sanskrit *dāsyāmi* and *dāsyăn*; and a perfect identity in the Latin gerund, *datum*, with the Sanskrit infinitive *dātum*. The affinity between the Sanskrit form *dātṛi*, "a giver," or "one who will give," (which makes *dātāras* in the plural), and the Latin future particle *daturus*, is also striking.

THE VERB *to place*.

Present Tense.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
Sing.	dadhāmi	tithēmi.
	dadhāsi	tithēs.
	dadhāti	tithēsi.
Dual	dadhvas	. . .
	dhatthas	titheton.
	dhattas	titheton.
Plur.	dadhmas	tithemen.
	dhattha	tithete.
	dadhati	titheisi.

Imperfect.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
Sing.	adadhām	etithēn.
	adadhās	etithēs.
	adadhāt	etithē.
Dual	adadhva	. . .
	adhattam	etitheton.
	ádhattām	etithetēn.
Plur.	adadhma	etithemen.
	adhatta	etithete.
	adadhus	etithesan.

Third Preterite.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
Sing.	adhām	ethēn.
	adhās	ethēs.
	adhāt	ethē.
Dual	adhāva	. . .
	adhātam	etheton.
	adhātām	ethetēn.
Plural	adhāma	ethemen.
	adhāta	ethete.
	adhus	ethesan.

THE VERB *to spread*.

Present Tense.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Sing.	stṛiṇōmi	strōnnūmi	sterno.
	stṛiṇōshi	strōnnus	sternis.
	stṛiṇōti	strōnnūsi	sternit.
Dual	stṛiṇuvas	. . .	. . .
	stṛiṇuthas	strōnnuton	. . .
	stṛiṇutas	stronnuton	. . .
Plural	stṛiṇumas	stronnumen	sternimus
	stṛiṇutha	stronnute	sternitis.
	stṛiṇvanti	strōnnûsi	sternunt.

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Imperfect.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Sing.	astṛṇavam	estronnun	sternebam.
	astṛṇōs	estronnus	sternebas.
	astṛṇōt	estronnu	sternebat.
Dual	astṛṇuva	. . .	. . .
	astṛṇutam	estronnuton	. . .
	astṛṇutām	estronnutēn	. . .
Plural	astṛṇuma	estronnumen	sternebamus.
	astṛṇuta	estronnute	sternebatis.
	astṛṇvan	estronnusan	sternebant.

THE VERB *to creep.*

Present Tense.

Sing.	sarpāmi	herpō	serpo.
	sarpasi	herpeis	serpis.
	sarpati	herpei	serpit.
Dual.	sarpāvas	. .	. .
	sarpathas	herpeton	. .
	sarpatas	herpeton	. .
Plural	sarpāmas	herpomen	serpimus.
	sarpatha	herpete	serpitis.
	sarpanti	herpousi	serpunt.

Imperfect.

Sing.	asarpam	heirpon	serpebam.
	asarpas	heirpes	serpebas.
	asarpat	heirpe	serpebat.
Dual.	asarpāva	. .	. .
	asarpatam	heirpeton	. .
	asarpatām	heirpetēn	. .
Plural	asarpāma	heirpomen	serpebamus.
	asarpata	heirpete	serpebatis.
	asarpan	heirpon	serpebant.

Subjunctive, optative, and future (Latin).

Sing.	sarpēyam	herpoimi	serpem.
	sarpēs	herpois	serpes.
	sarpēt	herpoi	serpet.
Plural	sarpēma	herpoimen	serpemus.
	sarpēta	herpoite	serpetis.
	sarpēyus	herpoien	serpent.

Perfect.

sasarpa	heirpa	serpsi.

Participles.

SINGULAR.

Nom.	sarpan	herpōn	serpens.
Acc.	sarpantam	herpŏnta	serpentem.
Dat.	sarpatē	herpŏnti	serpenti.

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PLURAL.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Nom.	sarpantas	herpontes	serpentes.
Dat.	sarpadbhyas	herpousi	serpentibus.

THE VERB *to be.*

Present.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Sing.	asmi	ahmi	eimi, emmi	sum.
	asi	ahi	eis, essi	es.
	asti	aŝ'ti	esti	est.
Dual.	svas	. .	. .	. .
	sthas	. .	eston	. .
	stas	. .	eston	. .
Plur.	smas	mahi	esmen	sumus.
	stha	ŝ'ta	este	estis.
	santi	hĕnti	eisi	sunt.

Imperative.

Sing.	astu	. .	estō	esto.
Plur.	santu	. .	estōsan	sunto.

Imperfect.

Sing.	āsam	. .	ēn	eram.
	āsīs	. .	ēs, ēstha	eras.
	āsīt	. .	ēn	erat.
Dual.	āsva	. .	. .	. .
	āstam	. .	ēton	. .
	āstām	. .	ētēn	. .
Plur.	āsma	. .	ēmen	eramus.
	āstha	. .	ēte	eratis.
	āsan	. .	ēsan	erant.

THE VERB *to stand.*

Present.

Sing.	tishṭhāmi	. .	histēmi	sto.
	tishṭhasi	histahi	histēs	stas.
	tishṭhati	histaiti	histēsi	stat.
Plur.	tishṭhāmas	. .	histamen	stamus.
	tishṭhatha	. .	histate	statis.
	tishṭhanti	histĕñti	histāsi	stant.

THE VERB *to show* or *say.*

Preterite.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Sing.	adiksham	edeixa	dixi.
	adikshas	edeixas	dixistis.
	adikshat	edeixe	dixit.
Plur.	adikshūma	edeixamen	diximus.
	adikshata	edeixate	dixistis.
	adikshan	edeixan	dixerunt.

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The following are additional examples of similarity of form in the past tenses, combined in most cases with identity of sense.

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
avākshīt	. .	vexit	he carried.
akshipsi [I threw]	. .	scripsi	I wrote.
apaptam	epipton	. .	I fell.
apatam	epeson	. .	I fell.
asthām	estēn	. .	I stood.

The subjoined instances exhibit the similarity in the formation of the reduplicated perfect between the Sanskrit and the Greek.

SANSKRIT.			GREEK.		
Root.	*Perfect.*	*English.*	*Present.*	*Perfect.*	*English.*
lip	lilēpa	I anointed	leipō	leloipa	I left.
śak	śaśāka	I was able	derkō	dedorka	I saw.
tup	tutōpa	I injured	tuptō	tetupha	I struck.
tuph	tutōpha				
tap	tatāpa	I heated	thapto (from taphō.)	tetapha	I buried.

I add some examples of conformity between the Sanskrit infinitive and the Latin supine.

Sanskrit.	*Latin.*	*English.*	*Sanskrit.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
sthātum	statum	to stand.	janitum	genitum	to beget.
anktum	unctum	to anoint.	ētum	itum	to go.
vamitum	vomitum	to vomit.	svanitum	sonitum	to sound.
jnātum	notum	to know.	startum	strātum	to spread.
yōktum	junctum	to join.	sarptum	serptum	to creep.
peshṭum	pistum	to pound.			

The form of the Sanskrit desideratives, though not the signification, is found in Greek and Latin: thus we have *gignōscō* (Greek), and *nosco* (Latin), answering to *jijñāsāmi*, "I desire to know;" and again, *mimnēskō* and [*re*]*miniscor*, answering to *mimnāsāmi*, "I desire to remember."

Again, Greek words like *paipallō*, *daidallō*, *paiphassō*, *pimplēmi*, *pimprēmi*, etc., though without the meaning, have the form of Sanskrit intensives, like *bobhū*, *bambhram*.

In regard to the participles, also, there is a remarkable coincidence between the Sanskrit and the Greek. Some of the participles of the active voice have been already given. The following are some other specimens.

PERFECT PARTICIPLE ACTIVE.

Greek.			*Sanskrit.*		
Masc.	Fem.	Neuter.	Masc.	Fem.	Neuter.
tetuphōs	tetuphuia	tetuphos.	tetupivān	tutupūshī	tutupivat.

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PASSIVE AND MIDDLE PARTICIPLES.

	Greek.		*Sanskrit.*
PRESENT.	dīyamānas didomenos	FUTURE.	dāsyamānas dōsomenos.

Sanskrit (neuter and masculine) bases in *man* correspond to the Latin in men: thus we have *sthāman* = *stamen*; *stariman* = *stramen*. Nominal forms in *tra*, also, are common to Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin: thus the Sanskrit *aritram*, *nētram*, *śrotram*, *mātraṃ*, *gātram*, *vaktram*, *khanitram*, *vāditram*, *varutram*, correspond in form to the Greek *niptron*, *plectron*, *lektron*, *pheretron*, *lutron*, *arotron*, and the Latin *mulctrum*, *spectrum*, *aratrum*.

The nominal form in *năs* is common to Greek and Sanskrit: thus, the *hupnos* (sleep) of the one answers to the *svapnas* of the other.

Passive past participles in *ta* are common to Sanskrit with the other languages: thus,

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
jnātas	. . .	gnōtos	(g)notus.
ajnātas	. . .	agnōtos	ignotus.
dattas	dātō	dŏtŏs	dātus.
yuktas	yukhtō	zeuktos	junctus.
labdhas	. . .	lēptos	. . .

Compare also *bhăgnăs* in Sanskrit, with *stugnos*, *terpnos*, in Greek.

Abstract or other substantives in *tā*, *tāt*, *tēs*, *tas*, are also found in them all: thus,—

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
nava-tā	amĕrĕtāṭ	neo-tēs	novi-tas.
sama-tā	uparatāṭ	homo-tēs	facili-tas.
laghu-tā	isharestāṭ	platu-tēs	levi-tas.

Forms in *tis* occur both in Sanskrit and Greek; but the latter has mostly *sis* for the *tis* of the former: thus,

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
ma-tis	mē-tis.
uk-tis	phă-tis.
trip-tis	terp-sis.
yuk-tis	zeuk-sis (=zeuxis).

Instances of adjectives similarly formed:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
malinas	pedinos	marīnus.
kulīnas	skoteinos	ferīnus.
divyas	hălios	egregius.
pitryas	patrios	patrius.
yaśasyas	thaumasios	censorius.

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Forms in *las* and *ras*:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
chapălas	eikelos	tremulus.
taralas	trapelos	stridulus.
madhuras	phoberos	. . .
śubhras	psukhros	gnarus.
bhadras	lampros	purus.

Feminine nouns are also similarly formed, as follows:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
indrāṇī	theaina	matrona.
vărunānī	lukaina	patrona.
rudraṇī	despoina	. . .

Abstract nouns are also formed in Greek, as in Sanskrit, by changing the vowel of the root: thus, from the roots *bhid*, *krudh*, and *lubh*, are formed the nouns *bhēda*, *krodha*, and *lobha*; and so in Greek we have *tromos*, *phobos*, *trokhos*, *nomos*, *loipos*, from *tremo*, *phebomai*, *trekho*, *nemo*, and *leipō*.

We have examples of nouns in Latin and Greek resembling Sanskrit nouns in *ya*, such as these:

Sanskrit.	*Latin.*	*Greek.*
mādhuryam	mendacium	theopropion.
naipunyam	principium	monomachion.

Simple radicals, or radicals slightly modified, are used in all three languages at the end of compound nouns and adjectives:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
dharma-vid	pēdo-trips	artifex.
netra-mush	pros-phux	index.
brahma-dvish	bou-plēx	princeps.

The use of *eu* and *dus* in Greek corresponds to that of *su* and *dus* in Sanskrit: thus,

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
sukaras	euphoros.
sulabhas	eutrophos.
dustaras	dustropos.
dussahas	dusphoros.

The following are instances of the employment of *a*, *an*, *i*, or *in* privative, in the three languages:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
ajnāta	agnotos	ignotus.
an-ishṭhas	an-osios	ineffabilis.

The subjoined adjectives are formed in a manner nearly alike in Sanskrit and Latin from adverbs of time:

Sanskrit.	*Latin.*	*Sanskrit.*	*Latin.*
hyastanas	hesternus.	sāyantanas	vespertinus.
śvastanas	crastinus.	sanātanas	sempiternus.

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The use of various sorts of compound words is common to Sanskrit with Greek and Latin. Thus we have,

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
trirātram	trinuction	trinoctium	a period of three nights.
svapnakaras	hupnophoros	somnifer	bringing sleep.
sadâbhramas	aeiplanos	. . .	always wandering.
arindamas	ippodamos	. . .	foe-, steed-subduing.
devadattas	theodotos	. . .	god-given
mahāmătis	megalomētis	magnanimus	high-souled.
bhūridhanas	polukhrusos	. . .	very rich.
băhumūrttis	polumorphos	multiformis	multiform.
chatushpād	tetrapous	quadrupes	four-footed.
sarūpas	summorphos	conformis	of the same form.

Forms in *ana*, nouns and adjectives:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
darpaṇam	drepanon.
vahanam	organon.
śobhanas	hikanos.

Forms in *aka* or *ika*:

Sanskrit	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
nāyakas	polemikos	medicus.
dhārmikas	rhetorikos	bellicus.

Forms in *ant*:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
dhanavān	doloeis.
dhanavantam	doloenta.

Sanskrit nouns ending in *as*, corresponding to Greek and Latin nouns of the third declension:

Sanskrit	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
ayus	pseudos	foedus.
yaśas	mēdos	scelus
apas	kēdos	opus.

In Greek and Latin the comparative and superlative degrees are formed very much as in Sanskrit. The Greek has, however, two forms like Sanskrit; the Latin only one.

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
bhadra	husko	kleinos	longus	different meanings
bhadra-tara	husko-tara	kleino-teros	long-ior	
bhadra-tama	śpentotĕma	kleino-tatos	longis-simus	
svādus	. . .	hēdus	suavis	sweet.
svādīyān	. . .	hēdīon	suavior	sweeter.
svādishṭhas	. . .	hēdistos	suavissimus	sweetest.

In Greek and Latin, as in Sanskrit, verbs are compounded with prepositions.

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
apa-gachhati	ap-erkhetai	abs-cedo.
san-gachhati	sun-erkhetai	con-venit.
upa-dadhāti	hupo-tithēsi	sup-ponit.
pari-bhrāmyati	peri-erkhetai	circu-it.
pra-sarpati	pro-bainei	pro-cedit.

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In Latin, as in Sanskrit, verbs are compounded with nouns or adjectives.

Sanskrit.	*Latin.*
parikhīkaroti	significat.
krishṇīkaroti	magnificat.

In Greek and Latin adjectives agree in gender and number with the noun, just as in Sanskrit: thus,

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
Nom. Sin.	svādûs svâpnăs	hēdus hupnos	suavis somnus	sweet sleep.
Acc. Sin.	svādûm svâpnăm	hēdum hupnon	suavem somnum	sweet sleep.
Nom Plu.	svādâvas svapnās	hēdues hupnoi	suaves somni	sweet sleeps.
Nom. Sin.	năvo dātā	neos dotēr	novus dator	new giver.
Acc. Sin.	năvăm dātărăm	neon dotēra	novum datorem	new giver.

We must, therefore, conclude from the illustrations which have been given above, of the resemblances existing both in roots and inflections, between the Sanskrit, the Zend, the Greek, and the Latin (viewed in contrast with the almost total want of similarity between the Sanskrit and other tongues, e.g. the Arabic), that there is a close affinity between the various members of the former group of languages; and that in fact they are all descended from one common stock.

It may, however, be objected that the affinity which I have been seeking to establish between the Sanskrit, the Greek, and the Latin, is disproved by the fact that (while a portion of the words in these languages are identical with or akin to each other) the great majority of their words are different. If these languages had in reality had a common origin, their vocabularies must, it may be urged, have been entirely or nearly homogeneous, i.e. must, with few exceptions, have consisted of the same identical words, just as is the case with the Bengalī, the Hindī, and the Mahrattī, which are confessedly kindred dialects. To this I reply, First, that even such a small proportion of common words, combined with great similarity in point of structure and inflection, is sufficient to demonstrate the common derivation of any two languages from one original stem, provided it can be shown (as it assuredly can in the case under consideration) that neither the words nor the inflections have been borrowed by the one language from the other. For how could the common possession by these two supposed languages of even a comparatively small stock of words be otherwise accounted for? This community of words could not be accidental; for had there been anything of accident in the case, we should, beyond a doubt, have discovered the same casual resemblances between other languages—

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between Sanskrit and Arabic for instance, or between Greek and Arabic—as we discover between Sanskrit and Greek; whereas in point of fact we discover scarcely any such resemblances. The difference between Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, in regard to the large majority of the words of which their vocabularies are composed, admits of an easy explanation. The speech of different branches of every great race of men has (as I have already in part shown in p. 32, f.) an inevitable tendency, arising from a great variety of causes, to diverge more and more from the original type. This tendency is visible even in India itself, among men of the same branch of the Arian family. The vocabulary of the Vedas is, to some extent, different from that of the later Sanskrit writings. Many words which are common in the former have been entirely disused in later times, while new words, unknown in the Vedas, have been introduced. If the Nighaṇṭus be compared with the Amara-kosha (which may be supposed to contain the words in most general use in later Sanskrit), many nouns will be found in the former which are wanting in the latter, as well as in all other more recent vocabularies. I may instance such words as *tuvi*, 'much;' *napāt*, 'offspring;' *gmā* and *jmā*, 'earth;' *ketas*, 'knowledge;' *ākenipa*, 'wise;' *takman*, 'offspring;' etc., which occur in the Nighaṇṭus, but will be sought for in vain in the Amara-kosha.[30] In fact, many of the words in the Nighaṇṭus owe their insertion in that vocabulary entirely to the fact that they had become obsolete in later times. Again, any one who is familiar with the different modern vernaculars of India must be aware how much they differ from each other, not only in their grammatical forms, but also, frequently, in the words themselves which are employed by preference in each to denote any particular objects. Now, as we have already seen (pp. 7, 42), all these dialects must at one time have issued from one and the same parent form of speech. But if such a divergence as this has actually taken place in dialects spoken by the different branches of one people,

[30] The following are additional words peculiar to the hymns of the Veda: *Akshṇayāvan, atharyu, anarvis, anānuda, aptur, aprāyu, ambhriṇa, alātriṇa, asaśchat, askṛidhoyu, asridh, āśuśukshaṇi, īvat, ṛijishin, evayāvan, kāṇukā, kiyedhas, kuṇāru, kuṇḍṛiṇāchī, jāṭubharman, jenya, nabhanya, nichumpuṇa, nishshidh, nishshidhvan, opaśa, paritakmyā, bīriṭa, mehanā, reṇukakāṭa, śurudh, sakshaṇi, salalūka, śundhyu, sumajjāni, smaddishṭi, śvātra*, etc. See my article "On the Interpretation of the Veda," in the Journal of the R.A.S., vol. ii., new series, pp. 325, ff.

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living in the same country, under nearly the same influences of soil and climate, and professing the same religion; must not a much wider divergence have of necessity arisen between the languages of tribes separated for thousands of years, and living in regions far apart from each other, under different physical conditions, and subject to the modifying action of different social, political, and religious institutions?

Such divergences between the languages of any two or more nations which have sprung from one common stock have, as I have already intimated, an inevitable tendency, at least in the earlier stages of society, to become wider and more marked; so that two dialects derived from the same original form of speech, though they at first differed but little from each other, will thus almost necessarily become more and more dissimilar from each other the longer they have been separated from the parent root.

Peculiar circumstances, such as constant intercourse, and the possession of a common religion and a common literature, may, indeed, for a period of greater or less duration, avert such a gradual divergence in language between two separate nations. This state of things is at present actually exemplified in the case of England and America. But these two nations have only become separated from each other for a comparatively short period; and it would be difficult to predict how long their identity of language may continue. So powerful, however, are the causes which operate in this case to maintain an absolute community of speech, that (notwithstanding the adoption in America of some new words, and a considerable number of phrases unknown in England) the two nations will, in all likelihood, continue to employ the same dialect for many ages to come. This result will, however, more probably arise from the English language undergoing a parallel alteration in both countries, than from its continuing entirely unchanged in either.

But we must be careful not to underrate the extent of the fundamental affinity in roots and words between the Sanskrit, the Greek, the Latin, and the other western languages of the same family. Even a cursory examination of such works as Professor Benfey's "Greek-Radical-Lexicon,"[31] Curtius's "Outlines of Greek Etymology,"[32] or

[31] Griechisches Wurzellexicon: 2 vols. Berlin, 1839 and 1842.
[32] Grundzüge der Griechischen Etymologie, second edition, 1866.

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Fick's "Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Germanic Languages,[33] is sufficient to show that these coincidences are more numerous than might at first sight have been supposed, and that it is only an insufficient study of the variations undergone by different words in the several languages under review which prevents our perceiving that a considerable, though probably undeterminable, proportion of their vocabulary is essentially common to them all.

But, Secondly, there is a further circumstance by which the original affinity between Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, and their ancient derivation from one parent stock, are proved; which is this, that it is precisely those words and elements which are the most primitive, the most fundamental, and the most essential parts of each language which they have in common. I mean, First, those words which express the natural relations of father, mother, etc., and kindred generally; Secondly, the pronouns; Thirdly, the prepositions and particles; Fourthly, the words expressing number; and Fifthly, the forms of inflection. Thus, the words which Sanskrit has in common with Latin, Greek, and the other members of the Indo-European stock, are those which would be in use in the earliest stages of society, when men were simple and uniform in their habits and ideas, when they had few wants, few arts, little knowledge, no sciences, no philosophy, and no complicated institutions. But after the different tribes of the Indo-European stock had departed in different directions from their primeval abodes, and had settled in distant countries, they became in the course of time more and more different from each other in their religions, in their manners and customs, and in all their modes of life. The climates under which they lived were different; some settling within the torrid zone, while others migrated into temperate or even frigid latitudes. The aspects of nature, too, were very dissimilar in these different regions, some of them being level and fertile, others mountainous and unproductive; some situated on the shores of the ocean, and others at a distance inland. The natural productions of these different tracts, too, were various, as well as the animals by whom they were tenanted. Some of these countries, for instance, produced rice and the sugar-cane, and were frequented by the elephant, the camel, the lion, and the

[33] Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen, second edition, 1870.

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tiger; while in others these plants and animals were not indigenous. In consequence of all these local influences, the temperaments and habits of the men of different nations became exceedingly diversified. In level and fertile countries, with hot climates, men became less active and energetic, owing to the relaxing effects of the heat, and the diminished necessity for labour; while the frames of those who settled in colder countries were both braced by the greater severity of the climate, and by the necessity of labour for extracting a subsistence from the less genial soil. Men settled on the shores of the sea naturally became addicted to maritime pursuits, from which those living inland were debarred. In this way different arts arose, different sciences were cultivated, and different social and political institutions were established. In some countries the active energies of the people were fostered by the existence of free forms of government: in others the feeling of independence, perhaps originally feeble, was altogether crushed by despotism; while, on the other hand, the thoughtful tendencies which were native to the race found their full scope in scientific pursuits, or in philosophical and religious contemplation. With these great and manifold changes in all the conditions of life, corresponding alterations in language, intended to express new objects and new ideas, would be necessarily introduced, which became more and more extensive and decided as centuries rolled on.[34] The different stages of this process which I have been describing are more or less distinctly exemplified in the different languages which have been specified as connected by affinity with the Sanskrit. Of these languages the Zend (or language of the Zend Avesta) is that which had been separated from the Sanskrit for the shortest space of time, and subjected to the action of the smallest modifying influences, at the period when it took the form in which the most ancient of the extant Zoroastrian writings are composed; and accordingly, it has a far closer resemblance to the Sanskrit than either the Greek or the Latin. This has been made clear by the evidence which has been already adduced. The Greek and Latin languages, on the other hand, had been separated

[34] The divergences, apparent or real, between the Arian languages, are due "to alterations, to losses occasioned by the lapse of time, and also to the incessant efforts (so to speak) of the language to replace the lost forms, and to follow step by step the gradual developments of the several nationalities."—Pictet, "Origines Indo-Européennes, ou les Aryas Primitifs," p. 5. See Appendix, Note C.

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from the Sanskrit for a much longer interval of time, and affected by novel influences of far greater potency, when they became embodied in the oldest compositions which have descended to us; and they accordingly differ from the Sanskrit, in most respects, much more widely than the Zend does.

I conclude, therefore, from the foregoing considerations, that the differences which exist between the Sanskrit, the Greek, and the Latin languages, as we find them in their later stages, afford no reason for doubting that they had, at an earlier period, a much more intimate connexion, and were, in fact, originally identical.

Another objection may, however, perhaps be raised by some person looking at the subject from an Indian point of view. It is quite true, he may urge, that an affinity exists between the Sanskrit, the Zend, the Greek, and the Latin; but this quite tallies with what our Śāstras record (Manu x. 43, 44; Vishṇu-purāṇa, iv. 3, p. 375, quarto edition of Wilson's translation, or vol. iii. pp. 294, f. of Dr. Hall's edition),[35] that the Yavanas (Greeks), Pahlavas (Persians), and Kambojas, were originally Kshatriya tribes, who became degraded by their separation from Brāhmans and Brahmanical institutions; and it is also quite clear from the proofs which you have adduced of affinity between these languages and our sacred tongue, that the former are mere Prākṛit or Apabhraṁśa dialects derived from Sanskrit. Your hypothesis of these languages, as well as the Sanskrit, being derived from some earlier form of speech now no longer extant, is quite gratuitous; for, what the heretical Bauddhas falsely say of their Apabhraṁśa, which they call Pāli, is literally true of Sanskrit, the language of the gods, that it is that primeval and eternal form of speech[36] from which all others are derived.

To this I reply, that even if Zend, Greek, and Latin could be shown, on the ground of their affinity with Sanskrit, to be derived from it, it would still be quite impossible for the objector to prove on the same ground that Sanskrit was the parent of all the languages which are spoken by all the tribes which have inhabited India or the adjacent countries. Arabic, as has been shown, is quite distinct from Sanskrit, and has scarcely any perceivable affinity with it of any kind. And

[35] See first volume of this work, second edition, pp. 481, ff, and 486–488.
[36] See Mahābhāshya, as quoted above, p. 161, note 183.

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the same is the case with the languages current in the south of India, the Tamil, the Telugu, the Canarese, and the Malayalim (the tongues spoken by the inhabitants of Draviḍa, Telinga, Karnāṭa, etc.). For Manu himself (as we have already seen, p. 151, n. 164) makes a distinction between the languages employed by the people of India; which shows that forms of speech of a non-Arian, i.e. non-Sanskrit, character were spoken by part of the population. So that the point which the objector is, perhaps, really seeking to establish, viz., that the Arian-Indians are the original progenitors of all the surrounding nations,[37] and their language, Sanskrit, the parent of all other languages, could never be proved. It cannot be admitted, however, as I have already remarked, that Greek and Latin are derivatives from Sanskrit. There is no proof of this theory, and all probability is against it. The whole grammatical character of Greek and Latin is that of independent languages; and any one who will compare their structure and composition with that of the Indian Prākṛits, which every one allows to be derived from Sanskrit, will at once perceive the difference of the two cases.

First.—The grammatical forms of the Prākṛits (as we have already seen, p. 69), have evidently resulted from a disintegration or simplification of the older Sanskrit forms. Thus (as we have already seen by the comparative tables, introduced above, pp. 76, ff.), the Sanskrit words *mukta*, *gupta*, *sūtra*, *mārga*, *artha*, *śreshṭha*, *dṛishṭi*, *pushpa*, *dakshiṇa*, *madhya*, *satya*, *tushṇīm*, *laghu*, *sādhu*, *sabhā*, are in Prākṛit softened down into *mutta*, *gutta*, *sutta*, *magga*, *attha*, *seṭṭha*, *diṭṭhi*, *puppha*, *dakkhiṇa*, *dāhiṇa*, *majjha*, *sacheha*, *tuṇhīm*, *lahu*, *sāhu*, and *sahā*. The further back we trace the Prākṛit forms, the more nearly do they resemble the Sanskrit, till the two are found to be almost identical; while the more modern the grammatical forms are which the Prākṛits have taken, the more widely do they diverge from their Sanskrit prototypes. The case is quite different with the Latin and Greek. A few instances may, no doubt, be discovered where the modes in which the Latin or Greek forms vary from the Sanskrit cor-

[37] Compare the Mahābhārata i. 3533, which says, *Yados tu Yādavāḥ jātās Turvasor Yavanāḥ smṛitāḥ | Druhyoḥ sutās tu Vaibhojāḥ Anos tu Mlechha-jātayaḥ.* "The Yādavas sprang from Yadu. The Yavanas are said to be Turvasu's offspring; the Vaibhojas are descended from Druhyu, and the Mlechha tribes from Anu." These four progenitors, and Pūru, were sons of of the Kshatriya monarch Yayāti.

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respond in some degree to those changes of softening or simplification[38] which the Sanskrit forms have undergone in Prākṛit. Thus the Greek *dolikhos*, "long," varies from the Sanskrit *dīrgha* somewhat in the same manner as the Prākṛit *sirī* and *hirī* vary from the Sanskrit *śrī* and *hrī*; and the Greek *hupnos*, "sleep," appears to simplify the Sanskrit *svapna* by much the same process as that by which the Prākrit reduces the Sanskrit *sthāna*, "place," to *ṭhāna*. But the few instances of this sort which can be adduced are quite insufficient to prove that even in these cases the Greek or the Latin words are borrowed from the Sanskrit.[39] They may with quite equal probability have been derived from an earlier language from which the Sanskrit is also drawn. There is no appearance of Greek and Latin words having resulted from any modification of the Sanskrit: for, while many of their forms have a close resemblance to the Sanskrit forms, they are, at the same time, for the most part equally original with those of that language; and many of them are so different from the Sanskrit, and

[38] There are very few of the Prākṛit forms which are not simplifications of the Sanskrit. Even in such a case as that of the word *itthī*, or *iṡthiyā*, "woman" (from *strī*), the change is in one sense a simplification, as one or more consonants are thrown out, and the vowel *i* is prefixed to facilitate pronunciation. But the great majority of Sanskrit words commencing with a double consonant are modified in Prākṛit, not by prefixing a vowel, but either by rejecting one of the members of the compound consonant, or by interposing a vowel between them. Thus the Sanskrit *sthā* becomes in Prākṛit *ṭhā*, *sthala* becomes *thala*, *skandha* becomes *kandha*, *spṛiś* becomes *phaṁs*, *kshamā* becomes *khamā*, *snāna* becomes *ṇhāna*, *sneha* becomes *saneha*, *mlāna* becomes *milāna*.

[39] It may, however, be further objected that my argument is incomplete, as all Prākṛit or derivative dialects do not modify the original language in the same manner. Thus French and Spanish, it may be said, do not corrupt the Latin in the same way as Italian does. Now, as it has been stated above (p. 147) that the Indian Prākṛits corrupted Sanskrit very much in the same way as the Italian corrupted Latin, so (the objector may urge) Zend, and Greek, and Latin, may have modified Sanskrit in a somewhat different way, as French and Spanish modified Latin. To this I reply that in the case of all these derivatives of Latin, viz. Italian, French, and Spanish, it can be shown (1.) that the people who spoke these languages were either entirely or in part descended from the Romans; or that, at least, they received their language from the Romans who conquered and colonized their respective countries; but it cannot be shown either that the Greeks or Romans were descended from the Indians, or in any way received their languages from Hindustan. (2.) In the case of the French and Spanish languages, as well as in that of the Italian, the exact process and the very steps can be pointed out by which they changed the forms of the Latin words; but it cannot be historically shown, in regard to the Greek or Latin, that their words are in any way corruptions of Sanskrit originals.

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so peculiar, that they could not be deduced from it according to any laws of mutation recognized by philologists. The Greek and Latin forms can, therefore, only be derived from another and anterior source, from which the Sanskrit forms also, as well as they, have flowed. It is, further, the opinion of distinguished comparative philologists, that Latin and Greek have preserved some forms of inflection, which are more ancient than those preserved in Sanskrit; and represent more exactly the original forms of the supposed parent language. For instance, the Latin has preserved the nominative of the present participle ending in *ens*, such as *ferens* (carrying), while Sanskrit has only the form in *at*, *bharat* for example, which seems to have been originally *bharans* or *bharant*.[40] The same is the case with various roots, nominal and verbal, in which the Sanskrit appears to have lost the original form of the word, while it has been preserved in Greek or Latin, or both. Thus the word for "a star," which seems to have been originally *star*,—a form which has been preserved in the Rigveda and in the Greek *astēr* and *astron*, and in the Latin *astrum*, as well as in the Zend *śtāre*, and the Persian *sitārah*,—has been lost in the later Sanskrit, where it becomes *tāra*. Again, on the supposition that the *h*, *j*, and *chh* of Sanskrit are corrupted from the *k* or *gh*, *g*, and *sk* of the earlier language, the following Sanskrit words appear to have departed further from the original forms than the corresponding words in Greek and Latin, viz., S. *hṛidaya* = Gr. *kardia*, Lat. *cor*; S. *hanu* = Gr. *genus*; S. *mih* = Gr. *omikheo*; S. *bāhu* = Gr. *pēkhus*; S. *jānāmi* = Gr. *ginōskō*, Lat. *gnosco*; S. *jajanmi* = Gr. *gennao*, Lat. *gigno*; S. *ajra* = Gr. *agros*, Lat. *ager*; S. *rajata* = Gr. *arguros*, Lat. *argentum*; S. *jambha* = Gr. *gomphos*; S. *jaras* = Gr. *gēras*; S. *jānu* = Gr. *gonu*; S. *chhāyā* = Gr. *skia*; S. *chhid* (*chhinadmi*) = Gr. *skhizo*, Lat. *scindo*; and S. *ashṭau* = G. *oktō*.

Second: But the fact that the Greek and Latin languages are in their origin independent of the Sanskrit may be further shown by the following considerations:[41]

[40] Bopp, Comp. Grammar, para. 129. Ad. Regnier, Traité de la formation des mots dans la langue Grecque, note 1, pp. 68, 69.

[41] I am indebted for the substance of the paragraphs marked with an asterisk (*) to the kindness of Professor Goldstücker, who is dissatisfied with some views propounded in the passage immediately preceding, as he rejects the theory which has hitherto been in favour with philologists that the fullest forms are necessarily the

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* (1.) On a careful examination of the roots contained in the Dhātupāṭhas, or lists of radicals in the classical or modern Sanskrit, it will be found that many of these verbal roots are compounded, or resolvable into simpler forms. But as those roots, notwithstanding their composite character, are treated by the Indian grammarians as ultimate radicals, it is clear that those grammarians have forgotten the simpler forms from which the others have been derived. Of this remark the following roots are exemplifications, viz.: *vyanj*, *vyay*, *vī*, *vyadh*, *pyush* or *vyush*, *prush*, *veksh* and *ujhh*, which, though evidently compounded of *vi*+*anj*, *vi*+*ay*, *vi*+*i*, *vi*+*adh*, *pi* or *vi*+*ush*, *pra*+*ush*, *vā* for *ava*+*īksh*, *ut*+*hā* (*jahāti*), are yet treated by the Indian grammarians as if they were simple roots.

* (2.) The Sanskrit has not only undergone alterations such as the above, but the modern language has actually lost some fuller forms of roots, which are still discoverable in the Vedic hymns. As an instance of this may be mentioned the root *grabh*, (see above, p. 221,) "to seize," which in the modern Sanskrit has become prakritized into *grah*. Other instances are the Vedic *dhurv*, and *dhvṛi*, as compared with the modern *hvṛi*; and the Vedic *śundh*, as compared with the modern *śudh*. The following Vedic roots are not to be found in modern Sanskrit at all, viz.:[42] *kan*, *inkh*, *ubj*, *śav*, *ven*, *sach*, *myach*, *tsar*, *dhraj*, *mand*, *ṛes*, *vaksh*, *turv*, *bharv*, etc., etc.

* (3.) But it is not only a fact that the modern Sanskrit has lost some of the oldest verbal roots; the same appears to be the case with the more ancient Vedic Sanskrit also, from which some primitive radicals had already disappeared. This is indicated by the circumstance that there exist certain Sanskrit nouns, which must have been derived from radicals which in their verbal form are not discoverable even in the Vedas. Thus from the existence of the word *vīrudh*, "a shrub," and *nyagrodha* (a particular tree), we may infer that there once existed a root *rudh*, "to grow," which in this sense (for the

oldest. [In this second edition the paragraphs are reprinted, by Professor Goldstücker's permission, with a slight addition to this note, and an enlargement of note 44, p. 264.] Compare for the roots given in paragraph * (1.) Professor Benfey's "Complete Sanskrit Grammar," pp. 73, ff.

[42] On the hypothesis that the fuller form is the more ancient, I may also cite the Vedic forms *ścham* (as compared with the modern *cham*) and *śchand* (as compared with the modern *chand*), as given in Professor Benfey's "Complete Grammar," p. 73.

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modern Sanskrit has still *rudh* in the sense of "to stop,") now survives only in its weakened form *ruh*.[43] In like manner it appears from the nouns *dhanus*, "a bow," *pra-dhana*, "battle," and *ni*+*dhana*, "death," that the root *han*, "to kill," must once have existed in the stronger form *dhan* = Greek *than*.

* (4.) Some of the verbal roots which have been lost by both the modern and the Vedic Sanskrit, and which cannot be traced there even through their preservation in derivatives, may yet be recovered from oblivion by the aid of the Greek or Latin. Thus the Sanskrit *hu*, "to sacrifice," must have originally existed in the stronger form *dhu*, as we may infer from the Greek *thuō*; and in the same way the earliest form of the Sanskrit *guh*, "to hide," was probably *gudh*, as the Greek *keuthō* would lead us to suppose. So too from the Greek forms *nēthō*, "to spin," and *leikhō*, "to lick," we may argue that the original Sanskrit forms of *nah* and *lih* must have been *nadh* and *ligh*.[44] Several forms of substantives and other words also can be shown, in which the

[43] See Pictet's "Origines Indo-Européennes," p. 145.

[44] So the root *duh*, "to milk," must have once been *dugh*, as is proved not only by its passive participle *dugdha*, but also by the Zend substantive *dughdhar* and the Greek *thugatēr*, "daughter," a word which most philologists think originally signified "milker." Professor Goldstücker is of opinion "that in all the Sanskrit dhātus the sound *h* is weakened from a sonant aspirate, or, though more rarely, from a surd aspirate, or, though likewise rarely, from a sibilant. Thus he thinks that *gāh*, *vṛih*, *spṛih*, for instance, were originally *gādh*, *vṛidh*, *spṛidh*; *vah*, originally *vadh* (compare *ūḍhā* and *vadhū*); *tṛih*, 'injure,' *tṛiph*; *suh*, 'delight,' *sukh*; *māh*, 'measure,' *mās*; *mih* —*mīsh*; *hul* —*śal* or *śval*, etc. *Dah*, he thinks, was *dadh*, as is shown by the substantive *antardadhana*, lit., that which burns or causes heat (when) in the middle (of a liquor); and since, in his opinion, *ah* (whence *ahan*) is the more original form of *dah*, he believes that this view of *dadh* is supported by the Greek *aiθ* (originally *aὐθ*, whence Ἀθήνη, which points to a Sanskrit *adh*. That from *dah*, *nidāgha* and similar forms are derived, is no disproof of an original *dadh*; for when *dah* settled down as a new *dhātu*, its final *h* would naturally be treated as a guttural. Thus, though *han* was undoubtedly *dhan*, from the later *han* we have *ghnat*, *jaghāna*, *jeghnīy*, *ghāta*, etc. And not only sounds, but even meanings undergo the influence of a confused recollection of what once was a more original form. Thus *hṛi* represents an older *dhṛi*, *bhṛi*, and *ghṛi*, 'sprinkle, moisten;' yet *dhārd* refers in some of its meanings not to *dhṛi*, but—through the influence of *hṛi*—to *ghṛi*."

In the same way we sometimes see the aspirated consonant of the root changed into *h*, as in the case of the participle *hita* (*vi-hita*, *ni-hita*, &c.) from the root *dhā*, "to hold." This weakening process, commenced in Sanskrit, has been continued and carried much further in Prākṛit, where the aspirated consonants of Sanskrit are softened into *h*, as where the root *kath*, "to say," becomes *kah*. See Vararuchi, ii.,

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Greek forms are stronger than the Sanskrit. Thus, instead of the Sanskrit *hima*, "winter," *ahi*, "a serpent," *hyas*, "yesterday," we find in Greek the stronger forms *kheimōn*, *ekhis* or *ophis*, *khthĕs*, or *ekhthĕs*.

From the facts detailed in the preceding paragraphs, which prove that compound roots have been taken by the Indian grammarians for simple ones, and that old forms have been modified or lost in the modern, or even in the Vedic, Sanskrit, it is clear that that language (especially in its modern form) cannot be always regarded as a fixed standard, according to which the originality of the Latin and Greek forms could be estimated. And the supposition that any of the Greek or Latin words[45] are borrowed from Sanskrit by a prakritizing process is satisfactorily disproved by the fact that various instances have been adduced of the very opposite nature, where the Greek and Latin forms, instead of being like the Prākrit ones, weaker or simpler than the Sanskrit, are stronger or more complex. For, whether or not the existence of these stronger or more complex forms in Greek and Latin proves that the Sanskrit once had similar forms, which have now disappeared, it is at least sufficient to neutralize the argument,—drawn from the presence of certain other stronger or more complex forms in Sanskrit than we encounter in the corresponding words in Greek and Latin,—that those languages are derived from Sanskrit: for, by parity of reason, the presence of some forms (which we have actually seen to exist) in Greek and Latin stronger or more complex than those discoverable in corresponding cases in Sanskrit, would prove that these weaker Sanskrit forms were mere corruptions of the Greek and Latin words.

27; and pp. 94, ff, above. See also Benfey's Complete Sanskrit Grammar, p. 20, where it is said: "*h* appears never to be original in Sanskrit, but to have arisen from the weak aspirates *gh*, *dh*, *bh*. This derivation can be illustrated by many examples from the Vedas, or from the kindred languages. Compare the Vedic *dughāna* from *duh*; *sandegha* from *dih*; *sadha* for *saha*; *grabh* for *grah*."

[45] I except, of course, such words as have evidently passed from Sanskrit into Greek at a period comparatively modern; such as *κάρπασος* from *karpāsa*, and others of the same kind. But, on the other hand, a good many Greek words can be shown to have been received into the Sanskrit astronomical literature within the last two thousand years, such as *hōrā*, *kendra*, *liptā*, *drikāṇa*, *anaphā*, *sunaphā*, *apoklima*, *paṇaphara*, *jāmitra*, *meshūraṇa*, and *rikpha*, derived from the Greek *ὥρα*, *κέντρον*, *παναφορά*, *διάμετρος*, *μεσουράνημα*, and *ἀποκλίμα*, *συναφή*, *ἀναφή*, *λεπτά*, *δεκάνος*, *ἐπαναφορά*, *μεσουράνημα*, and *ῥιφή*.—Colebrooke, Misc. Ess. ii. 526, ff.; Weber. Ind. Stud. ii. 254.

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Third:—The Indian Prākṛits have derived by far their largest stock of words from the Sanskrit; the few which they contain that are not Sanskrit having been derived from the languages of the indigenous tribes who inhabited Northern India before the arrival of the Āryas. On the other hand, only a certain proportion, as we have seen, of the words which compose the vocabulary of the Greek and Latin languages, are common to them with the Sanskrit: the greater part of the words are, if not different, at least difficult to identify as the same. Now, had Latin and Greek been derived from the modern, or even from the Vedic Sanskrit, the number of words indisputably common to all three languages must have been very much greater. It is true that more may be said in favour of the hypothesis that the Zend has been derived from Sanskrit; but there are sufficient reasons for believing that Zend is a sister and not a daughter of Sanskrit; and, consequently, that both have a common mother of a more primeval date.

I therefore conclude, that Greek and Latin, as well as Zend, are not derived from Sanskrit, but have, together with it, grown out of some older parent language,[45] which was superseded by its daughters, and, became extinct, because it ceased to be employed as a spoken tongue, and because (as being the language of a very early stage of society) it has not been preserved in any literary records. To render this supposition conceivable, I may remark that the same fate—extinction—might have befallen the Sanskrit itself, and the Latin, when they, in like manner, gave birth to the various dialects which have superseded them as living and popular forms of speech, had it not been that

[45] "An indubitable result of the researches which have recently been pursued into the Arian tongues is, that, notwithstanding the various alterations which they have undergone, they all bear the clear impress of one common type, and are consequently descended from one real, living, primeval language, which was complete in itself, and which was employed by a whole nation as its common organ of communication. This is not a mere hypothesis devised to explain the relations by which those languages are connected with each other: it is a conclusion which forces itself irresistibly on our belief, and which possesses all the validity of the best established fact. When we perceive so large a number of languages, of a character so marked, converging in all the details of their structure towards a common centre in which every particular fact finds its cause, it becomes impossible to admit that that centre has never had any other than a purely imaginary existence, and that that marvellous agreement arises solely from an instinctive impulse peculiar to a certain race of men."—A. Pictet, Origines Indo-Européennes, p. 43.

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they flourished at periods of much more advanced civilization than the assumed primeval language to which I have referred, and have been perpetuated by means of the numerous writings, secular and sacred, of which they are the vehicles.

The primitive language to which I have just alluded is thus characterized by M. Pictet, in the work above referred to, pp. 1, 2:—"While thus augmenting in numbers and in prosperity, that prolific race was labouring to create for itself, as a powerful means of development, a language admirable by its richness, its force, its harmony, and the perfection of its forms; a language in which were spontaneously reflected all its impressions, not merely its mild affections and its simple admiration, but also its nascent aspirations toward a higher world; a language abounding in images and in intuitive ideas, bearing within it, in germ, all the future affluence both of the most sublime poetry and of the most profound reflection. At first one and homogeneous, that language, already perfected to a very high degree, served as a common instrument of expression to this primitive people, as long as it continued within the limits of its native country."

SECT. III.—*That affinity in language affords some presumption of affinity in race: modes in which a greater or less diversity of language and institutions would arise in different branches of the same stock: central Asia the birth-place of the Aryas.*

The facts and considerations adduced in the preceding section have, I think, proved beyond a doubt that the Sanskrit language has a common origin with the Zend, the Greek, and the Latin; and that all these tongues have sprung, like branches from one stem, out of the same parent language, now extinct. This conclusion being established, it follows as a necessary corollary either, first, that the Indians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans also, that is, the nations who spoke the languages derived from that one common source, were themselves also descended, whether entirely or partially, from one and the same stock; i.e. that they had for their common ancestors the ancient people who spoke the extinct language to which I have referred,[47]

[47] "The radical affinity of all the Arian languages necessarily leads us," as we have seen, "to regard them as having sprung from one single primitive language. . . Now as a language presupposes always a people to speak it, it further follows that all the Arian nations have issued from one single source, though they may have become occasionally blended at a later period with some foreign elements. Hence we

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although at some period after their separation their forefathers may have become intermingled with other and alien races; or secondly, that the ancestors of the four nations above mentioned must have been brought into close contact with each other before that original parent language had been broken up into different forms of speech; or, thirdly, that their forefathers must have derived their respective languages from the descendants of those who originally spoke them. Unless, therefore, we resort to the third alternative, it must, with the reservation made in the preceding sentence, be taken for an established fact either that the ancestors of the Indians at one time existed together with the ancestors of the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans, in one country, as one nation, or that at least the forefathers of these several nations must have lived long in contact with each other at an early stage of their history. It is true that we have no historical record of this primeval period; but we are inevitably led to assume the existence of an anterior state of things such as I have asserted, by the fact, that no other supposition will account for the philological phenomena which we encounter in later history. From the effects, we are entitled to reason back to the existence of a cause adequate to their production. We have to explain the fact, that there have been found in different regions of the world, lying far apart from each other, various nations speaking languages which evince an unmistakable affinity to one another; and there is no other mode of explaining this circumstance but by supposing that the progenitors of these nations, or, at least, the progenitors of those tribes which communicated to them their several languages, have radiated in different directions from one central country which was their common birthplace, or their common abode, and where they all employed one common form of speech.

If we pursue our inquiries further, we shall find that certain data exist, by means of which we can discover with some probability what was the order of time in which the ancestors of these several nations separated themselves from the original stock, or departed from their

may with certainty infer the existence, at a pre-historic period, of an Arian people, free, originally, from all foreign intermixture, sufficiently numerous to have supplied those swarms of men which issued from its bosom, and sufficiently endowed by nature to have created for itself the most beautiful perhaps of all languages. This people, though unknown to tradition, is in a certain degree revealed to us by philological science."—Pictet, pp. 5, 6.

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common dwelling-place, and travelled towards those new countries which they continued to occupy in later times.

Let us suppose a numerous and powerful nation occupying an isolated position in the centre of a vast region as yet thinly peopled. Let us next imagine what would be the probable course of affairs in such a society, and then compare this hypothetical picture with the traces remaining to us in history of the actual events. We have first then to contemplate this original race, or association of two or more races, gifted with vigorous powers both of mind and body,[48] as still residing in their primitive abode. When, in the natural order of events, this active and gifted population began to multiply, the countries which they at first occupied, either as shepherds or agriculturists, would soon be found too narrow for the supply of their growing necessities.[49] If fresh lands fit for pasture or for cultivation existed unoccupied in the vicinity of their original territory, they would insensibly extend their borders as occasion required. If there was no territory near at hand which would yield them a subsistence, the more energetic and adventurous members of the community would be driven by the pressure of necessity to inquire whether ampler possessions might not be found at a distance; and they would depart in larger or smaller detachments in quest of new abodes. This process of migration, when once commenced, would go on without intermission. The first adventurers would be speedily followed by other successive bands, till at length new nations were formed at a greater or less distance from the original country.

The earliest emigrants, who thus departed to distant regions, passing often through countries differing in climate and productions from their

[48] M. E. Renan, however, thinks that the Arian race was not originally superior in intelligence to the Semitic, Hamitic, and other races, but the contrary. Histoire des langues Sémitiques, p. 487.

[49] "But a constant and rapid increase of the population could not but speedily bring about gradual migrations, which would be directed towards regions more and more distant. From that time forward the separation of the nation into distinct tribes, the greater infrequency of communication and changes in their modes of life, occasioned a certain number of dialects to spring forth out of this common language, and to develope themselves, without, however, as yet, becoming detached from their primitive source; and at the same time the original character of the race, becoming modified according to circumstances, gave birth to a variety of secondary national characteristics, destined, at a later period, to expand, to exhibit their own peculiar life, and to play their part in the great drama of humanity."—Pictet, p. 2.

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primeval abodes, encountering novel and strange objects, and inured to new pursuits, would gradually lose many of their ancient customs; and in exchange would acquire new habits, and along with them also, new modes of speech. Those portions of the original population, on the contrary, which continued to live together in their ancient country, or had gradually extended themselves together over adjacent regions, would preserve more nearly their original customs, religion, and language. But at length a period might arrive when the same causes which had occasioned the separation of the earlier emigrants, or some other causes of a different nature, would lead to a disruption in the remaining part of the nation also. It would become divided into different sections; which would separate from one another and establish themselves in different, but probably adjacent, countries, and would never exhibit so wide a divergence from each other in respect of their religion, their institutions, and their general character, as those earlier emigrants who had settled in regions at a greater distance.

The first case which I have above hypothetically put is that of the Greeks and Romans,[50] who appear to have broken off at an early period from the great Arian nation and departed to the westward, in quest of new habitations. The distance of the countries, viz., Greece, Italy, and the surrounding provinces, where they ultimately settled, from the cradle of the Arian race, and their wide divergence in religion and language from the eastern branches of the same stock, concur to prove that they separated themselves from the latter at a very remote era. On the other hand, the vicinity of the region occupied by the Greeks to that inhabited by the Romans, would lead us to suppose that the ancestors of these two nations migrated from the east at about the same period, though the differences which we discover between the language and religion of the one people as compared with those of the other, compel us to assume a subsequent separation of the two, and an independent development of each.

The second case which I have above supposed, of two branches of the original Arian stock continuing to live together for a considerable time after the other branches had become separated, is that of the Perso-Arians and the Indo-Arians. Both from the closer vicinity to

[50] For the sake of simplifying the view I give of the question, I purposely omit all mention of the German and other branches of this great family, and of the periods at which they migrated westward.

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each other of the countries in which the Persians and the Indians eventually settled, i.e., north-eastern Persia and north-western India, and from the nearer affinity which we perceive between the language and the mythology of these two races than we find to exist between the language and mythology of either and those of the Greeks or the Romans, we are led to conclude that the ancestors of the Indians and Persians remained united in one community (either in their primeval seats or in some region further to the south) to a much later period than the other branches of the Arian race.

[I introduce here some further remarks on the subject treated in this and the following section from a paper which I wrote some time ago, and which owed its origin to the various objections alleged against the validity of the proof derived from language of the affinity between the Indians and the nations of the west:—

"This common origin of these languages, and the remoteness of the localities in which they have been spoken, imply, I think, as their almost necessary condition, the affinity of the tribes by which these dialects were spoken at the period of their earliest divergence from one another, the original occupation by those tribes of a common country, their gradual separation, and their emigration from their common abode in the direction of those regions which we find to be ultimately occupied (I will not yet say by their descendants—for that is the point in dispute—but) by the nations who at a later period spoke those several languages. It is true that even this assumption may be disputed, and it may be urged that the original mother-country from which the different tribes carrying with them the cognate dialects issued forth, may have been the common dwelling-place of a variety of tribes unconnected by descent, though they either (1) agreed to make use of the same language, the weaker or more barbarous clans discarding altogether their own forms of speech, or (2) gradually fused into one common tongue a multitude of dialects previously quite distinct. But this hypothesis, under either of these modifications, appears to be improbable, as nations do not readily abandon their ancestral tongues except under the pressure of strong necessity. But even if we should admit that the population of Central Asia, from which the different branches of the so-called Indo-European race are presumed to have issued, was not originally a homogeneous one, but composite, made up

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of a mixture of distinct tribes, still these tribes must, during the period when their common language was in process of formation, have lived together in intimate union, and by the intermarriage of the different sections[51] have become eventually blended into one community. The formation and universal adoption of one common language is scarcely conceivable on any other conditions. When, therefore, this community was at length broken up, and its different fractions began to depart from their original home in different directions in search of new abodes, —an event which we must imagine to have occurred after the lapse of several generations from their (supposed) first coalition,—these different sections must, as a result of this long cohabitation, and the consequent commingling of blood, have been all composed in a great measure of the same elements. We may perhaps, however, be allowed to set aside this objection, which has been last dealt with, and assume that the tribes which, several thousand years ago, radiated from the supposed common home in Central Asia, were originally homogeneous, or of one and the same stock. If this assumption is admitted, it will hardly be denied that, for a short time at least, these several tribes, as, one by one, they diverged in different directions from the postulated centre, may have maintained the purity of their blood. But it will be urged that this would not long continue to be the case. It will be said: 'Supposing that all the assumptions which you have made up to this point are conceded, what proof can be adduced to show that those tribes which, as you allege, carried with them one or more dialects which were ultimately developed into the Sanskrit, Old Persian, Greek and Latin languages, into India, Persia, Greece, and Italy respectively, were really the descendants of those tribes which you imagine to have started from your assumed centre at an unknown period?' Admitting, for the sake of argument, that certain sections of your Indo-European race branched off in different directions in search of new abodes, they then disappear. There is no longer the slightest probability that we shall ever be able to recover at any point of the long line of their alleged journeyings the smallest traces of their progress onward to their assumed destinations.[52] The supposed streams of population no longer begin to flow onward, than, like the waters of the fabled fountain of Arethusa,

[51] Unless we suppose that at the early period in question they were divided into separate castes, which, however, is an improbable supposition.

[52] See, however, Pictet, vol. i. pp. 54-88; and . 536, quoted further on.

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they sink underground, and none of those nationalities which emerge into the light of day long afterwards, and at distant points of the globe, can possibly be identified by you as pure continuations of those same original streams. You have no test of sufficient potency to justify you in pronouncing that the elements of which the two sets of bodies—viz., those which started from the centre, and those which reached the several points of the circumference—were composed were in all respects homogeneous. You can tell nothing of the routes and stages by which these migratory tribes advanced; you are quite unable to indicate the *varios casus*, the *tot discrimina rerum*, through which they passed, the many adventures they must have undergone, the encounters they may have had with other races, whose influence on their speech and on their entire destinies may have been most important. The tribes which you allege to have migrated from Central Asia may have settled at any habitable points between that region and the countries in which you imagine that you have discovered their descendants. They may at this intermediate point have communicated their ancestral language to people of a different race with whom they there came into contact, and it may have been either the descendants of these alien races, or a people of mixed blood, by whom the languages in question were carried onward into the countries where they were found to prevail at the dawn of history. On either hypothesis the ultimate colonists of northern India, Persia, Greece, or Italy, were not the genuine descendants of the tribes which started, perhaps several thousand years before, from your supposed centre. And it may be further urged that these arguments are corroborated by the fact that notwithstanding the striking affinities that undoubtedly exist between certain parts of the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin languages, the number of words which are common to these languages is very small in comparison with those in which they differ from one another; and this fact, it may be further argued, can best be explained by the supposition that these languages have been gradually formed by the accretion of new words imported into them by men of alien race, who from time to time became intermingled with the tribes by which the languages were previously employed. Some such intermixture of population, it may be concluded, is necessary to explain the great mutual divergence which eventually came to characterize these four languages.'

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"I shall take up these several arguments in succession.

"Supposing that the affinities alleged to exist between the languages spoken at the dawn of history in India, Persia, Greece, and Italy, are admitted to be real, we have to discover the most natural explanation of this phenomenon. The kindred forms of speech must, as we have seen, have had a common origin, and must have been conveyed to the localities in which they were found, either (1) by the remote descendants of the races, derived from a common stock, by which, at first they were severally spoken, or (2) by tribes which had been in long and intimate contact with those races at some period of their history.[53]

"The question to be answered is therefore this: Whether is it most probable that the colonists who conveyed to India, Persia, Greece, and Italy the forms of speech which were thenceforward prevalent in those countries had (1) inherited the languages which they brought with them by direct descent from their remotest forefathers; or that (2) at some intermediate period of their national history, their ancestors had adopted, in whole or in part, the language of some alien race? These questions, I allow, can receive no positive answer. A probable solution is all that can be offered. It is freely admitted that we are utterly unable to define the date, or the course, or the duration, of the migrations which have been assumed, or to conjecture the various events by which they may have been attended. But if there be no historical proof, or other indication, to the contrary, the presumption, I think, is always in favour of the conclusion that a people has retained the language of its ancestors. Languages which, on the grounds already stated, may be maintained to have had a long and continuous existence, must, in the absence of any written literature, have been orally handed down by some people or other. But no probable reason can be alleged for supposing that the descendants of those who first spoke them have become extinct. Even conceding that at some stage or other of its history any particular form of speech has been communicated by the race which inherited it to people of another stock, it is not thereby rendered necessary or even likely that it should have

[53] It is also possible that the tribes which brought the language to the country in which it was first found to exist may have transferred the language to another race, and have themselves entirely disappeared; but this hypothesis appears to be so unlikely that it may be left out of consideration.

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been dropped by those who had inherited it. Arguing, therefore, on grounds of probability, the utmost which we can be fairly required to admit in regard to any language is, that at some period or other of its history, it may have begun to be spoken by an alien tribe which had received it from another tribe to which it had descended by inheritance, while at the same time it continued to be spoken by the latter also.[54] We are therefore, I think, justified in concluding that some portion at least of the people by whom these languages were severally employed in the earliest historical periods were the lineal representatives of those tribes which emigrated from Central Asia at the unknown period already referred to, or, at any rate, were in part of that stock. But there are other reasons for adopting this conclusion. It is no doubt true, and has been already admitted, that people of one stock may receive their language from people of an alien race. But in such a case the nation adopting the language would generally, if not invariably, be inferior in moral and intellectual power to that whose language it borrowed. The reverse is scarcely credible. When, therefore, we find a race of high mental endowments speaking a particular tongue, we are justified in supposing (so long as we have no historical proof to the contrary) that it is using the speech of its forefathers. But both the earliest known or Vedic Indians, and the earliest known Greeks, were superior in intellect, whilst they were at least equal in martial prowess, to the nations with which they were brought into contact, and were no doubt descended from peoples possessed of the same characteristics, who are therefore unlikely to have had their languages imposed upon them by conquerors of any other race, or to have voluntarily adopted the speech of any other people. I will adduce another ground—though not of a linguistic character, but derived from the later history of the Indians and Greeks—for believing that these two nations have sprung from the same stock, I mean the remarkable resemblance between the intellectual capacity and endowments of both, as shown in the eminence attained and the originality evinced by each in literature, science, and speculation. As this similarity is generally recognized, I need not adduce any evidence of the fact.

[54] Now I do not find that either the Sanskrit, or the Persian, or the Greek, or the Latin, was originally employed by different tribes living in different regions of the globe; but on the contrary that all these languages were at first spoken by one compact nation.

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"As regards the objection which I have supposed to be made that alongside of the remarkable proofs of affinity between the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, there exist differences in vocabulary so much more extensive as to be explicable only on the supposition that the tribes which inherited these languages from their ancestors must have undergone from time to time a large intermixture of foreign blood,—as it would otherwise be impossible to account for the wide divergence which ultimately prevailed between those different forms of speech,—I repeat (see pp. 257, f.) that the phenomenon in question is susceptible of another explanation. The increasing change in the different dialects of the mother-language, after the tribes by which they were spoken had radiated in different directions from their central home, may be accounted for (even on the supposition of their remaining free from any material intermixture of blood), by the necessary conditions of a nascent civilization as well as by the vicissitudes necessarily attendant on their migrations. At that early stage when these tribes had made little progress in arts and culture, and had no literature to fix their spoken dialect, constant alterations would naturally occur, old words would be modified or disused, whilst new ones, suggested by the different circumstances, physical, social, and political, through which they passed, would be introduced. Such a gradual process of alteration is a necessary result of the laws which regulate the development of thought and language in the early periods of society, and does not therefore require the hypothesis of any intermingling of foreign elements of population to render it intelligible. At the same time, it need not be denied that many words now found in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin may have been borrowed from people of other races.

"But supposing it to be held that the above conclusions regarding language as a test of race are too uncertain and conjectural to be of any value, there can be no doubt that this much at least is established by the mutual affinities of the Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, and Latin, that the ancestors of the earliest known Indians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, had immediately or remotely derived their respective languages from races which had at one time been in the closest contact with each other as constituent parts of the same community, governed by the same institutions, and adherents of the same religion and worship (see the abstract of the Rev. G. C. Geldart's paper, "Language no

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Test of Race," in the Transactions of the British Association for 1858, p. 150, f. of the Transactions of the Sections).[55]

"Let us see what conclusion this proposition involves in regard to the origin of the Hindus, a question the consideration of which first led me to the study of the problems discussed in this paper. The Hindus of the Vedic period are either directly descended from the people who first spoke Sanskrit in its oldest form, or they are not. If they are not, then they must have derived their language (now esteemed sacred and divine) from some alien race which communicated it to their forefathers. But as the traditions contained in their own sacred books say nothing of this, they cannot, on this hypothesis, be regarded as giving a trustworthy or sufficient account of the origin and history of the race. If, on the other hand, the early Indians derived the Sanskrit language by direct descent from those who first spoke it, their progenitors must at some period have lived in close contact either with the ancestors of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans, or with some other tribes with which at some time or other the forefathers of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans, had been socially and politically connected. In either case the ancestors of the Hindus must have formed part of an ancient community, which also embraced the forefathers of other tribes which eventually separated themselves from that community; and could not well have had the distinct and peculiar origin assigned to them in their legendary books. Where, then, did the separation referred to take place? In, or out of, India? To this I reply that, looking to the geographical positions ultimately occupied by the different nations which spoke the various languages cognate to Sanskrit, the probability is, that the separation to which I have referred took place at some central point intermediate between the countries in which these peoples severally dwelt, viz., at a point, consequently, to the west or north-west of the Indus. Whether the populations composing the several nations in question were themselves the descendants of the tribes which originally separated from the assumed parent stock, or whether one or more of them derived their languages from those descendants, we must in every case assume it as more likely that the migrations which terminated in the ultimate formation of the Indian, Persian, Greek, and Roman nationalities had proceeded from an intermediate point than from one in the extreme east.

[55] See Appendix D.

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"Supposing it now to be considered as established or probable that a tribe of Indo-European descent had at an early period immigrated into India from the north-west, but that insuperable physiological difficulties are opposed to the supposition that their descendants could ever, from the mere influence of climate, have gradually acquired their present dusky complexion, we must resort to the hypothesis, to be hereafter referred to, that those original immigrants, or their descendants, intermarried with the darker tribes whom they found settled in the country; and that the offspring of these intermarriages were born with swarthier complexions than their Indo-European ancestors. If this be the true explanation of the fact, it must be admitted that the Brahmanical or Sanskrit-speaking Indians are not of pure Indo-European blood, though they are in part of Indo-European extraction. In any case they have inherited the high mental endowments which are characteristic of that race."]

The propositions which I have already proved, or shall now attempt to prove, are the following:—

First: That the Indo-Arians, that is, the higher classes of the northern Indians, or the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas and Vaiśyas, are descended either exclusively or partially from the same Arian race as the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans

Second: That the primeval abode of this original Arian race was in some country of central Asia, situated out of, and to the north-west of, India.

Third: That different branches gradually separated themselves from this parent stock, and migrated to new countries, west, south, or east of their early home.

Fourth: That the ancestors of the Indians and Persians appear to have lived together as one nation to a later period than the other branches of the Arian race, but at length separated, the Indo-Arians migrating into India, while the Perso-Arians occupied the territory of Bactria, and the adjacent provinces.

I shall not consider it necessary, in the discussion of the subject, to handle each of these propositions in the succession here indicated; but shall rather take up the different topics in the order in which the process of proof which I shall follow may render most convenient.

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SECT. IV.—*Whether there is any objection arising from physiological considerations, to classing the Indians among the Indo-European races.*

In proving, as I have already done, that the Greek and Latin languages have a common origin with the Sanskrit, I have adduced the principal portion of the proof which I had to bring forward of the common origin of the nations by which those several languages have been spoken. And yet language is not the only respect in which an affinity exists between the Indians, Iranians, Greeks, and Romans. Their mythologies also present some points of contact. As regards the Indians and Iranians, this will be shown in a following section. For an indication of the proofs that exist that the mythologies of the Greeks and Indians, how much soever they subsequently diverged from each other, must have issued from one common source, I may refer to the fifth volume of this work, pp. 2, ff., 33, f., and 76, where the identity of the words Dyaus and Zeus, and of Varuṇa and Uranos, is referred to. The mythology of the Greeks has also been considered to present some other points of contact with that of India, as when the Erinnys of the Greeks has been identified with the Saraṇyū of the Vedas, the Centaurs with the Gandharvas, Minos with Manu, Ṛibhu with Orpheus, Hermes with Sāramēya, the Phlegyes with the Bhṛigus, etc.;[56] but it would carry me too far if I were to attempt to offer any account of the views which have been propounded on this subject. I will now therefore direct my attention mainly to exhibiting at greater length the grounds which exist for supposing that the Persians and the Indians are descended from the same common ancestors; and that, after remaining united together, as the constituent parts of one nation, for some time subsequent to the migration to the westward of the other branches of the same stock, they, too, were at last broken up, by the force of circumstances, into two distinct nations, which settled in two separate, though adjacent, regions. I will subsequently pass in review the additional reasons which can be adduced for supposing that the Indians immigrated into India from the north-west.

[56] See Kuhn's Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks, Berlin, 1859; and Müller's Paper on Comparative Mythology, in the Oxford Essays for 1856, and in "Chips," vol. ii. p. 181.

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Before, however, proceeding to carry out the intention here indicated, it will be expedient briefly to inquire whether, on physiological grounds, there is any reason for denying that the Indians are descended from the same stock as the nations of Europe.[57] "In their physical characteristics the Brahmanical and other high caste Indians belong, as well as the other nations who have just been mentioned, to the so-called Caucasian type. It might, indeed, at first sight, be supposed that the dark-complexioned Hindus could not possibly be of the same race as the fair-coloured natives of England or Germany. But a closer examination of the different nations to whom, on philological grounds, we are led to assign a common origin, will show that they vary in complexion very much according to the climatic influences of the regions in which they ultimately settled, and in which they have been resident for a long series of ages. If we look to the south-eastern and north-western extremities only of the vast tract over which the Indo-European races have spread, we shall, no doubt, find that there is a complete contrast in point of colour between the occupants of those widely separated countries. But the same wide contrast does not exist between the inhabitants of those tracts (included within the same limits) which are adjacent to each other. The Indians do not differ very much in complexion from the Persians, nor the Persians from the Greeks, nor the Greeks from the Italians, nor the Italians from the Germans or the Anglo-Saxons. These different nations alter in complexion by almost imperceptible shades varying nearly according as their respective countries range successively from south-east to north-west. While the Indians may be denominated black, the Persians are olive-coloured, the Greeks have a still fairer complexion with a ruddy tinge, and the Italians approach yet more nearly in hue to the Teutonic tribes. It is therefore to the varying action of different climatic influences that we have to ascribe the diversity of colour which characterizes these several nations. The scorching rays of an Indian sun, the high temperature of an Indian climate, and the peculiar diet afforded by an Indian soil, acting on the Indo-Arians

[57] [I reprint here, nearly as it originally stood, but now marked by inverted commas, the answer which I gave to this question in the first edition of this work; and shall add a reference to the difficulties raised on physiological grounds against the views there stated.]

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during the long period of 3,000 years or more since they first settled in Hindustan, appear amply sufficient to account for the various peculiarities of complexion, of feature, and of corporeal structure which now distinguish that section of the Indo-European family from the kindred branches to the west. In fact, the action of these causes is sufficiently conspicuous in India itself. The people of Bengal, who are of the same race as the inhabitants of the north-western provinces, have, owing to the greater moisture of their climate, and the want of that bracing temperature which the latter enjoy for three or four months of every year, gradually become darker in complexion and less robust in their structure. Again, it is notorious to every one who has lived in northern India, that a Brāhman from the temperate province of Kashmīr is far fairer than a Brāhman of Mathurā or Benares; in fact he has quite the look of a foreigner. It has also been observed that an Indo-Briton, or person partly of European and partly of Indian descent, becomes fairer from living in the colder climate of Europe: but immediately recovers his ancient complexion on being exposed again to the heat of the tropics. It does not appear necessary to enter further into the discussion of this subject, as the preceding observations will suffice to remove any doubts as to the common origin of the Indians and the nations of Europe, which may have arisen from their differences of complexion.[58] I will only add that, if the considerations here urged have any foundation, the Indo-Arians must have been much fairer in complexion at the period of their first arrival in India, and

[58] A full discussion of this subject may be found in Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, 2nd ed., i. 478–487. [His conclusion as summed up in p. 487 is as follows: "The Arian Indians belong to the Caucasian race in virtue of their language and their physical type: their darker complexion does not amount to such a degree of blackness as not to be derivable from the effects of climatic influences. The Caucasian race easily assumes dark shades through intermixture and the continued action of a hot climate: the Portuguese in India, descendants of native women, have become quite as black as negroes; and the northern and western Asiatics who have lived for several generations in India are now, even without intermarriage with native wives, of as decided an olive-yellow complexion as the native Indians could be." It will be seen that Lassen here refers to the intermarriage of the Arians with other [and no doubt duskier] races as one of the possible causes of their darker colour]. See also A. W. von Schlegel, Essais, pp. 466, ff., and Müller's "Last Results of the Sanskrit Researches," in Bunsen's Outlines of the Phil. of Univ. Hist., vol. iii., p. 129, reprinted in his "Chips," vol. i., pp. 63, f. Compare his "Last Results of the Turanian Researches," in Bunsen as above, pp. 349, ff.

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while they still continued to occupy the north-westerly regions of the Panjab, than they became at a later period, when they had been longer exposed to the fierceness of the Indian sun, and when they had penetrated further to the south-east. And we accordingly find that this supposition tallies with some expressions in the Vedic hymns, the oldest of which, no doubt, date from a very early period. Thus, in a text of the Rigveda, iii. 34, 9, we find an allusion made to the colour of the Arian immigrants: *Hatvī Dasyūn pra āryaṃ varṇam āvat:* 'He destroyed the Dasyus, and protected the Arian colour:' and in Rigveda, ii. 12, 4, the same word is applied to designate the Dasyu tribes: *Yo dāsaṃ varṇam adharaṃ guhā kaḥ |* 'He who swept away the base Dāsa colour.' Though the word *varṇa*, 'colour,' which is here employed, came afterwards to be current as the designation of caste, there is some reason to suppose that it may have been originally used to discriminate the fair-coloured Āryas from the dark-complexioned aborigines. But such a term of contrast, if employed now, would not perhaps possess half the force which it may have had at a time when we may suppose the distinction of colour between the Āryas and the savage tribes whom they encountered, to have been far more palpable than it is in modern times."

The above views are, however, disputed on physiological grounds by different writers, such as the late Mr. John Crawfurd, Professor Huxley, and other authors referred to by the latter. Thus, in his paper on "Language as a Test of the Races of Man,"[59] Mr. Crawfurd writes as follows: "In phonetic character, in grammatical structure, and in some cases even in words, there exists a near resemblance between certain languages of Northern, but not of Southern India, and most, but by no means between all the ancient and modern languages of Europe. From this fact some ethnologists have jumped to the conclusion that the Oriental and Western people, between whose languages this affinity exists, must necessarily be of the same blood, or in other terms, of one and the same race of man. In India, however, there neither now exists, nor does history tell us that there ever did exist, a race of fair complexion resembling Europeans: neither does there exist in Europe, nor is there even a tradition of there ever

[59] In the Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London (published in 1865), vol. iii., p. 2.

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having existed, a race of black men like Hindus. Hence, as the fact has been well ascertained, that neither time, climate, nor locality will produce any material alteration of race, and assuredly not such a one as would turn a black skin into a white one, or the reverse, we must come to the inevitable conclusion that the theory which makes race and language synonymous is, in this instance at least, nothing better than an ethnological figment." And in another paper on the "Early Migrations of Man," in the same vol., pp. 346, ff., the same writer combats the opinion which "makes the peopling of India and Europe with their present inhabitants to depend on an emigration from a certain table-land of northern Asia." Mr. Crawfurd proceeds to quote a passage from Professor Max Müller's "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 12, ff., in which this view is maintained; and then remarks: "The entire theory developed in the passages now quoted is founded on philology, and sets aside all the well-established qualities, physical and intellectual, which from the dawn of authentic history have distinguished the many races of man, which it includes in a single category." And further on Mr. Crawfurd urges: "All this is broadly asserted in the face of the notorious fact that history affords no example of a people becoming white from black, or black from white, or black or white from brown. No black race of man is ever known to have inhabited Europe, or white man to have inhabited India, or black or white to have inhabited the parent land of the supposititious original stock." In an article in the Fortnightly Review, No. 3, for 15th June, 1865, pp. 257, ff., Professor Huxley discusses the methods and results of ethnology; and inquires whether the problems presented by that science are to be determined by means of zoology, or philology, or history, or by any one of several other methods to which he refers. After stating the claims that have been put forward on behalf of philology, and quoting from an essay by the late August Schleicher,[60] who held that the natural classification of languages is also the natural classification of mankind, Prof. Huxley remarks, p. 260: '"Without the least desire to depreciate the value of philology as an adjuvant to ethnology, I must venture to doubt, with Rudolphi, Desmoulins, Crawfurd, and others, its title to the leading position claimed for it by the writers whom I have just quoted. On

[60] Ueber die Bedeutung der Sprache für die Naturgeschichte der Menschen, 1858.

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the contrary, it seems to me obvious that, though, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, unity of languages may afford a certain presumption in favour of the unity of stock of the peoples speaking those languages, it cannot be held to prove that unity of stock, unless philologers are prepared to demonstrate that no nation can lose its language and acquire that of a distinct nation, without a change of blood corresponding with the change of language." And in p. 262 he writes: "Thus we come, at last, to the purely zoological method, from which it is not unnatural to expect more than from any other, seeing that, after all, the problems of ethnology are simply those which are presented to the zoologist by every widely distributed animal he studies." In a subsequent part of the same paper (p. 273, f.) the writer—referring to the opinion that "the operation of the existing diversities of climate and other conditions on people so migrating, is sufficient to account for all the diversities of mankind"—observes that he "can find no sufficient ground for accepting" it, and that he doubts "if it would ever have obtained its general currency except for the circumstance that fair Europeans are very readily tanned and embrowned by the sun." To this he adds: "But I am not aware that there is a particle of proof that the cutaneous change thus effected can become hereditary, any more than the enlarged livers which plague our countrymen in India can be transmitted;—while there is very strong evidence to the contrary. Not only, in fact, are there such cases as those of the English families in Barbadoes, who have remained for six generations unaltered in complexion, but which are open to the objection that they may have received infusions of fresh European blood; but there is the broad fact, that not a single indigenous negro exists either in the great alluvial plains of tropical South America, or in the exposed islands of the Polynesian Archipelago, or among the populations of equatorial Borneo or Sumatra. No satisfactory explanation of these obvious difficulties has been offered by the advocates of the direct influence of conditions. And as for the more important modifications observed in the structure of the brain, and in the form of the skull, no one has ever pretended to show in what way they can be affected directly by climate."

In a lecture[61] printed in the periodical paper called "Nature," of

[61] "On the Forefathers of the English People."

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17th March, 1870, Prof. Huxley gives expression to similar views in opposition to the opinion that climate has any effect upon complexion. He writes: "There is no reason to think that climatal conditions have had anything whatever to do with this singular distribution of the fair and the dark types. Not only do the dark Celtic-speakers of the Scotch Highlands lie five or six degrees farther north than the fair Black-foresters of Germany; but, to the north of all the fair inhabitants of Europe, in Lapland, there lives a race of people very different in their characters from the dark stock of Britain, but still having black hair, black eyes, and swarthy yellowish complexions."

In the first quoted of these papers Dr. Huxley makes no reference to the particular question of the origin of the Sanskrit-speaking Indians; but in the lecture published in "Nature" we find the following passage, in which he refers to the immigration of Arians into India, and to their absorption in the main into the pre-existing population, from which it may be concluded that he regards the upper classes of the existing North Indian Hindus as partially of Arian blood, and ascribes their dusky complexion to the intermarriage of their ancestors with the darker tribes which were previously in occupation of the country: "Hence, there can be no reasonable doubt that the fair element of the Celtic-speaking population of these [i.e. the British] islands 1,900 years ago was simply the western fringe of that vast stock which can be traced to Central Asia, and the existence of which on the confines of China in ancient times is testified by Chinese annalists. Throughout the central parts of the immense area which it covers, the people of this stock speak Aryan languages—belonging, that is, to the same family as the old Persian or Zend, and the Sanskrit. And they remain still largely represented among the Affghans and the Siahposh on the frontiers of Persia on the one hand, and of Hindostan on the other. But the old Sanskrit literature proves that the Aryan population of India came in from the north-west, at least 3,000 years ago. And in the Vedas these people portray themselves in characters which might have fitted the Gauls, the Germans, or the Goths. Unfortunately there is no evidence whether they were fair-haired or not. India was already peopled by a dark-complexioned people more like the Australians than any one else, and speaking a group of languages

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called Drawidian. They were fenced in on the north by the barrier of the Himalayas; but the Aryans poured from the plains of Central Asia over the Himalayas, into the great river basins of the Indus and the Ganges, where they have been, in the main, absorbed into the pre-existing population, leaving as evidence of their immigration an extensive modification of the physical characters of the population, a language, and a literature."

I add some remarks on this subject from the pen of an eminent philologer and orientalist in the North American Review, No. 217, for Oct., 1867, pp. 552, f. After asserting, in opposition to M. Oppert, "that the boundaries of Indo-European language have been approximately determined by the spread and migrations of a race," he adds, "Of course every sound and cautious linguistic scholar is mindful that language is no absolute proof of descent, but only its probable indication, and that he is not to expect to discover, in modern tongues, clear and legible proofs of the mixture which the peoples that speak them have undergone. Such a thing as a pure and unmixed race, doubtless, is not to be met with in the whole joint continent of Europe and Asia, whose restless tribes have been jostling and displacing one another for ages past. And especially in the case of a great stock like the Indo-European, which has spread so widely from a single point over countries which were not before uninhabited, there must have been absorptions of strange peoples, as well as extrusions and exterminations; one fragment after another must have been worked into the mass of the advancing race; and as the result of such gradual dilution, the ethnic character of some parts of the latter may, very probably, have been changed to a notable degree. These are the general probabilities of the case: how far we shall ever get beyond such an indefinite statement of them is at present very uncertain," etc.

The conclusion to be drawn from all these arguments and considerations appears to be that the original Sanskrit-speaking Indians were derived from the same stock as the Iranians, the Greeks, and the Romans, although possibly before their arrival in the Punjab, and most probably at a later period, they and their descendants have not remained free from an intermixture of alien blood.

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SECT. V.—*Reasons for supposing the Indians and Persians in particular to have a common origin*

I will now proceed to indicate the various grounds which exist for concluding that the Indians and the Persians, or Iranians, were not only descended from the same original stock, but that they continued to form one community even after the other kindred tribes had separated from them and migrated to distant regions.

The first proof is the closer affinity which, as we have already seen, subsists between the Zend, the language of the ancient Persians,[62] and the Sanskrit. From the examples of resemblance both in roots and inflections which have been adduced in Section II., it is manifest that, upon the whole, the Zend is more nearly related to the Sanskrit, than either the Greek or the Latin are. It is true that in the lists of parallel words which have been there brought forward, the parallel Zend words have been often omitted, while the Greek and Latin words have been adduced: but this does not arise from the Zend forms having had no existence, but either from their not having been discovered in any of the extant Zend texts, or from their not being readily accessible to me. But the Zend words which have been brought forward will be generally found to stand in a relation of closer resemblance to the Sanskrit than either the corresponding Greek or Latin words do. I subjoin some further comparative lists of Zend and Sanskrit vocables to which the Greek and Latin either offer no equivalents in form, or equivalents which generally bear a much more distant resemblance to the Sanskrit than the Zend words present. These lists, which contain a few repetitions, are the following:—

I. NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, ETC.

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*English.*
yebhyas	yaēibyo	to whom.
yadi[63]	yēdhi, yēzi	if.
mithuna	mithwan	a pair.
giribhyas	gairibyo	to hills.
ukta	aokhta	spoken.
strī	ŝtri	woman.
antar	añtarĕ	within.
dātāram	dātūrem	giver (acc.)
gaus	gūus	cow.

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*English.*
kas, kā, kim	ko, kā, kat[64]	who (mas. / fem, neut.)
kva	kva	where?
gharma.	gărĕma[65]	warm.
vṛitrahan, vṛitraghna	vĕrĕthrajan, vĕrĕthraghnya	slayer of enemies, victorious.
mantra	māthra	hymn, sacred text.
pāda	pādha	foot.

[62] For an account of the various old Iranian dialects, see Spiegel in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge zur verg. Sprachf., ii. 6, ff., and App., note D.

[63] In Greek, *ei*; in Latin, *si*.

[64] In Latin, *quis, quæ, quod*.

[65] In Greek, *thermos*.

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Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*English.*
padānām	pādhanaṅm	feet (gen. pl.).
ap	ap	water.
subhadra	hufĕdhṙi	very good, of good lineage.
turya	tūirya	fourth.
tritaya	thrishva	three, a third.
chatushṭhaya	chathrushu	four, a fourth.
atharvāṉam	āthravaneṁ	priest (acc.).
asmai	ahmūi	to him.
svar	hvarĕ	heaven, sun.
sva	hva	own.
jihvā	hizva	tongue.
sahasra	hazaṅra	thousand.
māhūntam	mazāoñtem	great (acc. masc.).
yūyam	yūzhem	you.
vāri	vairi	water, sea.
tánu	tanu	body.
śayānam	śayaneṁ	sleeping (acc.).
sapta sindhavas	hapta hiñdu	country of the seven rivers.
ārya	airya	respectable.
sōma	hōma	moon-plant.
anya	anya	other.
viśva	vīspa	all.
sarva	haurva	all.
upama	upama	highest.
ugra	ughra	vehement.
taruṇa	tauruna	tender.
savya	havya	left (side).
rajishṭha	razista	most straight.
dūra	dūra	far.
nedishṭa	nazdista	near.
śrīla	śrīra	beautiful.
prathama	fratĕma	first.
agra	aghra	first.
pūrva	paurva	former.
śyāva	śyāva	black.
kṛiśa	kereśa	lean.
sakṛit	hakereṭ	once.
āvis	āvish	manifest.
yama	yéma	twin.
andha	añdūo	blind.
antima	añtĕma	furthest, last.
esha	aēsha	this.
atra	athra	here.
adhara	adhara	lower.
arvan	aurvañṭ	horse.
spaś	spaś	spy, guardian.
drishṭi	darsti	view.
stuti	śtūiti	praise.
stotar	śtaotar	praiser.
sthūṇā	śtūna	pillar.
ratha	ratha	chariot.
gāthā	gātha	verse, poem.
pitu	pitu	food.
rai	rāi	wealth, glitter.
hiraṇya	zaranya	gold.

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*English.*
peśas	paēśaṅh	form.
ahan	azan	day.
śarad	śarĕdha	autumn, year.
asta, kshaya	asta, khshaya	house.
angushṭha	añgusta	thumb, finger.
vana	vana	forest, tree.
kaśyapa	kaśyapa	tortoise.
tamas	temaṅh	darkness.
bhūmī	būmi	earth.
mēsha	maēsha	sheep.
varāha	varāza	boar.
ukshan	ukhshan	bull.
kshīra	khshīra	milk.
ishu	ishu	arrow.
dhanvan	thanvana	bow.
bhāga	bāga	lot, fortune.
bhakta	bakhta	allotted, fate.
sakhi	hakhi	friend.
ojas	aojaṅh	vigour.
kshattra	khshathra	royalty, kingdom.
vaśa	vāśaṅh	power.
kṛishti	karsti	ploughing, cultivation.
praśna	frashna	question.
pārśhṇi	pāshna	heel.
dasta	zaśta	hand.
mushṭi	musti	fist.
grīvā	grīvă	neck.
pāṁśu	pāṁśnu	dust.
parśu	pĕrĕśu	rib.
matsya	maśya	fish.
parṇa	parĕna	feather, wing.
parṇin	pĕrĕnin	bird.
charman	charĕman	hide.
aśru	aśru	tear.
aṁśa	āśa	part.
vakshatha	vakhshatha	increase.
yakshma	yaśka	consumption, sickness.
adhvan	adhwan	road.
artha	arĕtha	object, profit.
anartha	anarĕtha	useless, wrong.
vyartha	vyarĕtha	vain, desecration.
amṛita	ameretāṭ	immortality.
dhānya	dāna	grain.
viś	vīś	people, tribe.
tāyu	tāyu	thief.
garbha	garĕwa	fœtus.
putra	puthra	son.
anta	añta	end.
kshudhā	shudha	hunger.
giri, parvata	gairi, paurvata	mountain.
visha	vis, visha	poison.
kanyā	kanyă	damsel.

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II.—VERBAL ROOTS AND FORMS.

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*English.*
rūj	rūz	to shine.
jush	zush	to love.
rud	rud	to weep.
ruh[66]	rud	to grow.
rudh	rud	to stop.
idh	id	to kindle.
śuch	śuch	to glow.
dharsh	darĕsh	to dare.
much	much	to loose.
muh[67]	mugh	to bewilder, be bewildered.
van	van	to love.
van	van	to smite.
gā	gā	to sing.
chi	chi	to gather.
chi+vi	chi+vi	to distinguish.
dru	dru	to run.
ram	ram	to rest.
gar (girati)	gar	to swallow.
gar (gṛiṇāti)	gar	to praise.
gar (jāgarti)	gar	to awake.
śiksh	śakhsh	to learn.
nī	nī	to lead.
var	var	to cover.
gam	gam	to go.
nam	nam	to bend.
khan	kan	to dig.
druh	druj	to injure, lie.
paś	pas	to bind.
dvish	dvish	to hate, offend.
dhan	dvān	to sound.
ish	ish	to wish.
kam	kam	to desire.
su	hu	to bring forth.
smar	mar	to remember.
sthā+ut	śtā+uś	to rise.
kart	karĕṭ	to cut.
dā	dā	to cut, divide.
jar	zar	to grow old.
ji	ji	to conquer.
bhī	bī	to fear, frighten.
karsh	karĕsh, kash	to draw.
bhaj	baz, bakhśh	to divide, bestow.
pā	pā	to protect.
pātar	pātar	protector.
trā	thrā	to deliver.
trātar	thrātar	deliverer.
ush	ush	to burn.
dah	daz	to burn.

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*English.*
īś	iś	to be powerful.
bandh	bañd	to bind.
badhnāmi	bañdāmi	I bind.
dādarśa	dādarĕsa	I saw.
vahāmi	vazāmi	I carry.
vahati	vazaiti	he carries.
vahanti	vazĕñti	they carry.[68]
vahantaḥ	vazeñto	carrying (nom. pl.).
bharati	baraiti	he carries.
bharanti	barĕñti	they carry.
pracharati	fracharaiti	he goes forward.
vicharanti	vīchareñti	they roam.
bhavati	bavaiti	he is.
bhavanti	bavañti, bavaiñti	they are.
bhavishyantam	būshyañtem	about to be.
dadāti	dadhāiti	he gives.
dadāmi	dadhāmi	I give.
dādmāsi	dādĕmahi	we give.
tāpayati	tāpayĕiti	he warms.
ātāpayati	ātāpayĕiti	he kindles or lights.
pradēśayeyam	frādaēśaêm	may I enjoin.
jagmushīm	jaghmūshīm	(acc. fem. perf. part. of gam, "to go")
stauti	śtaoiti	he praises.
staumi	śtaomi	I praise.
studhi	(avi) śtūidhi	praise thou.
astaut	śtaoṭ	he praised.
hanti	jaiñti	he kills.
hantu	jañtu	let him kill.
yaj	yăz	to sacrifice.
yajate	yazaitĕ	he sacrifices.
yajāmahe	yazamaidĕ	we sacrifice.
yajante	yazeñtĕ	they sacrifice.
prīṇāmi	ăfrīnāmi	I love, vow.
prīṇīmasi	frīnāmahi	we love.
veda	vaēdā	I know.
veda	vaēdā, vaēdha	he knows.
vettha	vōiśtā	thou knowest.
vidyāt	vīdyāt	he may know.
vidvān	vīdvāo, vīdhvao	knowing, wise.
vindanti	viñdeñti	they find.
avāmi	avūmi	I protect.
kshayasi	khshayĕhi	thou rulest.
vashṭi	vasti	he desires.

[66] Probably softened from an original form *rudh*.

[67] Probably from an original form *mugh*.

[68] In Justi's Dictionary *s.v. vaz*, I find a form *vazadhyāi*, which would answer exactly to a vedic Sanskrit form *vahadhyai*, supposing the verb *vah* to form the infinitive in that way, which, however, is not the case.

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Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*English.*	*Sanskrit.*	*Zend.*	*English.*
asmi	ahmi	I am.	santaḥ	heñto	being (nom.
asi	ahi	thou art.	kṛiṇomi (vedic)	kerenaomi	I do. [pl.)
asti	aṡti	he is.	kṛiṇoshi	kerenūishi	thou dost.
santi	heñti	they are.	kṛiṇoti	kerenaoiti	he does.
astu[69]	aṡtu	let him be.	kṛiṇvanti	kerenvaiñti	they do.
santu	heñtū	let them be.	kṛiṇavāni	kerenavāni	may I do.
santam	heñtem	being (acc. sing.).	kṛiṇuhi	kerenūidhi	do thou.
			akṛiṇot	kerenaot	he did.

With the preceding lists should be compared the comparative tables of Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin, as well as of Sanskrit and Persian words given above in pp. 220, ff., and 230, ff., which will contribute to supply their deficiencies. Many Persian words will be found in the latter tables (p. 220, ff.), which in form closely resemble the Sanskrit terms, having the same signification, while on the other hand there are in numerous instances no Greek or Latin terms which closely correspond to the same Sanskrit words both in sound and in sense. Now, if even the modern Persian language, notwithstanding the many modifications it has undergone from diverse influences throughout a long course of centuries, can still supply so large a number of words which so closely resemble the Sanskrit terms, we may safely conclude that the Zend, one of the forms of the early Persian (which was the ancient medium, or akin to the ancient medium,[70] through which the modern Persian derived all the Arian words which it possesses), must itself have contained a far larger number of words bearing a very much closer resemblance to the Sanskrit, even although many of these may not be discoverable in any extant Zend texts.

These views receive confirmation from the following remarks of Professor Müller in his "Last Results of the Persian Researches," pp. 111, 112:—

"It is clear from his (M. E. Burnouf's works) and from Bopp's valuable remarks in his Comparative Grammar, that Zend in its grammar and dictionary is nearer to Sanskrit than any other Indo-European language. Many Zend words can be re-translated into Sanskrit simply

[69] Greek *estō*.

[70] I learn from Prof. Kern of Leyden's recent dissertation on the antiquity of castes (Indische Theorieën over de Standenverdeeling, Amsterdam, 1871), that he has "already on another occasion shown that the Neo-Persian does not descend directly from the old-Persian of the Achæmenidæ, but is a dialect occupying a place intermediate between the West and East Iranian languages." No further reference is given to the place where this essay is to be found.

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by changing the Zend into their corresponding forms in Sanskrit. . . . Where Sanskrit differs in words or grammatical peculiarities from the northern members of the Arian family, it frequently coincides with Zend. The numerals are the same in all these languages up to 100. The name for thousand, however (*sahasra*) is peculiar to Sanskrit, and does not occur in any of the Indo-European dialects except in Zend, where it becomes *hazanra*. . . . . These facts are full of historical meaning; and with regard to Zend and Sanskrit, they prove that these two languages continued together long after they were separated from the common Indo-European stock."

The second argument in support of the proposition I have undertaken to prove is, that both of the nations in question, viz., the Indians and the Persians, apply to themselves, in their earliest written records, the same name of Āryas.

The Vedas are, as I have already shown, the oldest of all the Indian books. They are, therefore, not only the most authentic source of information in regard to the earliest language of the Indians, but there is every probability that they would preserve more distinct and exact traces of their primeval history than we find in the other Śāstras, which were composed at a later period, when the most genuine traditions of the origin of the race had been obscured and corrupted. From the Vedic hymns accordingly it does, in fact, appear more distinctly than from any other of the Indian writings, that the progenitors of the Hindus were originally called Āryas. We find this name applied to the forefathers of the higher classes among the Indians (in contradistinction to the Dasyus, who appear to have been a people of a different race, and to have been settled in India before the Āryas), in such passages of the Vedas as the following: Rigveda i. 51, 8, "Distinguish between the Āryas and those who are Dasyus; chastizing those who observe no sacred rites, subject them to the sacrificer." R. V. i. 103, 3, "Indra, thunderer, who knowest [both], hurl thy shaft against the Dasyu, and augment the might and glory of the Ārya."[71]

By means of this word Ārya, then, we are able to connect the early Hindus with the early Persians. For, first, it appears that in ancient times the Medes also (who were eventually included in one empire

[71] The original passages, with many other similar ones, will be cited further on.

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with the Persians)[72] bore the name of Arians. This is clear from the following passage of the ancient Greek historian Herodotus, who narrated the wars of the Greeks and Persians. In the seventh book of his history, sect. 62, we have the following statement:—*Ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἄριοι· ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἐς τοὺς Ἀρίους τούτους, μετέβαλον καὶ οὗτοι τὸ οὔνομα· αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ σφέων ὧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι.* "They (the Medes) were formerly called Arians by all. But when the Colchian Medea arrived among these Arians from Athens, they also changed their name. The Medians say these things of themselves." A nation or tribe bearing the name of Arians is mentioned by Herodotus in sect. 66 of the same book. *Ἄριοι δὲ τόξοισι μὲν ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν Μηδικοῖσι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατάπερ Βάκτριοι· Ἀρίων δὲ ἦρχε Σισάμνης.* "The Arii were armed with Median bows, but in other respects like the Bactrians. The Arii were commanded by Sisamnes." These last mentioned Arians appear to have dwelt in the neighbourhood of Herat. (See Bähr's Herod. iii. 93, and vii. 62.) A tribe bearing a similar name is mentioned by the same author as paying 300 talents tribute along with the Parthians, Chorasmians, and Sogdians: *Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμιοι καὶ Σόγδοι τε καὶ Ἄρειοι τριακόσια τάλαντα* (iii. 93). The same people are mentioned by Arrian (iii. 8, 4) as forming part of the army of Darius: *Σατιβαρζάνης δὲ ὁ Ἀρείων σατράπης Ἀρείους ἦγε.* The Arizanti are specified, Herod. i. 101, as one of the seven Median tribes. In Herodotus we further find several proper names which are compounded with the word Arius; thus, vii. 67, the commander of the Kaspians is called Ariomardus. In the 78th chapter of the same book, another person of the same name, and son of Darius, is mentioned. In other

[72] On the mutual relations of the Medes and Persians the following remarks are made by Mr. Rawlinson, in his Herodotus, vol. i. p. 401: "That the Medes were a branch of the great Arian family, closely allied both in language and religion to the Persians, another Arian tribe, seems now to be generally admitted. The statement of Herodotus with regard to the original Median appellation, combined with the native traditions of the Persians which brought their ancestors from Aria, would, perhaps, alone suffice to establish this ethnic affinity. Other proofs, however, are not wanting. The Medes are invariably called Arians by the Armenian writers; and Darius Hystaspes, in the inscription upon his tomb, declared himself to be 'a Persian, the son of a Persian, an Arian, of Arian descent.' Thus it appears that the ethnic appellative of Arian appertains to the two nations equally; and there is every reason to believe that their language and religion were almost identical."

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passages of the same writer and other ancient authors (viz. Xenophon, Polybius, Arrian, and Quintus Curtius), such names as Ariabignes, Ariaramnes, Ariaces, Ariaius, Arimazes and Ariarathes (= Āryaratha), are assigned to Persians. The word *Ἄριον*, which occurs in the ancient Greek dramatist Æschylus, Choephoroi, verse 423 (*ἔκοψα κομμὸν Ἄριον*, etc., "I have chaunted a Persian dirge"), is interpreted by the scholiast on the passage as equivalent to *Περσικόν*, "Persian."

But, further, it is not only in the Greek authors that we find the name of Arians applied to the Medes or Persians; in the most ancient books of the Zoroastrian religion also, which are composed in the Zend language, the same word, as a designation of the early Persians, is of frequent occurrence. I give, in a somewhat abridged form, Professor Spiegel's abstract of the evidence which exists of the common origin of the Indians and Persians, as the most recent and complete of which I am aware. (See his translation of the Avesta, vol. i. Introduction, pp. 4, ff.) One part of this evidence is their common name of Ārya.

"Ethnography, supported by her two handmaids, physiology and philology, has in recent times demonstrated that a single race (the Indo-Germanic) has spread its branches over the whole space from India to the most westerly point of Europe. The most highly gifted and civilized nations, both of the ancient and modern world, are all derived from this stock; viz., the Indians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germans, Slavonians, and perhaps also the Celts. All these nations are branches of one single original family, whose abodes have not yet been certainly determined, and perhaps will never be ascertained in a way to preclude all dispute; but it is probable that, in the earliest times, all these races dwelt together as one people, on the elevated table-land of central Asia. The emigration of this people from their original seats, and their separation into different branches, are events which lie anterior to all history. Faint indications of the degree of culture possessed by these tribes before their separation may be derived from the terms for particular conceptions which have remained common to them all; and the amount of their knowledge is not to be estimated too low. If the state had not been organized by them, the family, at least, had been already regulated, as is proved by the community of the words designating relationships. We find names common to them for the different kinds of cattle, and for different

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implements of husbandry. Their conceptions of the gods on the contrary, seem to have continued to be of the most general character.[73]

"But in addition to this possession by the whole Indo-Germanic race of particular words, there exists a closer relationship between single members of this family. This closer relationship is to be explained by the fact, that some of these races continued to live together even after the others had separated from them. Thus, for example, the Greeks and Romans have much that is common to both in their languages and in their ideas, which cannot be explained by their original relationship. But in no instance is this affinity more striking or intimate than between the Indians and the Persians. These two branches must have lived long together after quitting their common cradle, as is clearly proved by linguistic and mythological considerations. The three dialects of ancient Persian with which we are acquainted, viz., that of the Cuneiform Inscriptions, that of the second part of the Yaśna, and the language of the remaining portions of the Avesta, have all such a close affinity to the oldest Indian language, the Sanskrit, as exhibited in the Vedas, that they might almost be all called dialects of one and the same language. Other grounds, particularly of a mythological character, speak no less strongly in proof of the two tribes (Indians and Persians) having adhered long to each other. It is of especial importance that they both call themselves by the same name. Ārya, signifying 'honourable,' in ordinary speech, and derived from arya, which means 'lord' in the Vedas, is the most usual and the most ancient name of the Indian people. (R.V. i. 51, 8, and Sāmaveda, i. 1, 1, 5, 3.) Among the Indians the term Mlechha, which denotes an impure barbarian, is the opposite of Ārya. The same is the case among the Persians. According to the Persian laws of euphony, ārya had to be changed to airya, a name which the Persians long applied to themselves, and out of which the more modern

[73] See Kuhn's Dissertation in Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 321, ff. The elaborate work of M. Adolphe Pictet, above quoted (pp. 258, 266, ff.), has for its object to discover, by a comparison of the primitive words common to all the Arian nations, what was their original and common country, and what the condition of the parent nation as regarded its civilization and its intellectual and religious culture before the separation of the several branches. The first volume, relating to the ethnography, geography, and natural history of the country, appeared in 1859; and the second, treating of the material civilization, the social condition, and the intellectual, moral, and religious life of the Āryas, was published in 1863.

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Irān has arisen; a name, too, with which Herodotus had become acquainted. To this word airya, another word, anairya, non-iranic, is opposed.

"It is, however, established that this original Arian race, from which, at a later period, the Indians and Persians separated themselves, cannot have lived as one community either in India or in Persia. We must regard it as demonstrated that the Indians who spoke Sanskrit were not autochthonous in Hindustan. The oldest seats of the Indians of which we find any mention made are to be placed in the Panjāb. In the First Fargard of the Vendidad, verse 73, a country called Hapta Hendu, or India, is mentioned, which, in the Cuneiform Inscriptions, is called Hidus. It was not understood for a long time what was signified by Hapta Hendu, Seven-Indias, but the Vedas have explained this name. In the Vedic hymns we find the name Sapta-Sindhavas, the seven rivers, still employed to designate the country of the Indians.[74] From the Panjāb, the Indians, as their later books testify, advanced further towards the east; first, as far as the Sarasvatī; after which, they spread themselves over the whole of northern India; and only at a late period into the south of the peninsula. The Persian legends conduct us with the same distinctness to a primeval country in the north."

We shall shortly have to return to this question, and inquire what were the primeval seats of the Arians. In the mean time, I revert to the affinities of the Persians and Indians.

The third proof of this which I have to adduce is, the coincidences which are discoverable in the ancient mythologies of the two nations. On this subject, Professor Spiegel proceeds, pp. 6, ff.:—"We have already said that the different branches of the Arian family had but few words in common connected with theology. The most widely diffused term is the general designation of God as 'the shining,' formed from the ancient root, 'div' or 'dyu' 'to shine.' From this is derived the Sanskrit 'deva,' the Latin 'deus,' the Lithuanian 'dievas,' the German 'zio' and 'tyr,' the Greek Ζεύς, and also Jupiter from 'Diespiter.' The old Persian 'daēva' belongs to the same root, but has (on what grounds we shall presently discover) a somewhat different signification. More intimate mythological affinities are only to be found between

[74] Spiegel, Avesta, vol. i. p. 66, note 3.

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particular branches of the Indo-Germanic family, as between the Greeks and Romans, and especially between the Indians and Persians. A number of personages found in the Veda correspond in name with others in the Avesta, and must originally have been completely identical, though in the course of events, it has naturally occurred that this similarity has become more or less effaced. One personage whose identity was the first to attract attention, is the Yama of the Indians [the son of Vivasvat], the Yima of the Persians [who is the son of Vīvaṅhvant]. In the Vedas and Upanishads we already meet with Yama as the king of the dead. He inhabits a particular world, where he has assembled the immortals around him. Among the ancient Indians his world is not a place of terrors, but its expanses are full of light, and the abodes of happiness, pleasure, and rapture.[75] In Irān, Yima is a fortunate monarch, under whose rule there was neither death nor sickness. After he has for some time continued to diffuse happiness and immortality, he is obliged to withdraw with his attendants to a more contracted space, on account of the calamities which threaten the world. Here lies, according to my view, the point of connexion between the two legends. The Indian regards Yama simply as the king of the dead, or, at least, of the blessed: the Persian limits the number of the blessed to a determinate number, who are selected to live with Yima.

"A second renowned personage in the Persian heroic poetry, who also occurs in the Vedas, is Thraêtaŏno, the descendant of Athwya, the Frēdun, or Feridun of a later period, with whom the Trita of the Veda is connected. Trita is the son of Āptya, and, according to the Vedic accounts, he fights with a serpent, and smites a three-headed dragon with seven tails, and liberates the cattle. Quite similarly, Thraêtaŏno destroys a pestilent serpent with three heads, three girdles, six tails, and a thousand powers.

"A third personage, who can be pointed out in both the Indian and Persian mythology, is Sāma Kereśāśpa, the man of heroic temper, and the same as the Kṛiśaśva of the Indians, who, it is true, has not yet been discovered in the Veda, but who was known to the Indian

[75] See R.V. ix. 113, 7–11, quoted by Roth in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 426, ff. The original passage will be given in the App. note E.

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grammarian Pāṇini, and is frequently named in the Purāṇas as a warlike ṛishi. (Rāmāy. i. 23, 12, Schleg.; i. 31, 10, Gorres.)

"To these three personages may now be added a fourth, Kava Uś, or the Kāvya Uśanas of the Vedas. This is the perṣon called Kāus at a later period in the Persian legends. Unfortunately, the stories of Kava Uś are so few and so brief, that I can scarcely venture to indicate their connexion more in detail. (See Weber Vāja.-S. Spec. II. 68, note.)

"In addition to this identity of personages, we find also that the Indians and Persians have some important ceremonies in common. We shall here only mention two, though a closer examination of the Persian liturgy will no doubt bring others to light. The first is the Soma or Homa offering. (See also vol. ii. of Spiegel's Avesta, p. 69.) In both the Indian and the Persian religions, soma, or haŏma, which is identical with it, is the name of a plant, the juice of which is pressed out and drunk, with certain religious forms; and in both religions Soma is also a god.[76] Soma and Haoma have also a great number of epithets common to them, which clearly show how short a period had elapsed since the Persian and Indian adherents of this worship had become separated from each other."

The Indians and Persians have also at least one of their deities in common, viz., Mitra.

"In the Veda, (says Dr. F. Windischmann, Mithra, pp. 54, 56, and 63) Mitra occurs as the son of Aditi (boundless space), and hence parallel with the sun, and stands almost always inseparably associated with Varuṇa. He appears to belong to a race of gods who are already disappearing, and has resigned a portion of his functions to Indra. In the Veda Mitra is the light, while Varuṇa is to be understood of the sky, especially the nocturnal sky. The connexion of Mitra and Varuna in the Veda is analogous to that of Mithra and Vayu in the Zend texts. Mithra is thus an ancient national god of the Arians; and the character under which he is represented in the Zend Avesta has many points of resemblance to the Vedic Mitra, though it has also essential differences of Zoroastrian origin. Aryaman, who is to be understood of the sun, appears, in R.V. i. 36, 4,

[76] See Windischmann, Ueber den Somacultus der Arier: and App. note F.

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and elsewhere, along with Mitra and Varuṇa. His name signifies companion or friend, and he also occurs in the Zend texts." [77]

I proceed with my quotation from Professor Spiegel's Introduction, i. 8: Secondly, "The reception of neophytes into the sacred society is performed among both peoples, the Persians and the Indians, by investing them with a girdle or thread. In the case of a Brāhman the investiture is to be performed in the eighth year after his birth or conception, in the case of a Kshatriya in the eleventh, and of a Vaiśya in the twelfth. But the period of investiture for a Brāhman has not finally expired till his sixteenth year, for a Kshatriya till his twenty-second, or for a Vaiśya till his twenty-fourth.[78] After the investiture, the teacher is to instruct the pupil in reading the Vedas, and in the rites of purification. (Manu, ii. 69; Yājñavalkya, i. 15.) Up to his seventh year the Parsee is incapable of doing any evil; and if he does anything wrong, the blame of it falls on his parents. In India he is invested with the Kosti or sacred girdle in his seventh

[77] Professor Spiegel, in his note to the 22nd Fargard, vol. i. p. 266, says of the last-named god,—"It is to be lamented that the god who is here designated by the name of Airyama occurs but seldom, and is but briefly noticed in the Avesta; for he is unquestionably the ancient Indo-Germanic deity, who is mentioned in the Vedas under the name of Aryaman;" but subsequently, on maturer consideration, retracted this opinion. In Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge zur Vergl. Sprachf. i. 131, ff., he says: "I have in my note on Vend. xxii. 23 (p. 266), regarded the Airyama of the last chapter as the Vedic Aryaman. This comparison is only in part correct. It is true that, letter for letter, Airyama is the Sanskrit Aryaman, and therefore the phonetic affinity cannot be doubted. It does not, however, follow that the signification must therefore be the same. If, as is supposed by many, the Iranians had issued from the bosom of the Indian people, if the entire culture of the Indians, as exhibited in the Vedas, had been the basis of theirs, this assumption would be less questionable. But according to my view such is not the case, but the separation of the two nations took place before (though, perhaps, not long before) the Vedic period. The question thus arises whether—supposing both nations to have already had the word Aryaman—we are to assume that the conception of the god Aryaman had been already formed. The word occurs in several places in the second part of the Yaśna, where, however, the context does not justify us in explaining it as a proper name." Spiegel then goes on to state his opinion that in the last chapter of the Vendidad Airyama is not to be understood of a god, but merely as denoting a particular prayer in which that word occurs, and which Ahura Mazda discovers to be more efficacious in healing sickness than another sacred text to which he had first had recourse.

[78] Aśvalāyana Gṛihya-Sūtra, i. 20:—*Ashṭame varshe brāhmaṇam upanayed garbhāshṭame vā | ekādaśe kshatriyaṁ dvādaśe vaiśyam | ā shoḍaśād brāhmaṇasya anatītaḥ kālaḥ ā dvāviṁśāt kshatriyasya ā chaturviṁśād vaiśyasya—ataḥ ūrddhvam patita-sāvitrīkāḥ bhavanti |*

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year; among the Parsees who live in Kirman, the ceremony is postponed till the tenth year. From the seventh to the tenth year, half the blame of the offences which the child commits falls upon his parents. With his tenth year the boy, according to the view of the Ravaets, enters formally into the community of the Parsees; according to other books, the fifteenth year appears to be that in which he is admitted into religious fellowship.

"All these traces of a common development which we have just pointed out between the Indians and the Persians have their origin, of course, in a pre-historical period, when both nations lived together undivided. Traces can also be discovered which lead to the conclusion that the separation of these two races was occasioned, in part at least, by religious causes.[79] Even if it have been accidental that Ahura, the highest god of the Persians, was, under the designation of Asura,[80] reckoned among evil spirits by the later Indians, it can scarcely have happened by chance that the Devas of the Indians have, under the name of Daēvas, been transformed into evil spirits and allies of Angra Mainyus; that Indra, the highest god of the earliest Hinduism, is, in like mannner, banished to hell; and that Sarva occurs as an evil spirit, while the Indians have considered this name worthy to be a designation of Siva, one of the three highest deities of the later form of their religion.[81] The conjecture is therefore not unnatural

[79] In his second volume, however, Professor Spiegel adds, on this subject, the following reservation:—"In the first volume I have alluded to a religious alienation; but too much importance is not to be ascribed to this view, and no adventurous hypotheses should be built upon it. Even without the assumption of a religious alienation, it is quite conceivable how gods, who were held in honour by the one people, should be degraded to the infernal regions by the other. . . . . That which gives probability to the assumption of an actual alienation between the Indians and the Iranians on account of their religious conceptions, is the fact that the number of these opposing conceptions is not inconsiderable," pp. cix. cx. On the same subject Dr. Justi writes in the introduction to his Handbook of the Zend Language, p. v;—"The nature-religion derived from the primeval days of the Arian race vanished before the new doctrine (of Zaratushtra), and its deities shared the fate of so many heathen divinities, which Christianity thrust down into hell."

[80] "Derived from *asu* = *prajnā*, 'wisdom,' in the Nighaṇṭus. The word *asura* has also a good sense in Vedic Sanskrit; it means *sarveshām prāṇadah*. Comp. Sāyana on R.V. xxxv. 7, 10." Compare my article "On the Interpretation of the Veda" in the Journal R.A.S. for 1866, p. 376, ff., and Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, s.v. *Asura*.

[81] See, however, the fifth volume of this work, p. 121, where it is stated, on the

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that religious differences may have been one of the grounds of separation. Still, even after their separation, the Indians and Persians did not remain without some knowledge of each other's progress. They were not too far separated to render this possible; and the Vendidad (i. 74) still shows an acquaintance with India under the name of Hapta-Hendu, i.e. Sapta Sindhavaḥ, the land of the seven rivers, which was a designation of the Vedic India."

On the same subject Professor Müller remarks: "Still more striking is the similarity between Persia and India in religion and mythology. Gods unknown to any Indo-European nation are worshipped under the same names in Sanskrit and Zend; and the change of some of the most sacred expressions in Sanskrit into names of evil spirits in Zend only serves to strengthen the conviction that we have here the usual traces of a schism which separated a community that had once been united." (Last Results of Persian Researches, p. 112; "Chips," i. 83.)

From the three-fold argument above stated,—drawn (1st) from the striking similarity between the Sanskrit and Zend, (2nd) from the common name of Ārya, applied to themselves by both the Indians and the Iranians, and (3rd) from the coincidences between the religion and mythology of these two nations,—I conceive that a powerful confirmation is derived to the conclusion which I have been endeavouring to establish, namely, the common origin of all the nations to which the name of Indo-European has been applied. If even from philological considerations alone we are entitled to assume the descent of the Indians, Iranians, Greeks, and Romans, from the same common ancestors, our general conclusion is greatly strengthened when we can (in the case of two of these nations) add to the arguments founded on language, the further evidence derivable from community of name, and, to a certain extent, of tradition and of mythology.

authority of Professor Spiegel, that the materials afforded by the Zend books are not sufficient to afford a basis for any positive conclusions in reference to the god Andra, and his relation to the Vedic Indra. See also the note in the same page.

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SECT. VI.—*Was India the primitive country of the Aryas and Indo-European races?*

As we have been led by the preceding investigation to conclude (1) that the Sanskrit, the Zend, the Greek, and the Latin languages must all have had a common origin; (2) that the races also who employed these several languages were all branches, more or less pure, of one great family; and (3) that consequently the ancestors of these different branches must at one time have lived together as one nation in one country:—we have now to determine, if possible, what that country was. First, then, was India the common cradle of the Indo-Germanic races, and did the other branches of that great family all migrate westward from Hindustan, while the Indo-Arians remained in their primeval abodes? or, secondly, are we to assume some other country as the point from which the several sections of the race issued forth in different directions to the various countries which they eventually occupied?

Mr. A. Curzon maintains[62] the first of these two theories, viz., that India was the original country of the Arian family, from which its different branches emigrated to the north-west, and in other directions.

The opinion that the Arians are a people of an origin foreign to the soil of India, which they are presumed to have invaded and conquered, imposing their religion and institutions on the so-called aborigines, is rejected by him as one founded on very insufficient data, and as resting on no well-established historical grounds. He thinks that it is a course opposed to the evidence of facts based on the results of comparative philology to maintain that the barbarous aboriginal tribes of India, destitute of written records, traditional religious system, or well-defined institutions, can be more ancient than the Arian Hindus, the possessors of an early civilization. These rude tribes may, in his opinion, have sprung from some of the barbaric hordes, who, under the name of Śakas, Hūnas, etc., are mentioned by Sanskrit writers as having invaded India, and who, after their defeat, may have taken refuge in the hills and forests of Hindustan.

Reviewing the different possible suppositions as to the way in which the Arians may have entered India, Mr. Curzon infers (1) that they could not have entered from the west, because it is clear that the people who lived in that direction were descended from these very

[62] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xvi. pp. 172–200.

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Arians of India;—such descent being proved by the fact that the oldest forms of their language have been derived from the Sanskrit (to which they stand in a relation analogous to that in which the Pāli and Prākṛit stand), and by the circumstance that a portion of their mythology is borrowed from that of the Indo-Arians. Nor (2) could the Arians, in his opinion, have entered India from the north or north-west, because we have no proof from history or philology that there existed any civilized nation with a language and religion resembling theirs which could have issued from either of those quarters at that early period and have created the Indo-Arian civilization. It was equally impossible (3) that the Arians could have arrived in India from the east, as the only people who occupied the countries lying in that direction (the Chinese) are quite different in respect of language, religion, and customs from the Indians, and have no genealogical relations with them. In like manner (4) the Indians could not have issued from the table-land of Thibet in the north-east, as, independently of the great physical barrier of the Himālaya, the same ethnical difficulty applies to this hypothesis as to that of their Chinese origin. And (5) the Indians cannot be of Semitic or Egyptian descent, because the Sanskrit contains no words of Semitic origin, and differs totally in structure from the Semitic dialects, with which, on the contrary, the language of Egypt appears, rather, to exhibit an affinity. And (6) "no monuments, no records, no tradition of the Arians having ever originally occupied, as Arians, any other seat than the plains to the south-west of the Himalayan chain, bounded by the two seas defined by Manu (memorials such as exist in the histories of other nations who are known to have migrated from their primitive abodes), can be found in India." Mr. Curzon (7) regards as illogical the inference, that because the Arians spread at an early period to the south of India, as they did also to the west and north-west, they must have originally issued from some unknown region to invade and conquer India itself. In the same way, he urges, it might be argued that the Romans invaded Italy from some unascertained quarter (instead of springing from one region of Italy), because they extended their dominion to the south, as well as in other directions. In explanation of their movements, he quotes the passage of Manu, ii. 17, ff. (which will be hereafter given at length), and assumes, in accordance with the indications which it affords, that the

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earliest seat of Indian civilization was in Brahmāvartta; and that the Arians, as they increased in numbers and advanced in social progress, gradually moved forward to the central region called Madhyadeśa, and eventually to Āryāvartta, the tract between the Himālaya and the Vindhya, extending from the eastern to the western sea. Mr. Curzon admits the existence of a non-Arian people and nationality, viz., the Tamulian in the south, which he conceives may have been in course of formation contemporaneously with the rise of the Arian community in the north; though he thinks that there is nothing to indicate that the Tamulians, or the hill tribes, or any other indigenous race, were ever in possession of Āryāvartta (the country north of the Vindhya) before its occupation by the Arians.

His conclusion (founded on the assumption that all the languages of the Arian family have been framed from a Sanskrit basis, and are only modified and corrupted forms of what was once the original tongue of the Arian race of India) is therefore the following, viz., that either (1) the nations whose speech is derived from Sanskrit have sprung from the gradual dispersion of the ancient Arian race of India, such dispersion being occasioned by political or religious causes, issuing in the expulsion from India of the defeated parties, and their settlement in different unoccupied countries chiefly to the westward; or (2) that the Arians invaded the countries to the west and north-west of India, and conquered the various tribes inferior to themselves, who were there in possession, imposing upon them their own institutions and language. Of these two alternative suppositions, he conceives the latter to have the greater probability in its favour. As regards the time when the Arian advance in a westerly direction took place, he thinks that "it was subsequently to their extension over this territory [the Dekhan] and its occupation, which may be regarded as the third era in their history, when the Arians had attained an advanced state of civilization, when the Vedas had been composed, and a national system of religion established; when the Brahmanical hierarchy had been formed, the Arian tongue cultivated, and codes of law compiled; when tribes had separated under particular princes, and founded different governments in various parts of the country; when religious schisms had begun to arise, anti-Brahmanical sects had increased, political dissensions and civil war had spread their effects—

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that the migrations in a westerly and north-westerly direction which terminated in the extension of the Arian tongue over the geographical zone,"_[including Ariana, Persia, Armenia, Phrygia, Greece, Italy, Germany, etc. etc.], which he had "pointed out, took place."

I have stated the opinion of Mr. Curzon on this question, together with his arguments, in considerable detail, as it represents the view to which the Indian reader will, no doubt, incline as the most reasonable (see above, p. 259); and it is therefore only fair that all that can be urged in its behalf should be fully stated.

Before discussing Mr. Curzon's hypothesis, I shall adduce the statement given by Mr. Elphinstone (History of India, vol. i., p. 95, ff., 1st edition) on the same subject. It will be seen that after reviewing the arguments on both sides, this distinguished author leaves it undecided whether the Hindus sprang from a country external to Hindustan, or were autochthonous.

"On looking back to the information collected from the Code [of Manu] we observe the three twice-born classes forming the whole community embraced by the law, and the Sudras in a servile and degraded condition. Yet it appears that there are cities governed by Sudra kings, in which Brahmins are advised not to reside (chap. iv. 61), and that there are 'whole territories inhabited by Sudras, overwhelmed with atheists, and deprived of Brahmins' (chap. viii. 22). The three twice-born classes are directed invariably to dwell in the country between the Himawat and the Vindya Mountains, from the eastern to the western ocean. But though the three chief classes are confined to this tract, a Sudra distressed for subsistence may dwell where he chooses (chap. ii. 21–24). It seems impossible not to conclude from all this that the twice-born men were a conquering people; that the servile class were the subdued aborigines; and that the independent Sudra towns were in such of the small territories, into which Hindostan was divided, as still retained their independence, while the whole of the tract beyond the Vindya Mountains remained as yet untouched by the invaders, and unpenetrated by their religion. A doubt, however, soon suggests itself whether the conquerors were a foreign people, or a local tribe, like the Dorians in Greece; or whether, indeed, they were not merely a portion of one of the native states (a religious sect, for instance) which had outstripped their

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fellow-citizens in knowledge, and approp ated all the advantages of the society to themselves.

"The different appearance of the higher classes from the Sudras, which is so observable to this day, might incline us to think them foreigners; but without entirely denying this argument (as far at least as relates to the Brahmins and Cshetriyas), we must advert to some considerations which greatly weaken its force.

"The class most unlike the Brahmins are the Chandalas, who are nevertheless originally the offspring of a Brahmin mother, and who might have been expected to have preserved their resemblance to their parent stock, as, from the very lowness of their caste, they are prevented mixing with any race but their own.[83] Difference of habits and employments is, of itself, sufficient to create as great a dissimilarity as exists between the Brahmin and the Sudra; and the hereditary separation of professions in India would contribute to keep up and to increase such a distinction.

"It is opposed to their foreign origin, that neither in the Code [of Manu], nor, I believe, in the Vedas, nor in any book that is certainly older than the Code, is there any allusion to a prior residence, or to a knowledge of more than the name of any country out of India. Even mythology goes no further than the Himalaya chain, in which is fixed the habitation of the gods.

"The common origin of the Sanskrit language with those of the West leaves no doubt that there was once a connexion between the nations by whom they are used; but it proves nothing regarding the place where such a connexion subsisted, nor about the time, which might have been in so early a stage of their society as to prevent its throwing any light on the history of the individual nations. To say that it spread from a central point is a gratuitous assumption, and even contrary to analogy; for emigration and civilization have not spread in a circle, but from east to west. Where, also, could the central point be, from which a language could spread over India, Greece, and Italy, and yet leave Chaldea, Syria, and Arabia untouched?

[83] [See the first volume of this work, 2nd edition, p. 481, and Manu x. 12, there quoted. It is clear, however, that we are not to take these accounts of the formation of the different castes, written at a time when the Brahmanical system was fully developed, and in the interest of its defenders, as furnishing the true history of their origin. See Lassen, Ind. Ant., 1st ed., i. 407, and 2nd ed., pp. 485, f.—J. M.]

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"The question, therefore, is still open. There is no reason whatever for thinking that the Hindus ever inhabited any country but their present one; and as little for denying that they may have done so before the earliest trace of their records or traditions." [84]

Mr. Elphinstone then proceeds to explain how he thinks castes may have originated.

Sect. VII.—*Central Asia the cradle of the Arians: opinions of Schlegel, Lassen, Benfey, Müller, Spiegel, Renan, and Pictet.*

These views of Mr. Curzon, of which I have given a summary in the preceding section, are opposed to the general consent of European scholars. A. W. von Schlegel, Lassen, Benfey, Müller, Weber, Roth, Spiegel, Renan, and Pictet, however differing on other points, all concur in this, that the cradle of the Indians, as well as of the other branches of the Indo-Germanic race, is to be sought for in some country external to India.

I shall proceed to give some extracts from the writings of these eminent authors; and shall finish with a summary of the arguments which seem to carry most weight in favour of the conclusion which they have adopted.

The first authority whom I shall cite is A. W. von Schlegel, who, in an essay "On the Origin of the Hindus," [85] systematically discusses the question under consideration in all its bearing. He treats of the migratory movements of ancient nations, of the traditions of the Hindus regarding their own origin, of the diversities of races, of the physiological character of the Hindus and of the indigenous Indian tribes, of the bearing of comparative philology on the history of nations, on the relations of the Arian languages to each other, and finally deduces the results to which he is led by the convergence of all these various lines of investigation. As I have already treated at length of some of these subjects, I shall only cite two passages, the first of which furnishes a reply to Mr. Curzon's argument against

[84] See Appendix, note G.

[85] *De l'Origine des Hindous*, published originally in the second volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, London, 1834; and reprinted in his *Essais Littéraires et Historiques*, Bonn, 1842.

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the immigration of the Hindus from any foreign region, drawn from the absence of any national tradition to that effect. It is as follows:—

"In inquiring into the birth-place of any people, and into the route by which, and the period at which, they have travelled to their present abodes, we are naturally tempted, first of all, to interrogate the popular tradition on these points: but if we do so, it may easily happen that either no answer at all, or a false one, will be obtained. An illiterate people, ignorant of writing, which has adopted a stationary life, after a long and arduous migration, might, after a few centuries, easily lose all recollection of its change of habitation: or, if certain vestiges of such a change were preserved, it might be impossible for a people so circumstanced to indicate with precision the point of departure; as for this purpose a general knowledge of the shape of continents and of seas would be necessary. It has often happened that tribes in a barbarous state have emigrated, either impelled by necessity, or to avoid some powerful neighbour. The utmost that such tribes could do might be to direct their journey with tolerable exactness according to the four cardinal points: shaping their course so as to avoid any unexpected difficulties which might arise, they would suffer themselves to be guided by chance; and their only measure of distance would be the fatigue and the duration of their march." (Essais, p. 444.)

The following is the passage in which Schlegel sums up the results of his researches:—

"If we admit (and it is my conviction that the more deeply the subject is investigated the more indubitable will the conclusion appear) that the derivation of the [Indo-European] languages from one common parent justifies the inference that the nations who spoke them also issued from one common stock; that their ancestors, at a certain epoch, belonged to one sole nation, which became divided and subdivided as its expansion proceeded;—the question naturally arises, what was the primeval seat of that parent nation? It is nowise probable that the migrations which have peopled so large a part of the globe should have commenced at its southern extremity, and have been constantly directed from that point towards the north-west. On the contrary, every thing concurs to persuade us that the colonies set out from a central region in divergent directions. According to this supposition, the distances which the colonists would have to traverse up to the

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time of their definitive establishment, become less immense; the vicissitudes of climate to which they were exposed, become less abrupt, and many of the emigrant tribes would thus make an advantageous exchange, as regards fertility of soil and the temperature of the air. And where is this central country to be sought for, if not in the interior of the great continent, in the neighbourhood, and to the east of the Caspian Sea? It may perhaps be objected that the country in question is now occupied by people of a different race: but to how many countries has it not happened to undergo a total change of their inhabitants? The prolific parent-country of so many swarms of expatriated colonists might, from that very circumstance, be converted into a desert. . . . It is probable that, since the commencement of history, the nature of this country has changed, and that in former times it was more favourable than now to agriculture and to population. According to my hypothesis, then, the ancestors of the Persians and Hindus must have emigrated from their early seats towards the south-west and the south-east; and the forefathers of the European nations towards the west and the north. . . . I conceive that the tribes which migrated towards Europe followed two great routes; the one along the northern shores of the Black Sea; while the other traversed Asia Minor, and crossed the Ægean Sea, or the Hellespont, Thrace, Illyria, and the Adriatic. It was indubitably by this latter route that Greece and Italy received their colonists." (Essais, p. 514–517.)

Professor Lassen also decides against the hypothesis that India was the birth-place of the Indo-European races. He says: —[88]

"It is, as we have seen, a result of modern investigation that the ancient language of the Indians is so intimately related to those of the other Indo-Germanic nations as to establish the original unity both of these languages and nations. We are therefore driven to the conclusion either—1st, that the Indians migrated to India from some other primeval seat; or, 2nd, that all the kindred Indo-Germanic nations had their origin in India. The following considerations determine us to decide in favour of the former of these alternatives.

"It would, first, be an improbable supposition that the nations which are now so widely extended should have been derived from the

[88] Indian Antiquities, first edition, p. 512, ff.; second edition, p. 613.

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remotest member of the entire series. Their common cradle must be sought, if not in the very centre, at all events in such a situation as to render a diffusion towards the different regions of the world practicable. This condition is not well fulfilled by supposing India to be the point of departure. Secondly, none of the phenomena of speech, customs, or ideas observable among the other cognate nations indicate an Indian origin. Of the countries which were anciently occupied by the great Indo-Germanic family, India was the most peculiar, and differed the most widely from the others; and it would be very unaccountable that no trace of these Indian peculiarities should have been preserved by any Celtic race in later times, if they had all originally dwelt in India. Among the names of plants and animals which are common to all these nations there is none which is peculiar to India.[87] The most widely diffused word for any species of corn (*yava*) denotes not rice, but barley. Thirdly, for a decision of this question, the manner in which India is geographically distributed among the different nations by which it is occupied is of great importance. The diffusion of the Arians towards the south points to the conclusion that they came from the north-west, from the country to the north of the Vindhya, probably from the region bordering on the Jumna, and the eastern part of the Punjab. Their extension to the east, between the Himālaya and the Vindhya, also indicates the same countries as their earlier seats. We find, moreover, evident traces of the Arians, in their advance from the north-west, having severed asunder the earlier population of Hindustan, and driven one portion of it towards the northern, and another portion towards the southern, hills. Further, we cannot assume that the Arians themselves were the earlier inhabitants who were pushed aside; for the inhabitants of the Dekhan, like those of the Vindhya range, appear always as the weaker and retiring party, who were driven back by the Arians. We cannot ascribe to the non-Arian tribes the power of having forced themselves forward through the midst of an earlier Arian population to the seats which they eventually occupied in the centre of the country; but, on the contrary, everything speaks in favour of their having been

[87] [This circumstance, however, might be accounted for, as Weber remarks (Modern Investigations on Ancient India, p. 10), by the names being forgotten, from the plants and animals being unknown in western countries. See further on.—J.M.]

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originally settled in those tracts where we find them at a later period, and of their having once occupied a more extensive territory. These non-Arians were in fact feebler races, like the Australian negroes of the Archipelago and the red men of America. The Arians, on the other hand, were a more perfectly organized, enterprising, and creative people, and were consequently the more recent; just as the earth has at a later period produced the more perfect classes of plants and animals. Finally, the same thing is shown by the political relation of the two branches of the population. The Arians take up for themselves, i.e. for the three highest castes, a position of the most complete contrast to the aboriginal tribes, first of all by the name of Ārya, and next by their prerogatives; for the name of 'dvija,' 'twice-born,' with the higher rank connected with it, is the exclusive designation of the three upper classes. The Arians in this way mark themselves out as the superior and conquering race. In confirmation of this we can also adduce an outward mark, that of complexion. The word for caste in Sanskrit (varṇa) originally signified 'colour.' The castes therefore were distinguished by their complexion. But, as is well known, the Brahmans have a fairer colour than the Śūdras and Chaṇḍālas; and the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, who were also Arians, must have participated in the same fair complexion. We are thus led to the conclusion, which would be deducible even from the affinity of language, that the Arian Indians originally distinguished themselves as white men from the dark aborigines; and this accords with the assumption that they came from a more northern country."

That the Arians were not autochthonous in India, but came from some country to the north, is also the opinion of Professor Max Müller.

"At the first dawn of traditional history we see these Arian tribes migrating across the snow of the Himālaya southward toward the 'Seven Rivers' (the Indus, the five rivers of the Panjāb, and the Sarasvatī), and ever since India has been called their home. That before this time they had been living in more northern regions, within the same precincts with the ancestors of the Greeks, the Italians, Slavonians, Germans, and Celts, is a fact as firmly established as that the Normans of William the Conqueror were the Northmen of Scandinavia. The evidence of language is irrefragable, and it is the only evidence worth listening to with regard to ante-historical periods." . . .

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"While most of the members of the Arian family followed this glorious path" [i.e. to the north-west], "the southern tribes were slowly migrating to the mountains which gird the north of India. After crossing the narrow passes of the Hindu-kush or the Himālaya, they conquered or drove before them, as it seems without much effort, the original inhabitants of the Trans-Himalayan countries. They took for their guides the principal rivers of Northern India, and were led by them to new homes in their beautiful and fertile valleys." (Last Results of Sanskrit Researches, in Bunsen's Out. of Phil. of Un. Hist., vol. i., pp. 129 and 131; Anc. Sansk. Lit., pp. 12, 13, 15; Chips, i. 63, 65.)

Again, in the Last Results of the Turanian Researches (Bunsen, as above, p. 340), the same able writer remarks: "It is now generally admitted that this holy-land of the Brahmans, even within its earliest and narrowest limits, between the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī, was not the birth-place of the sons of Manu. The Arians were strangers in the land of the Indus and the Ganges, but no one can now determine the exact spot whence they came, and where they had been previously settled. Traditions current among the Brahmans as to the northern regions, considered the seats of the blessed, may be construed into something like a recollection of their northern immigration—holy places along the rivers of northern India, where even in later times Brahmans went to learn the purest Sanskrit, may mark the stations of their onward course—the principal capitals of their ancient kingdoms may prove the slow but steady progress toward the mouths of the principal rivers of India—but with the sources of those rivers, the homes of the Arian strangers vanish from our sight, even after we have reached the highest points of view accessible on Indian ground."

Professor Benfey expresses an equally confident opinion that India was not the original country of the Hindus. His reasons are as follows. After giving some account of the various tribes, by whom southern and central India are occupied, he proceeds: "We thus find the whole of the Dekhan covered with the remains of a nation of which it is highly probable that the several parts were connected by affinity. But we know with certainty that the Sanskrit-speaking people did not establish themselves in the Dekhan till a later period, and as colonists, who apparently began their occupation by making themselves masters of the coasts. . . . Now it is hardly probable that those barbarous tribes

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could have pushed themselves forward into the midst of the Arian Indians at a period when the latter had attained to the height of their social and political development; and yet it is at this very period that we already find mention made of several of these barbarous races. We are therefore compelled to recognize the latter as being the earlier inhabitants of the Dekhan, who were reduced to subjection by the arms of the Sanskrit-speaking race, and either incorporated into their community as a servile caste, or driven back into the recesses of the mountains."—Indien,[68] p. 9. In p. 12, the same author proceeds: "From the foregoing sections it appears that the Sanskrit-speaking people, who called themselves Aryas and Viśes, can be shown to have immigrated from foreign regions into their new abodes. It can be positively demonstrated that they once formed one nation, spoke one speech, and possessed the same civilization, with the races who are allied to them by language, viz., the Aryas properly so called (i.e. the Iranians), the Greeks, Latins, etc. It is scarcely to be doubted that the theatre of this early union was one of the countries of Asia; but the time is so far antecedent to the dawn of history, and so many commotions, migrations, and so forth, must have swept over the region which they formerly occupied, that every trace which the Sanskrit-speaking race might have left of their residence there has been obliterated."

The following remarks of Professor Spiegel (Introduction to Avesta, vol. ii., pp. cvi. ff.) will serve as an answer to Mr. Curzon's allegation that the language and mythology of the Persians are derived from those of India: "Though it is universally admitted that a primeval country is to be assumed, where the Arians lived in pre-historical times as one people, and from which they gradually migrated; and although it is allowed that the Indians and Iranians must have dwelt together for a length of time in this, or in some other adjacent country, even after the separation of the other branches; still it is by no means clear what should be regarded as that primeval country. Agreeably to Mr. Curzon's assumption, India was the fatherland of the Indo-Germanic races. From that country the individual branches of that stock migrated westwards, and last of all the Iranians, who continued to dwell in the immediate vicinity of their original country, which

[68] In Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædia (German).

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henceforward remained in the sole possession of a single race, the Indians. According to this assumption, the relation of Iran to India admits of a very simple adjustment; India is the cradle, the Indian language (i.e. the Vedic Sanskrit) is the mother-tongue of all the Indo-Germanic nations. If, accordingly, an important affinity is discernible both in language and in ideas between the Indians and Iranians, the reason of it is simply this, that the Iranians emigrated last from India, and thus carried with them the largest share of Indian characteristics. On this view the older monuments of Iranian literature would stand in the same relation to the Vedic literature that the Pali and Prakrit stand to the later Sanskrit. Lassen[89] had, however, previously declared himself against this assumption that India was the cradle of the Indo-Germanic races; and his arguments have not been invalidated by Mr. Curzon. And as regards the relation of the old Iranian dialect to the Sanskrit of the Vedas, I boldly assert that we cannot possibly suppose the former to stand in any such relation of dependence to the latter as the Pali or the Prakrit stands in to the later Sanskrit; and no one who impartially examines the question will do otherwise than support my view.

"We may therefore at once set aside the supposition that India was the cradle of the Indo-Germanic race. We prefer to assume with Lassen that their original abode is to be sought in the extreme east of the Iranian country, in the tract where the Oxus and Jaxartes take their rise.

"But the second question, in regard to language, is not thus determined. For it might still be imagined possible that not only the Indians, but also the Iranians along with them, had migrated to the countries on the Indus; and that the Iranians, perhaps owing to religious differences, had retraced their steps to the westward. The great affinity between the Sanskrit and the ancient Bactrian languages, and the resemblances between the mythologies of the Vedas on the one hand, and the Avesta on the other, would then admit of the same explanation, viz., that the Iranians had spent the Vedic period, or at least a great part of it, in conjunction with the Indians; and hence the close affinity between their ideas. This is

[89] Ind. Ant. i. 1st ed., p. 512; 2nd ed., p. 613. See above, p. 308, ff.

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in fact the view of a scholar who is very familiar with this branch of study, Professor Max Müller.[90]

[90] "Last Results of the Persian Researches," p. 113, reprinted in "Chips," i. 86. "If regarded from a Vaidik point of view, . . . the gods of the Zoroastrians come out once more as mere reflexions of the primitive and authentic gods of the Vedas. It can now be proved, even by geographical evidence, that the Zoroastrians had been settled in India before they immigrated into Persia. I say the Zoroastrians, for we have no evidence to bear us out in making the same assertion of the nations of Media and Persia in general. That the Zoroastrians and their ancestors started from India during the Vaidik period can be proved as distinctly as that the inhabitants of Massilia started from Greece. The geographical traditions in the First Fargard of the Vendidad do not interfere with this opinion. If ancient and genuine, they would embody a remembrance preserved by the Zoroastrians, but forgotten by the Vaidik poets—a remembrance of times previous to their first common descent into the country of the Seven Rivers. If of later origin, and this is more likely, they may represent a geographical conception of the Zoroastrians after they had become acquainted with a larger sphere of countries and nations, subsequent to their emigration from the land of the Seven Rivers." [In the reprint in "Chips," the following note is added: "The purely mythological character of this geographical chapter has been proved by M. Michel Bréal, Journal Asiatique, 1862."] The same opinion is repeated by Professor Müller in his Lectures on the Science of Language, i. 235 (1st edit.): "The Zoroastrians were a colony from northern India. They had been together for a time with the people whose sacred songs have been preserved to us in the Veda. A schism took place and the Zoroastrians migrated westward to Arachosia and Persia. . . . They gave to the new cities, and to the rivers along which they settled, the names of cities and rivers familiar to them, and reminding them of the localities which they had left. Now as a Persian *h* points to a Sanskrit *s*, Harôyu would be in Sanskrit Saroyu. One of the sacred rivers of India, a river mentioned in the Veda, ... has the name of *Sarayu*, the modern Sardju." On this point Mr. Rawlinson coincides with Professor Müller. In the Third Essay appended to the first volume of his Herodotus, p. 403, he thus writes: "The great migration of the Arian race westward from beyond the Indus, simultaneous probably with the movement of a kindred people, the progenitors of the modern Hindoos, eastward and southward to the Ganges, and the Vindhya mountain-range, is an event of which the most sceptical criticism need not doubt, remote though it be, and obscurely seen through the long vista of intervening centuries." From a later part of the same volume, however, Essay xi. p. 669, it clearly appears that Mr. Rawlinson does not regard the country east of the Indus as the earliest abode of the Arians, and that this migration of the Arians westward was, in his opinion, one which followed their original migration from the west to the east: "The Eastern or Arian migration, whereby an Indo-European race became settled upon the Indus, is involved in complete obscurity. We have indeed nothing but the evidence of comparative philology on which distinctly to ground the belief, that there was a time when the ancestors of the Pelasgian, Lydo-Phrygian, Lycian, Thracian, Sarmatian, Teutonic, and Arian races dwelt together, the common possessors of a single language. The evidence thus furnished is, however, conclusive, and compels us to derive the various and scattered nations above enumerated from a single ethnic stock, and to assign them at some time or other a single locality. In

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"I cannot agree with this view, as I am quite unable to discover that there is any historical reminiscence by which it can be established.[91] The facts which I have above collected regarding Zoroaster and his religion certainly do not point to the conclusion that he was a Bactrian, much less that the religion of the Bactrians came from India; on the contrary, these accounts seem to lead us to believe that their religion came first from Media. . . . But if there be no historical recollection, what else is there to favour the opinion in question? Surely it cannot be the similarity of structure between the languages of India and Persia! We esteem the Sanskrit so highly, not because it was the original speech of the Indo-Germanic race, but because it stands the nearest to that original language. Now it cannot surprise us that another language of the same family, as the ancient Bactrian is, should have remained on a nearly similar level. It is not in the least at variance with this view that the last-named language is far younger than the Vedic Sanskrit, for it is well known that external circumstances frequently occasion the speedy corruption of one language, while another can long preserve its ancient level. And so in this case, both languages issued in a nearly similar form from one common parent form of speech, and were then developed independently of each other. And as the phenomena of the two

the silence of authentic history, Armenia may be regarded as the most probable centre from which they spread; and the Arian race may be supposed to have wandered eastward about the same time that the two other kindred streams began to flow, the one northward across the Caucasus, the other westward over Asia Minor and into Europe. The early history of the Arians is for many ages an absolute blank, but at a period certainly anterior to the fifteenth century before our era they were settled in the tract watered by the upper Indus, and becoming straitened for room, began to send out colonies eastward and westward. On the one side their movements may be traced in the hymns of the Rigveda, where they are seen advancing step by step along the rivers of the Punjab, engaged in constant wars with the primitive Turanian inhabitants, whom they gradually drove before them into the various mountain ranges, where their descendants still exist, speaking Turanian dialects.* On the other, their progress is as distinctly marked in the most early portions of the Zendavesta, the sacred book of the western or Medo-Persic Arians. Leaving their Vedic brethren to possess themselves of the broad plains of Hindoostan, and to become the ancestors of the modern Hindoos, the Zendic or Medo-Persic Arians crossed the high chain of the Hindoo-Koosh, and occupied the region watered by the upper streams of the Oxus."

[91] See, however, App. Note H.

* "See Müller's Essay on the Bengali Language in the Report of the British Association for 1848, p. 329, and Bunsen's Philosophy of Univ. Hist., vol. i. pp. 340–364."

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languages do not necessitate the assumption that the ancient Bactrian language has passed through the Vedic Sanskrit, so neither is this view forced upon us by the contents of the Avesta. Reference has, indeed, been made to the points of contact between the legends, and even between the manners and customs exhibited in the Veda and the Avesta. But the few particulars which recur in the Vedas cannot be set against the far larger number of which there is no trace there. Similar common legends have been discovered in the Greek mythology, and yet it has never been imagined by any one that the ancient Greeks must have believed in the Vedas. We are, therefore, warranted in supposing that in the old Bactrian language and literature we possess the monuments of a people, who certainly lived together with the Indians longer than any of the other kindred races, and have therefore a certain number of religious and other conceptions common to them with the former. But these common elements are so insignificant when compared with those which are of peculiarly Iranian growth, that we are justified in regarding the language and literature as independent Iranian productions. How, and by what causes the separation of the Iranians from the Indians was occasioned, is a point which, owing to our want of information on that early period, can no longer be certainly determined. . . . . Among the grounds of it I have (in the first volume, p. 9) referred to a religious alienation between the two nations, but too great importance should not be assigned to this view. Even without assuming any such alienation, it is conceivable that gods who were honoured by the one people, might be degraded to hell by the other.[92] . . . That which gives probability to the idea of an actual alienation between the Indians and Iranians on religious grounds, is the number of such opposing conceptions.

"We must accordingly maintain that the Indians and Iranians have each gone through their own proper development apart from the others. Any points of coincidence between the two must thus be referred to the early pre-Vedic period, not to the era of the special development of either of the two peoples. None of the common features which I have referred to in vol. i. (see above, p. 293, ff.) are of such a character as to make it at all necessary for us to suppose the country bordering on the Indus to have been the scene of their origination. An origin

[92] See Appendix, note I

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in that locality might, with most probability, be ascribed to the legend of Vṛitrahan, as Indra is designated, as the slayer of Vṛitra, who withholds the clouds and the necessary rain. The word recurs again in the old-Bactrian verethraya, 'victorious:' (the deity, Verethragna, I regard as being certainly of far later origin). From the circumstance that no special sense is assigned to the word in the ancient Bactrian language, I do not conclude, as is commonly done, that in the Avesta it has lost its special meaning; but, on the contrary, I assume that the Indian limitation of the word to Indra did not take place till after the separation of the two peoples, and that the word had originally a more general meaning." (p. cx.)

The following is the opinion of Professor Weber on the same general question. In his tract, entitled "Modern Investigations on Ancient India," p. 10, after sketching the physical and intellectual condition of the early Āryas, as deducible from the words common to all the Indo-European languages, he proceeds thus:—

"In the picture just now drawn, positive signs are, after all, almost entirely wanting, by which we could recognize the country in which our forefathers dwelt and had their common home. That it was situated in Asia is an old historical axiom: the want of all animals specifically Asiatic in our enumeration above seems to tell against this, but can be explained simply by the fact of these animals not existing in Europe, which occasioned their names to be forgotten, or at least caused them to be applied to other similar animals; it seems, however, on the whole, that the climate of that country was rather temperate than tropical, most probably mild, and not so much unlike that of Europe; from which we are led to seek for it in the highlands of central Asia, which latter has been regarded from time immemorial as the cradle of the human race."

My next quotation is from the work of M. Pictet, "Les Origines Indo-Europeennes," in which he endeavours, by an examination of all the accessible data, geographical, and ethnographical, as well as by a survey and comparison of all the terms common to the Arian languages, which refer to climate, to topography, and to natural history, to determine what that country was, which the common ancestors of the Indo-European nations originally inhabited.[93]

[93] M. Pictet's second volume, which appeared in 1863, treats (as already stated,

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I shall not attempt to follow the course of M. Pictet's multifarious investigations and reasonings, or to pass any judgment on his particular deductions; but shall content myself with extracting his account of the general results to which he has been conducted.

"By consulting successively national appellations, traditions, geography, philology, and ethnography, we have arrived at the following conclusions:—The Arian people, as they called themselves in opposition to the barbarian, must have occupied a region, of which Bactria may be regarded as the centre. This is the conclusion to which we are at once led by merely comparing the directions followed by the swarms of men who issued from this centre, and which all radiated from it as a point of departure. The geographical configuration of this portion of Asia completely confirms this first induction; for the only possible outlets through which the population could issue occur at the very points where the principal currents of emigration have actually flowed, if we may judge by the ultimate positions of the Arian people, and the scattered traditions which they have preserved of their origin." . .

"We may presume (1) from the order and direction of the migrations which determined the ultimate positions of the Arian races; (2) from the traces of their ancient names, left by the several nations along the routes which they must have followed; and (3) from the more special affinities which connect together the different groups of Arian languages; that the primitive Ariana, at the period of its greatest extension, must have embraced nearly the whole of the region situated between the Hindu-kush, Belurtagh, the Oxus, and the Caspian Sea; and, perhaps, extended a good way into Sogdiana, towards the sources of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. I do not mean that Ariana then formed one strongly constituted state. It is much more probable that it was at that time partitioned among distinct tribes, united solely by the general bond of race, by similarity of manners and language, by a common stock of beliefs and traditions, and by a sentiment of natural brotherhood. This is to be inferred, both from the topographical character of the country and from the successive emigrations which must have followed each other at considerable intervals. I have attempted

p. 294, note,) of the state of material civilization, the social condition, the intellectual, moral, and religious life of this primitive people, before it was broken up into different nations.

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in chapter iii. to fix, by approximation, the relative positions of the different branches of the race before their dispersion."

[I introduce here, from p. 51 of M. Pictet's work, the substance of the passage referred to, so far as it relates to the Iranians, Indians, Greeks, and Latins:—

"Assuming Bactria to have been the centre of the region peopled by the primitive Aryas, the Iranians must have possessed its north-east corner, bordering on Sogdiana, towards Belurtagh, and have at first spread towards the east, as far as the high mountain valleys, from which they afterwards descended to colonize Iran. Alongside of them, to the south-east, probably in the fertile regions of Badakhshan, dwelt the Indo-Arians, occupying the slopes of the Hindu-kush, which they had afterwards to cross, or to round, in order to arrive in Cabul, and penetrate thence into northern India. To the south-west, towards the sources of the Artamis and the Bactrus, we should place the Pelasgo-Arians (the Greeks and Latins), who must have advanced thence in the direction of Herat, and continued their migration by Khorasan and Mazenderan to Asia Minor and the Hellespont."]

"Though nothing more than a hypothesis, the preceding distribution appears to account better than any other for the entire facts of the case. But it can be shown, in a more precise manner, that the Aryas must have been originally divided into two groups, the one eastern and the other western, from which, on the one side, the Aryas of Persia and India issued, and on the other the European nations. The principal arguments in support of this statement cannot, however, be unfolded till I come to the sequel of my work. . . . . In regard to the period when the Arian emigrations took place, I may say, by anticipation, that, in all probability, the earliest of them cannot be placed at less than three thousand years before the Christian era, and that, perhaps, they go back to a still remoter period."—(Pictet, Les Aryas Primitifs, pp. 536, ff.)

In the second volume of his work, p. 734, M. Pictet adheres to the same conclusion as to time. He says there: "As the result of all that precedes, I believe I do not exaggerate in placing about three thousand years before our era the epoch of the first movements towards dispersion of the ancient Aryas, whose different migrations must have taken centuries

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to accomplish down to the period of the definitive establishment of their descendants in the immense tracts which they occupied."

I shall now attempt briefly to sum up the arguments in favour of the conclusion, that the Indo-Arians were not autochthonous, but immigrated into Hindustan from Central Asia.

Mr. Curzon entertains, as we have seen, a different opinion, which he grounds on the assumption that the languages, as well as the mythologies, both of the Persians, and also of the Greeks and Latins, are derived from India. We have already seen (p. 259, ff.) how untenable the notion is that the Greek and Latin languages could have been derived from Sanskrit; and the points of coincidence between the Greek, the Italian, and the Indian mythologies are too few and too remote to justify the idea of their derivation from the Indo-Arians, at any period nearly so recent as the hypothesis would require. I am not prepared to pronounce it altogether inconceivable that the Greek and Latin races could have emigrated from India within any period short of 1500 years B.C., without distinct traces of this migration being discoverable in their own literature, or in that of other nations; for, as we have already seen (p. 307), the traces of such movements may soon disappear from the traditions of an illiterate people. But if the languages and religions of Greece and Italy be not derived from those of India, there is no ground for this hypothesis. And any emigration from India at an earlier period than that indicated appears to be improbable. Fifteen hundred years before the Christian era, India, if (as it no doubt was) already occupied by the Indo-Arians, must, at all events, have been very thinly peopled. The Āryas had not, at that period, extended themselves beyond the north-west quarter of India.[94] Large tracts both to the east and west of the Ganges, and to the north of the Vindhya range, must then have been still uncultivated. While such facilities remained for the occupation of new territory for the purposes of agriculture or pasturage, in their own immediate neighbourhood, it does not appear what sufficient motive could have existed to impel any branch of the small Arian population to desert the fertile plains and the warm temperature of India (to which, by the hypothesis, they must have been long accustomed) for the rugged mountains and the

[94] This will be made evident by the details which I shall shortly adduce relative to their diffusion in Hindustan.

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barren and less genial regions which lay to the north-west and west of the Indus.

As regards the derivation of the Iranian language and mythology from the Indian (which may be asserted with more show of probability than in the case of the Greeks and Latins), I may place the authority and the arguments, just quotod, of Professor Spiegel in opposition to those of Mr. Curzon.

I have so far examined Mr. Curzon's theory generally, and without reference to the particular period when he supposes the movement of the Arians to the westward to have taken place. But when we advert to the late era at which he supposes it to have occurred, as stated above, p. 303, f., in his own words, his theory acquires a still higher degree of improbability. If the Arians, or rather (in that case) the already Brahmanized Indians, had invaded and conquered the countries lying to the west of the Indus at a period subsequent to their occupation of the Dekhan and to the full development of their civilization and their peculiar institutions, it is scarcely conceivable that no trace of this sweeping invasion should have remained, either in their own literature or in that of any of the western nations, and that no specifically Brahmanical influences should have been discoverable in the religious or political systems of Persia, Greece, Rome, or Germany; for the period at which such a supposed extension of the Brahmanical Indians took place could not have been an "ante-Hellenic" era (p. 187); nor, consequently, is it imaginable that all record of it should have disappeared in a presumed "age of darkness" (p. 186). The "ante-Hellenic" period terminated nearly 1000 years B.C., and the Brahmanical institutions could not have been fully developed very long before that time.

Mr. Elphinstone, as we have seen, does not decide in favour of either theory, but leaves it in doubt whether the Hindus were an autochthonous or an immigrant nation. As a justification of his doubt, he refers to the circumstance that all other known migrations of ancient date have proceeded from east to west, and have not radiated from a common centre. But this reasoning cannot claim to offer more than a limited presumption, and cannot be set against the stronger probabilities which, in this case, are suggested by the subsequent history of the different Arian nations in favour of a radiation from one common centre.

The mutual affinities of the Arian tongues imply, as we have seen,

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the anterior existence of one parent language, from which they all issued, and conduct us by probable inference to the conclusion that the several nations who spoke those separate dialects were all descended, though not, perhaps, without intermixture with other races, from the same common ancestors, who employed the parent-language in question, and formed one Arian nation inhabiting the same country. As the question where this country was situated cannot be decided by history, we are thrown back upon speculation; and we are therefore led to inquire what that region was which by its position was most likely to have formed the point of departure from which nations situated in the opposite quarters ultimately occupied by the Indians, the Iranians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Germans, and the Slavonians, must have issued in order to reach their several abodes by the most easy and natural routes. The point of departure which best satisfies this condition is, in the opinion of the eminent writers whom I have cited, some region of Central Asia, lying to the north-west of India. We may, therefore, place the cradle of the Arians in or near Bactria

Sect. VIII.—*On the National Traditions of the Indians regarding their own Original Country.*

I shall now inquire whether there are any data to be found among the traditions of the Indians or the Persians, from which we can derive any confirmation of the conclusion to which we have been led by other considerations. I must, however, begin with a candid admission that, so far as I know, none of the Sanskrit books, not even the most ancient, contain any distinct reference or allusion to the foreign origin of the Indians. This does not, perhaps, afford any just ground of surprise. The Vedic hymns themselves do not carry us back to the first ages of the nation, but contain allusions to personages and events of a still earlier date. The past history of their race is very liable to be forgotten by an unlettered people, as is remarked by Schlegel, in the passage quoted above, p. 307; and any traditions which may at one time have existed of the early Arian migrations might very easily have been overgrown and effaced by the luxuriant harvest of legendary inventions for which India has been remarkable from the earliest ages. This process of obscuration is distinctly traceable in other parts of

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Indian history, and it has been frequently remarked how greatly the myths and even the allusions of the Vedas have been amplified and distorted by more recent mythologists. I shall, however, proceed to quote such passages as may appear in any way to imply the tradition of a foreign origin.

First. In the Rigveda,[95] an expression occurs from which we might infer that the Indians still retained some recollection of their having at one time occupied a colder country. Reference is made to winter in the following texts:—R.V. i. 64, 14: *Tokam pushyema tanayaṁ śataṁ himāḥ* | "May we cherish sons and descendants a hundred winters!"—v. 54, 15: *Idaṁ su me Maruto haryata vacho yasya tarema tarasā śataṁ himāḥ* | "Be pleased, O Maruts, with this hymn of mine, by the force of which may we pass through a hundred winters!"—vi. 4, 8: *Madema śatahimāḥ suvīrāḥ* | "May we rejoice, living a hundred winters, with vigorous offspring!" The same words are repeated in vi. 10, 7; vi. 12, 6; vi. 13, 6; vi. 17, 15. In vi. 48, 8, it is said to Agni: *Pāhi aṁhasaḥ sameddhārāṁ śataṁ himāḥ stotṛibhyo ye cha dadati* | "Preserve him who kindles thee from calamity for a hundred winters, and [preserve also] those who give (gifts) to thy worshippers." And in ii. 1, 11, we find the words: *Tvam Iḷā śatahimā'si dakshase* | "Thou (Agni) art Iḷā, bestowing a hundred winters on the wise man." And in ix. 74, 8, we find the words, *Kakshīvate śatahimāya*, "To Kakshīvat, who has lived a hundred winters." The phrase, *Paśyema śaradaḥ śataṁ jīvema śaradaḥ śatam*, "May we see—may we live—a hundred autumns," also occurs in R.V. vii. 66, 16. See also R.V. x. 18, 4. This may, perhaps, be a more recent form of the expression, dating from a period when the recollection of the colder regions from which they had migrated was becoming forgotten by the Āryas.[96]

[95] Wilson, Introd. to Rigveda, vol. i. p. xlii.

[96] I omit here the quotation from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 8, 1, 1, f. containing the oldest form of the legend of the Deluge extant in the Indian records, as well as the version of the same story given in the Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, vv. 12746, ff., together with all the passages from the hymns relating to the descent of the Arian Indians from Manu, which were given in the first edition of this volume, pp. 324-331, because all these texts, and many others besides, have now been quoted in the second edition of the first volume of this work, pp. 161-238; and because further, it is doubtful whether the correct reading in the passage of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa i. 8, 1, 5, is *atidudrāva* "he passed over," or *adhidudrāva*, which would

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Second. In the allusions made to the Uttara (or northern) Kurus in the Indian books, there may be some reminiscence of an early connexion with the countries to the north of the Himālaya. The following passage from the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, viii. 14 (quoted by Weber, Indische Studien, i. 218), contains the oldest reference to this people of which I am aware:—*Tasmād etasyām udīchyāṁ diśi ye ke cha pareṇa Himavantaṁ janapadāḥ "Uttarakuravaḥ Uttaramadrāḥ" iti vairājyāya te 'bhishichyante | "virāḷ" ity etān abhishiktān āchakṣhate* | "Wherefore in this northern region, all the people who dwell beyond the Himavat, [called] the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Madras, are consecrated to glorious rule (*vairājya*). Those who are consecrated are called *virāḷ*."

The following quotation from another part of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, viii. 23, will, however, show that even at the early period when that work was composed, the country of the Uttara Kurus had come to be regarded as belonging to the domain of mythology: *Etam ha vai Aindram mahābhishekaṁ Vāsishṭhaḥ Sātyahavyo 'tyarātaye Jānantapaye provācha | tasmād u Atyarātir Jānantapir arājā san vidyayā samantaṁ sarvataḥ pṛithivīṁ jayan parīyāya | sa ha uvācha Vāsishṭhaḥ Sātyahavyaḥ "ajaishīr vai samantaṁ sarvataḥ pṛithivīm | mahan mā gamaya" iti | Sa ha uvācha Atyarātir Jānantapir "yadā brāhmaṇa Uttarakurūn jayeyam atha tvam u ha eva pṛithivyai rājā syāḥ senāpatir eva te 'haṁ syām" iti | Sa ha uvācha Vāsishṭhaḥ Sātyahavyaḥ "devakshetraṁ vai tad na vai tad martyo jetum arhati | adruksho vai me ā 'ṭaḥ idaṁ dade" iti | tato ha Atyarātiṁ Jānantapim āttavīryaṁ niḥśukram amitratapano S'ushminaḥ S'aivyo jaghāna | tasmād evaṁvidushe brāhmaṇāya evaṁchakrushe na kshatriyo druhyed na id rāshṭrād avapadyeyad na id vāmaprāṇo jahat*| "Sātyahavya of the race of Vasishṭha declared this great inauguration, similar to Indra's, to Atyarāti, son of Janantapa; and in consequence Atyarāti, who was not a king, by [that] knowledge traversed the whole earth round, reducing it to subjection. Sātyahavya said to him, 'Thou hast subdued the whole earth round: exalt me now to greatness.' Atyarāti replied, 'When, O Brāhman, I conquer the Uttara Kurus, then thou shalt be king of the earth, and I will be only thy general.'. Sātyahavya rejoined, 'That is the land of the gods; no

not so distinctly convey the same sense; and would leave it doubtful whether the writer intended to represent Manu as having crossed the Himālaya from the northward.

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mortal may conquer it: thou hast acted injuriously towards me; I take back, therefore, that [which I have bestowed].' In consequence of this the foe-destroying Sushmiṇa, the son of Sivi, slew Atyarâtî, son of Janantapa, who had [thus] become bereft of his vigour, and destitute of strength. Wherefore let no Kshatriya treat injuriously a Brâhman who possesses this knowledge and has performed this rite, lest he lose his kingdom and his life." (See Colebrooke's Misc. Ess., i. 43.)

The northern Kurus are also mentioned in the Râmâyaṇa.[97] In the "description of the northern region," iv. 44, 82, ff. we have the following account: *Tân gachhata hari-śreshṭhâḥ viśâlân Uttarân Kurûn | dânaśîlân mahâbhâgân nityatushṭân gatajvarân | na tatra śîtam ushṇam vâ na jarâ nâmayas tathâ | na śoko na bhayam vâ'pi na varsham nâ'pi bhâskaraḥ |* "Go, most excellent of monkeys, to those illustrious Uttara Kurus, who are liberal, prosperous, perpetually happy, and undecaying. In their country there is neither cold nor heat, nor decrepitude, nor disease, nor grief, nor fear, nor rain, nor sun." A great deal more follows in the same hyperbolical strain, and then it is added (verse 117): *Kurûṁs tân samatikramya uttare payasâm nidhiḥ | tatra somagirir nâma hiraṇmaya-samo mahân |* and in verses 121, 122: *na kathanchana gantavyam kurûṇâm uttareṇa cha | anyeshâm api bhûtânâm na tatra kramate gatiḥ | sa hi somagirir nâma devânâm api durgamaḥ |* "Beyond the Kurus to the north lies the ocean; and there the vast Soma-mountain is situated, resembling a mass of gold." "You must not travel to the north of the Kurus. That region is untrodden by the steps of other living beings also. For that Soma-mountain is difficult of access even to the gods themselves."[98]

In the same way, when Arjuna, in the course of his conquests, as described in the Digvijaya Parva of the Mahâbhârata, comes to the

[97] See also the first volume of this work, second edition, p. 493, f.

[98] These quotations are from Gorresio's edition. The Bombay edition, sec. 43 of the same book, vv. 38, and 57, f., is less diffuse. It says, v. 38: *Uttarâḥ Kuravas tatra kṛitapuṇya-pratiśrayâḥ |* "There are situated the Uttara Kurus, the abodes of those who have performed works of merit:" and in v. 57: *Na kathanchana gantavyam Kurûṇâm uttareṇa vaḥ | anyeshâm api bhûtânâm nânukrâmati vai gatiḥ | 58 | sa hi somagirir nâma devânâm api durgamaḥ.* "You must not on any account go to the northward of the Kurus: nor may any other creatures proceed further. For that Soma-mountain is difficult of access even to the gods."

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country of the Uttara Kurus in Harivarsha, he is thus addressed by the guards at the gate of the city (Sabhā Parva, verses 1045, ff.): *Pārtha nedaṁ tvayā śakyam puraṁ jetuṁ kathanchana* | . . . *idam puraṁ yaḥ praviśed dhruvaṁ na sa bhaved naraḥ* | . . . *na chātra kinchij jetavyam Arjunātra pradṛiśyate* | *Uttarāḥ Kuravo hy ete nātra yuddham pravartate* | *pravishṭo 'pi hi Kaunteya neha drakshyasi kinchana* | *na hi mānusha-dehena śakyam atrābhivīkshitum* | "This city, O king, cannot in any way be subdued by thee. . . . He who enters this city must be more than mortal. . . . There is nothing to be beheld here, O Arjuna, which thou mayest conquer. Here are the Uttara Kurus, whom no one attempts to combat. And even if thou shouldst enter, thou couldst behold nothing; for here no one with a mortal body can see."

On this passage (part of which is a mere repetition of the Ait. Brāh. viii. 23) Professor Lassen remarks (in the Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, ii. 62): "At the furthest accessible extremity of the earth appears Harivarsha, with the northern Kurus. The region of Hari or Vishṇu belongs to the system of mythical geography; but the case is different with the Uttara Kurus. Here there is a real basis of geographical fact; of which fable has only taken advantage, without creating it. The Uttara Kurus were formerly quite independent of the mythical system of 'dvīpas,' though they were included in it at an early date." Again the same writer says at p. 65: "That the conception of the Uttara Kurus is based upon an actual country, and not on mere invention, is proved (1) by the way in which they are mentioned in the Vedas" [the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, as just quoted p. 324]; "(2) by the existence of Uttara Kuru in historical times as a real country; and (3) by the way in which the legend makes mention of that region as the home of primitive customs. To begin with the last point, the Mahābhārata speaks as follows of the freer mode of life which women led in the early world, Book I., verses 4719–22: *Anāvṛitāḥ kila purā striyaḥ āsan varānane* | *kāmachāra-vihāriṇyaḥ svatantrāś chāruhāsini* | *tāsāṁ vyuchcharamāṇānāṁ kaumārāt subhage patīn* | *nādharmo 'bhūd varārohe sa hi dharmaḥ purā 'bhavat* | *taṁ chaiva dharmam paurāṇaṁ tiryagyoni-gatāḥ prājāḥ* | *adyāpy anuvidhīyante kāma-krodha-vivarjitāḥ* | *pramāṇa-dṛishṭo dharmo 'yam pūjyate cha maharshibhiḥ* | *Uttareshu cha ramyoru Kurushv adyāpi*

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pūjyate | 'Women were formerly unconfined, and roved about at their pleasure, independent. Though in their youthful innocence, they went astray from their husbands, they were guilty of no offence;' for such was the rule in early times. This ancient custom is even now the law for creatures born as brutes, which are free from lust and anger. This custom is supported by authority, and is observed by great ṛishis, and it is still practised among the northern Kurus.'[99]

"The idea which is here conveyed is that of the continuance in one part of the world of that original blessedness which prevailed in the golden age. To afford a conception of the happy condition of the southern Kurus it is said in another place" (Mahābh., i. 4346: *Uttaraiḥ Kurubhiḥ sārdhaṁ dakshiṇāḥ Kuravas tathā* | *vispardhamānāḥ vyaharaṁs tathā devarshi-chāraṇaiḥ* |) "'The southern Kurus vied in happiness with the northern Kurus, and with the divine ṛishis and bards.'"

Professor Lassen goes on to say: "Ptolemy (vi. 16)[100] is also acquainted with Uttara Kuru. He speaks of a mountain, a people, and a city called Ottorokorra. Most of the other ancient authors who elsewhere mention this name have it from him. It is a part of the country which he calls Serica; according to him the city lies twelve degrees west from the metropolis of Sera, and the mountain extends from thence far to the eastward. As Ptolemy has misplaced the whole of eastern Asia beyond the Ganges, the relative position which he assigns will guide us better than the absolute one, which removes Ottorokorra so far to the east that a correction is inevitable.

"According to my opinion the Ottorokorra of Ptolemy must be sought for to the east of Kashghar."

Lassen also thinks that Megasthenes had the Uttara Kurus in view

[99] [I am myself responsible for the translation of these lines. The practice of promiscuous intercourse was, according to the legend, abolished by Śvētakētu, son of the ṛishi Uddālaka, who was incensed at seeing his mother led away by a strange Brāhman. His father told him there was no reason to be angry, as: *anāvṛitāḥ hi sarveshām varṇānām anganāḥ bhuvi* | *yathā gāvaḥ sthitās tāta sve sve vārṇe tathā prajāḥ* | "The women of all castes on earth are unconfined: just as cattle are situated, so are human beings, too, within their respective castes." Śvētakētu, however, could not endure this custom, and established the rule that henceforward wives should remain faithful to their husbands, and husbands to their wives. Mahābhārata, i, verses 4724-33.—J.M.]

[100] The original passage will be given in appendix, note J.

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when he referred to the Hyperboreans, who were fabled by Indian writers to live a thousand years.[101] In his Indian Antiquities (Ind. Alterthumskunde, 2nd ed., i. 612, f. and note) the same writer concludes that the descriptions given in such passages as those above cited relative to the Uttara Kurus are to be taken as pictures of an ideal paradise, and not as founded on any recollections of the northern origin of the Kurus. Still it is probable, he thinks, that some such reminiscences originally existed, and still survived in the Vedic era, though there is no trace of their existence in later times.

The sanctity of Kashmīr is thus celebrated in the Vana Parva of the Mahābhārata, verses 10,545–46: *Kāśmīra-maṇḍalaṁ chaitat sarva-puṇyam arindama | maharshibhiś chādhyushitam paśyedam bhrātṛibhiḥ saha | yatrauttarāṇāṁ sarveshām ṛishīṇāṁ Nāhushasya cha | Agneś chaivātra saṁvādaḥ Kāśyapasya cha Bhārata |* "And this is the region of Kāśmīra, all-holy, and inhabited by great ṛishis: behold it, along with thy brothers. It was here that the conversation of all the northern ṛishis with Nāhusha, as well as that of Agni and Kāśyapa, occurred."

Fourth. In the Atharva-veda, v. 4, 1, the salutary plant "kushṭha" is spoken of as growing on the other side of the Himālaya:—*Udaṁ jāto Himavataḥ prāchyāṁ nīyase janam,* "Produced to the north of the Himavat, thou art carried to the people in the east." This reference may perhaps be held to imply that the contemporaries of the author of this mantra had some acquaintance with the country on the other side of the great chain.

Fifth. In a passage of the Sānkhāyana or Kaushītakī-brāhmaṇa vii. 6 (cited by Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 153, note, and alluded to by Müller, "Last Results of the Turanian Researches," p. 340), it is reported that the north was resorted to at an early period for the purpose of studying language, as it was best known in that region: *Pathyā Svastir udīchīm diśam prājānāt | Vāg vai Pathyā Svastiḥ | tasmād udīchyām diśi prajnātatarā vāg udyate | udanche u eva yanti vāchaṁ śikshitum | yo vā tataḥ āgachhati tasya vā śuśrūshante "iti sma āha" | eshā hi vāco dik prajnātā |* "Pathyā Svasti (a goddess) knew the

[101] Zeitschrift, as above, ii. 67, and Schwanbeck, Megasthenis Indica, pp. 77. 117, Περὶ δὲ τῶν χιλιετῶν Ὑπερβορέων τὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν Σιμωνίδῃ καὶ Πινδάρῳ καὶ ἄλλοις μυθολόγοις.

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northern region. Now Pathyā Svasti is Vāch [the goddess of speech]. Hence in the northern region speech is better known and better spoken: and it is to the north that men go to learn speech: men listen to the instructions of any one who comes from that quarter, saying, 'he says [so and so]': for that is renowned as the region of speech." On this the commentator Vināyaka Bhaṭṭa remarks (Weber, as above): "*Prajnātatarā vāg udyate,*" *kāśmīre Sarasvatī kīrtyate | Badarikāśrame veda-ghoshaḥ śrūyate | "vāchaṁ śikshitum" Sarasvatī-prasādārtham "udancho eva yanti" | yo vā prasādaṁ labdhvā "tataḥ āgachhati" | "smāha" prasiddham āha sma sarvalokaḥ |* "'Language is better understood and spoken:' for Sarasvatī is spoken of [as having her abode] in Kashmīr, and in the hermitage of Badarikā [Badarināth in the Himālaya, apparently], the sound of the Vedas is heard. 'Men go to the north to learn language': to obtain the favour of Sărăsvătī; and 'he who comes thence,' having obtained her favour, 'is listened to with attention,' as every one knows, and repeats."

There may lie in this passage some faint reminiscence of an early connexion with the north.

Sect. IX.—*Whether any tradition regarding the earliest abodes of the Arian race is contained in the First Fargard of the Vendidad.*

I shall now proceed to quote at some length the First Fargard of the Vendidad, descriptive of the creation of various countries by Ahura-mazda, which is held by some scholars to contain a reference to the earliest regions known to, and successively occupied by, the Iranians, though this is denied by others. Being unacquainted with Zend, I shall borrow the abstract which I give of this section from the versions of Professor Spiegel[102] and Dr. Haug.[103]

1–4.—"Ahura-mazda spake to the holy Zarathustra: 'I formed into an agreeable region that which before was nowhere habitable. Had I not done this, all living things would have departed to Airyana-vaējo.'[104]

[102] Avesta: Die Heiligen Schriften der Parsen (Avesta: The Sacred Writings of the Parsīs), vol. i., pp. 61, ff.

[103] Das Erste Kapitel des Vendidād (The First Chapter of the Vendidad), pp. 18, ff.

[104] The purport of this is, Dr. Haug remarks, that Airyana-vaējo was originally

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5–9.—'I, Ahura-mazda created as the first, best region, Airyana-vaējo, in a state of excellence. Then Angra-mainyus, the destroyer, formed in opposition to it, a great serpent, and winter [or snow], the creation of the daēvas. There are there ten months of winter, and two of summer.'

13, 14.—'I, Ahura-mazda, created as the second, best region, Gāu, in which Sughdha is situated.'

[Here, and in most of the following cases, I omit the counter-creations of Angra-mainyus.]

17, 18.—'I, etc., created as the third, best region, Mōuru, the mighty, the holy.'

21, 22.—'I, etc., created as the fourth, best region, the fortunate Bakhdhī, with the lofty banner.'

25, 26.—'I, etc., created as the fifth, best region Nisāi,' [situated between Mōuru and Bakhdhī.]

29, 30.—'I, etc., created as the sixth, best region, Harōyu, abounding in houses [or water].'

33–36.—'I, etc., created as the seventh, best region, Vaēkereta where Duǰak is situated. In opposition to it, Angra-mainyus, the destroyer, created the Pairika Khnathaiti, who clung to Kereśāśpa.'

37, 38.—'I, etc., created as the eighth, best region, Urvā, full of pastures.'

41, 42.—'I, etc., created as the ninth, best region, Khnĕnta, in which Vehrkāna lies.'

45, 46.—'I, etc., created as the tenth, best region, the fortunate Haraqaiti.'

49, 50.—'I, etc., created as the eleventh, best region, Ḥaētumat, the rich and shining.'

59, 60.—'I, etc., created as the twelfth, best region, Raghā, with three fortresses [or races].'

63, 44.—'I, etc., created as the thirteenth, best region, Chakhra, the strong.'

67, 68.—'I, etc., created as the fourteenth, best region, Varena, with four corners; to which was born Thraētaŏno, who slew the serpent Dahāka.'

the only cultivated country, and that all other countries were waste. As it was to be feared that the inhabitants of the waste would overrun Airyana-vaējo, other countries also were made habitable by Ahura-mazda.

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72, 73.—'I, etc., created as the fifteenth, best country, Hapta-hĕndu [from the eastern to the western Hendu[105]]. In opposition, Angra-mainyus created untimely evils, and pernicious heat [or fever].'

76, 77.—'I, etc., created as the sixteenth, and best, the people who live without a ruler on the sea-shore.'

81.—'There are besides, other countries, fortunate, renowned, lofty, prosperous and splendid.'"

I shall now adduce the most important comments of different authors on this curious passage.

Haug observes (p. 9) that "the winter of ten months' duration assigned to Airyana-vaējō, points to a position far to the north, at a great distance beyond the Jaxartes; but the situation cannot, in the absence of any precise accounts, be more specifically fixed. Only so much is undeniable, that the Iranians came from the distant north. The same thing results from the Second Fargard of the Vendidad, where the years of Yima are enumerated by winters, and the evils of winter are depicted in lively colours." The same writer further remarks (pp. 23, 24): "By Airyana-vaējō we are to understand the original country of the Arians, and paradise of the Iranians. Its ruler was King Yima, the renowned Jemshēd of Iranian legends, who is hence called *śruto Airyēnē-vaējahi*, 'famous in Airyana-vaējo.' (Fargard ii.) In this region Ahura-mazda and Zarathustra adore the water of the celestial spring (*Ardvī śūrā anāhitā*, Yasht, 5, 17, 104); and here, too, Zarathustra supplicates Drvāśpā and Ashi. Thus, Airyana-vaējō had become an entirely mythical region, the abode of gods and heroes, free from sickness, death, frost and heat, as is said of Yima's realm. We can, however, discover a historical substratum in the chapter before us. In Airyana-vaējō the winter lasts for ten months; but winter being a calamity inflicted by Angra-mainyus, was not compatible with the idea of a paradise, the abode of joy and blessedness. This long duration of winter is, however, perfectly characteristic of regions lying far to the north, and is a primitive reminiscence of the real cradle of the Iranians. In the legend of Airyana-vaējō an actual historical recollection of this earliest home has thus become blended with the conception of a primeval abode of

[105] Spiegel omits the words within brackets.

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mankind in paradise, such as is represented in so many popular traditions."

"Airyana-vaējo," says Spiegel, "is to be placed in the furthest east of the Iranian plateau, in the region where the Oxus and Jaxartes take their rise."

The second country is Sogdiana; the third, Merv (the ancient Margiana); the fourth, Balkh (the ancient Bactria); the fifth, Nisa (the ancient Nisæa);[106] the sixth, Herat (the ancient Aria); the seventh is Kabul,[107] according to Spiegel, and Sejestan according to Burnouf, Lassen, and Haug; the eighth is Kabul, according to Haug and Lassen;[108] the ninth is Gurgān, according to Spiegel,[109] and Kandahār, according to Haug; the tenth is the Arachosia of the ancients; the eleventh is the valley of the Hilmend river; the twelfth is Rei in Media; the thirteenth and fourteenth are variously placed; the fifteenth is the country of the seven rivers (*Sapta-sindhavas*), or the Panjāb; and the sixteenth may, Haug thinks, be sought on the shores of the Caspian Sea.[110]

In regard to the age of the section under review, Dr. Haug remarks (p. 6): "The original document itself [as distinguished from certain additions which appear to have been interpolated in it] is certainly of high antiquity, and is undoubtedly one of the oldest of the pieces which compose the existing Vendidad. But in the form in which it lies before us (even after striking out the late interpolations) it is decidedly subsequent to Zarathustra; and later than the so-called 'Gāthās,' in which, for the most part, the genuine sayings and doctrines

[106] Spiegel says that in the writings on the geography of this section, the position of this country has been much disputed. Comm. p. 24. (The first volume of this commentary appeared in 1865, thirteen years after the publication of the first volume of the translation of the Avesta.)

[107] According to his commentary, p. 28, Spiegel thinks that the correctness of this identification cannot be decidedly guaranteed, but that it has much in its favour.

[108] According to Spiegel, this locality is difficult to determine. Comm. p. 31.

[109] In his Comm., p. 32, Spiegel says that the name Vehrkāna appears to coincide with the ancient Hyreania. Lassen concurs in this. Ind. Ant., i. 635, note (2nd ed.).

[110] In a paper "On the Geographical Arrangement of the Arian Countries mentioned in the First Fargard of the Vendidad," published in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy for 1856, pp. 621–647, Dr. Kiepert contests the conclusions of Dr. Haug and others in regard to the position of some of the countries. Dr. Haug defends his own views in a paper in the Journ. of the Germ. Or. Society, vol. xi., pp. 526–533

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of Zarathustra have been handed down. The chief reason for this conclusion is, that the passage under review exhibits the Persian doctrine in a far more developed shape than the songs of Zarathustra." And again in p. 7, "Though there is thus no doubt that this Fargard only dates from the period after Zarathustra, we do not thereby mean to say that it is of modern origin; on the contrary, its whole contents show that it must be very ancient. We can scarcely derive from it any fixed historical data. From the names of the countries, however, we can gather not only that the geographical knowledge of its author was very limited, but also that the region actually occupied by the Arians was much more contracted than we afterwards find it."

In his first volume Professor Spiegel remarks on the same Fargard as follows, p. 59: "The great importance of this first chapter for the prehistorical age of the Indo-Germanic race in general, and of the Persian race in particular, has been fully allowed by investigators of the mythology and history of the ancient world. Heeren, Rhode, Lassen, and others, have recognized in these accounts of the Vendidad a half-historical, half-mythical fragment, which reveals to us the state of geographical knowledge among the followers of the Avesta at the time when it was composed. Perhaps, we may also, with Rhode, discover in it the history of the gradual diffusion of the Iranian race, regarding the first-mentioned country as their primeval abode, and those which follow as the regions which were peopled at a later date. The order in which the countries are arranged appears to tell in favour of this hypothesis."

In his second volume, p. cix, Professor Spiegel retracts his qualified adhesion to the view of Rhode. He says: "I cannot coincide in the attempt to discover in the first chapter of the Vendidad an account of the gradual migration of the Iranians. It has been said that that list of countries is a continuous history of their attempts at colonization, beginning with their northern home, and ending with Hapta-Hendu or India. But the list nowhere speaks of any such migration. . . . . Hence, I see in this chapter nothing but a specification of the countries known to the Iranians at a particular time. This period, however, cannot be a very recent one, as the name Hapta-Hendu is connected with the Vedic period. This name, however, may have been preserved in Persia after it had disappeared in India, and we cannot conclude

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from it that this Fargard was composed contemporaneously with the Vedas."[111]

M. Pictet, on the other hand, makes the following observations: "These names [of countries] enable us to follow step by step the extension of the Iranians over the vast domain which they have ever since occupied. The thing which interests us the most in this enumeration is the point of departure, and the general direction of the movement. The first perfect abode which Ormuzd created is called 'Airyana-vaējo.' . . . As Ritter and Lassen remark, the ten months of winter and only two of summer can only apply to the highest valleys of Belurtagh and Mustagh at the north-east corner of the Iranian table-land. But it is difficult to conceive that an 'excellent' abode could ever have existed there, unless we assume a very improbable alteration of climate. We are as little able to imagine how a country so savage and so poor could have been the cradle of a race so prolific as the Aryas. I believe, then, that we must separate, in this tradition, the mythical element from the historical data. Airyana-vaējo, the primeval paradise, was probably nothing more than a very confused reminiscence of the country originally inhabited by the Aryas. At their dispersion, the Perso-Arian branch, driven back perhaps by the gradual increase of the Arian population, may have directed their steps towards the east as far as the high valleys of Belurtagh and Mustagh, where their further progress would be arrested. At a later period, when the emigration of the other Arian tribes had left the field clear, they descended from these unprofitable regions towards the more favoured countries of which they had preserved some recollection, as we learn from the myth in Vendidad."—Origines Indo-Européennes, pp. 36, 37.

Professor Müller's views, as well as those of M. Bréal, on the First Fargard of the Vendidad will be found above, in note 90, p. 314.[112]

[111] In his Commentary on the Avesta, vol. i. (1865), p. 1, the same author writes: "This view (that this Fargard describes the migration of the Iranians) was first shaken by Kiepert in his dissertation on "The Geographical Arrangement of the Names of Arian Countries in the First Fargard of the Vendidad" (Proceedings of the Berlin Academy of Science, Dec., 1856, p. 621, ff.), with which I in general agree, as does also M. Bréal, *De la Géographie de l'Avesta* (Journ. Asiatique, 1862). On the other hand, Haug and Bunsen maintain the view that this chapter describes the migrations of the Indo-Germans, and in particular of the Arians, up to the time of their immigration into Iran and India (compare Bunsen's Ægyptens Stelle in der Welt-geschichte, vol. ii., p. 104, ff.).

[112] See Appendix, note K.

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Sect. X.—*What was the route by which the Aryas penetrated into India?*

We have already seen (pp. 306, ff.) that according to the most numerous authorities, Bactria, or its neighbourhood, was the country which the different branches of the Indo-European race occupied in common before their separation. By what route, then, did they enter into India?[113]

A. W. von Schlegel thinks that the Indo-Arians must have penetrated into that country from the west. After describing the difficulties of the sea routes leading to India from the south, and of the land route over the Himālaya from the north, he goes on to say: "The western

[113] In the first edition of this volume, p. 345, I wrote as follows: "Professor Benfey, who, apparently, differs to some extent from other scholars in designating that primeval country as Tartary, is of opinion that the Indian and Persian branches of this family may, after their separation from the others, have dwelt together, more to the south, in Little Thibet, the country near the sources of the Indus;" and I then proceed to quote from his Indien, pp. 14, ff., a passage in which he argues that most probably the Indians "crossed over from their ancient seats beyond, and in the northern valleys of, the Himālaya, into the southern plains, rather as peaceable colonists than as martial conquerors. The passes over which the road lies are, it is true, difficult, but by no means insuperable, and are available for traffic and every sort of intercourse, though difficult for warlike operations. By these routes the first Aryas who settled in India, partly following the various branches of the Ganges, might have found their way, through Kemaon, Garhwal, or Sirmur, to the plains situated to the the south of the Himālaya. Here they founded Indraprastha, and thence spread themselves around, subduing the feeble Mlechhas, and gradually conquering all the parts of India which were not too difficult of access."

In his review of the first volume of this work, in the Gött. Gel. Anzeigen for 1861, p. 136, Prof. Benfey writes: "The author has also given a place to the opinion expressed by me in 1840 in regard to the road by which the Sanskrit-speaking race immigrated into India. This was written at a time when I had scarcely any means of becoming acquainted with the Vedas; and since then I have had no opportunity for expressing my views anew upon this question. But already in 1844, when I first read through the Rigveda in London, and still more in 1846, after Roth's dissertation 'On the Literature, etc. of the Veda,' had appeared, I, too, became firmly convinced that it was not the region of the Sarasvatī which was to be assumed as the earliest abode of the immigrants into India (on which my opinion regarding their route had been founded), but the country of the Upper Indus, and that, consequently, their route must have been over the Hindukush and the Indus." Professor Benfey then goes on to state his conviction that his earliest view was the only one to which the materials at his command before the Vedas were accessible could properly lead. And he refers to the fact that Prof. Weber's opinion had at first coincided with his own (the passage will be quoted in a note further on, p. 339), and had only at a later period been altered in conformity with the materials now accessible.

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side of India appears to be more open, as from Kashmīr to the Delta of the Indus the boundaries are not otherwise marked than by that river itself. But in its upper course the Indus is not navigable, owing to its rapidity and its cataracts: and in addition its right bank is flanked by mountains. Towards the sea it spreads out into, or is surrounded by, marshes: more in the interior, and even above the confluence of the five rivers, it is bounded by sandy deserts. From that point to the place where it enters the plains near Attock, a tract intervenes where the passage may be more easily effected. Accordingly it is on this side that India has always been entered by foreign conquerors, by Semiramis, if her Indian expedition is authentic, . . by Alexander the Great, Seleucus, and the Greek kings of Bactria, by the Indo-Scythians, or nomad races, who invaded certain provinces during the century preceding our era; by Mahmud of Ghazni, by the Afghans, the Moguls, and the Persians under Nadir Shah. Thus all probabilities are united in favour of the supposition that the ancestors of the Hindus came from the same side; a supposition which we find to be confirmed by arguments of another kind. The Panjab would consequently be the first country occupied by the colonists. Tradition does not, however, celebrate this as a classic region. On the contrary, in a passage of the Mahābhārata, published and commented on by Lassen, its inhabitants are described as less pure and correct in their customs than the real Aryas, as perhaps they had been corrupted by the vicinity of barbarians. This leads us to believe that it was only after the colonists had spread themselves over the plains of the Ganges, that their form of worship, and the social order dependent upon it, could have assumed a permanent form."—Essais littéraires et historiques, pp. 455–457.

The same view is taken by Lassen (Indian Antiquities, 1st ed., i. 511; 2nd ed., p. 612):—

"The Indians, like most other nations of the ancient world, believe themselves to be autochthonous: their sacred legends represent India itself as the scene of creation, as the abode of the patriarchs, and the theatre of their deeds; and they have no recollection of having sprung from any country out of India, or of having ever lived beyond the bounds of their own Bhāratavarsha. (See, however, above, p. 323, ff.)

"It is true that we might be tempted to discover in the superior

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sacredness which they ascribe to the north a reference, unintelligible to themselves, to a closer connexion which they had formerly had with the northern countries; for the abodes of most of the gods are placed towards the north in and beyond the Himalaya, and the holy and wonderful mountain Meru is situated in the remotest regions in the same direction. A more exact examination will, however, lead to the conviction that the conception to which we have referred has been developed in India itself, and is to be derived from the peculiar character of the northern mountain-range. The daily prospect of the snowy summits of the Himalaya glittering far and wide over the plains, and in the strictest sense insurmountable, and the knowledge which they had of the entirely different character of the table-land beyond, with its extensive and tranquil domains, its clear and cloudless sky and peculiar natural productions, would necessarily designate the north as the abode of the gods and the theatre of wonders; while its holiness is explicable from the irresistible impression produced upon the mind by surrounding nature. Uttara Kuru, the Elysium in the remotest north, may be most properly regarded as an ideal picture created by the imagination, of a life of tranquil felicity, and not as a recollection of any early residence of the Kurus in the north. Such at least is true of the representation which we have of this country in the epic poems. It is, however, probable that originally, and as late as the Vedic era, a recollection of this sort attached itself to that country, though in later times no trace of it has been preserved."

After stating the reasons (already detailed above, pp. 308, ff.) which lead to the conclusion that the Indians could not have been autochthonous, Lassen proceeds as follows (1st ed., p. 515, 2nd. ed., p. 616): "There is only one route by which we can imagine the Arian Indians to have immigrated into India; they must have come through the Panjab, and they must have reached the Panjab through western Kabulistan. The roads leading from the country on the Oxus into eastern Kabulistan and the valley of the Panjkora, or into the upper valley of the Indus down upon Gilgit, and from thence either down the course of the Indus, or from Gilgit over the lofty plateau of Deotsu down on Kashmir, are now known to us as the roughest and most difficult that exist, and do not appear to have been ever much or frequently used as lines of communication. We can only imagine the small tribes of the

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Daradas to have come by the second route from the northern side of the Hindukush into their elevated valleys; but we cannot suppose the mass of the Arians to have reached India by this road. All the important expeditions of nations or armies which are known to us have proceeded through the western passes of the Hindukush, and if we suppose the Arian Indians to have come into India from Bactria, this is the only route by which we can assume them to have arrived." It is true that the Hindus attach no idea of sanctity to the Panjab; on the contrary, "the Sarasvatī is the western boundary of the pure land, governed by Brahmanical law. There are, indeed, Indians dwelling further to the west, but they do not observe the Brahmanical ordinances in all their integrity. But this mode of regarding the western tribes can only have arisen after the Indian institutions had been developed, and a marked difference had become observable between the people living east of the Sarasvatī, and those on the western border. The people of the Panjab always appear as descended from the same stock, and in spite of the aversion in question, the epic legends recount to us frequent relations between the kings of the pure portion of India and the tribes to the westward. There is no break in the chain of Indian races towards the west." (p. 616, 2nd ed.)

M. Burnouf briefly indicates his opinion on the question with which we are now occupied, by speaking of "the movement which from the earliest ages had carried the Arian race from the Indus to the Ganges, and from the Ganges into the Dekhan," etc., Preface to Bhag. Pur., vol. iii., p. xxix.

I am not aware whether Professor Roth has ever expressed an opinion as to the precise route by which the Arians entered India; but in his work on the Lit. and Hist. of the Veda (1846), p. 136, he writes as follows: "It is more than probable that the bulk of the tribes which we may designate as the Vedic people dwelt nearer to the Indus than the Jumna, and that the battle which is described in the hymn before us was one of those conflicts in which the northern tribes pressed upon the southern, on their way towards the regions which they were eventually to occupy. The Indus is well known and frequently celebrated in the hymns of the Rigveda, while at this moment I know of only one passage in which the Ganges is mentioned, and that only in a way which assigns to it an inferior rank."

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The same writer in his article on "Brahma and the Brahmans," in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1847, p. 81, again expresses himself thus: "When the Vedic people, expelled by some shock—and that at a period more recent than the majority of the hymns of the Veda—relinquished their seats in the Panjab and on the Indus, advanced further and further to the south, drove the aborigines into the hills, and occupied the broad tracts lying between the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Vindhya range, the time had arrived when the division of power, the relations of king and priest, could become transformed in the most rapid and comprehensive manner."

Professor Weber also speaks of the Arians as at one time dwelling beyond the Indus. In his Hist. of Ind. Lit. (1852), pp. 2 and 3, he writes: "In the oldest parts of the Rigveda the Indian people appear to us as settled on the north-western borders of India, in the Panjab, and even beyond the Panjab, on the borders of the Kubhā river, the Kophēn in Kabul.[114] The gradual diffusion of this people from this point towards the east, beyond the Sarasvatī and over Hindustan as far as the Ganges, can be traced almost step by step in the later portions of the Vedic writings." See also Ind. Stud. ii. 20.

In his "Recent Investigations on Ancient India," the same writer similarly remarks: "The oldest hymns of the Veda show us the Arian people still dwelling beyond, or, at least, only on the north-western frontiers of India; viz., in the tract between the Cabul river and the Indus, as well as in the Panjab. Their advance from this point, and extension over India can be traced step by step in their literature. Their road lay to the north of the great desert of Marwar, from the Satadru (the modern Sutlej) to the Sarasvatī, a river (esteemed at a later period as of the highest sanctity) which loses itself in the sands of the desert. This must have been a point where they made a halt

[114] In his Indische Studien, vol. i. p. 165 (published 1849–50), Weber speaks of the "Arian Indians being driven by a deluge from their home (see above, p. 335, note), and coming from the north, not from the west (as Lassen, i. 515, will have it) into India; first of all to Kashmir and the Panjab; as it is only in this way that we can explain the northern Kurus and the northern Madras, with whom the conception of the golden age became afterwards associated." As, however, in the passages quoted in the text, which were written at a later date, Weber supposes the Arians to have dwelt on the Kabul river, they must, in order to arrive there, have either arrived by the route which Lassen assigns, or have afterwards spread themselves to the westward.

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of long continuance, as may be concluded from the great sacredness ascribed in later times to this region. At that period it formed the boundary line between the Brahmanical organization which was being now formed in Hindustan, and those Arian races of the west which retained the free manner of life inherited from their forefathers."—Indian Sketches, pp. 13, 14.

M. Langlois, in the Preface to his French translation of the R.V., speaks to the same effect, pp. ix, x: "The hymns of the Rigveda were composed for tribes which had come from the banks of the Indus, and were living in the plains watered by the Ganges. This people seems to have belonged to that great branch of the human race known under the name of the Aryas. They brought with them a mild and simple civilization, patriarchal manners, a polished language. . . . These Aryas, as they established themselves in India, drove back before them the ancient populations, which then proceeded to occupy the forests and mountains, and which, on account of their savage customs and murderous depredations, became, for the Aryas, the types of those evil spirits which they have depicted in their books. At the head of the first colony there must have been a prince of the Arian nation called Manu, whom the traditions represent as the father of mankind."

In another place, in a note to R.V. i. 33, 3 (p. 264, vol. i. of his work, note 2), the same author writes still more explicitly as regards the point under consideration: "It is my opinion that the Indian colony conducted by Manu, which established itself in Āryāvārtta, came from the countries which lie to the west of the Indus, and of which the general name was Aria, Ariana, Hiran."

Professor Müller does not, as far as I am aware, anywhere determine the route by which the Arians arrived in India, more precisely than is done in the following passages (already quoted in pp. 310, f.): "At the first dawn of traditional history we see these Arian tribes migrating across the snow of the Himālaya, southward towards the 'seven rivers' (the Indus, the five rivers of the Panjāb, and the Sarasvatī), and ever since India has been called their home."—Last Results of the Sanskrit Researches, p. 129 ("Chips," i. 63); and Anc. Sanskrit Lit., p. 12. And again, at p. 131 ("Chips," i. p. 65); Anc. Sanskrit Lit., p. 15, he writes: "After crossing the narrow passes of the Hindukush or

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the Himālaya, they [the southern Arians] conquered, or drove before them . . . . the aboriginal inhabitants of the Trans-Himalayan countries." Some remarks on the same subject have been already quoted (see above, p. 311) from his "Last Results of the Turanian Researches," p. 340.

Whatever other and minor differences of view may exist between the several authorities whom I have last cited, they are all of one accord at least in regard to this one point, that India is not the original country of the Hindus.

Sect. XI.—*The immigration of the Indo-Arians from the north-west rendered probable by the tenor of the Vedic hymns.*

The immigration of the Arians, the progenitors of the Brahmanical Indians, into India from the north-west, is further rendered probable by the fact that the writers of the Vedic hymns appear to be most familiar with the countries lying in that direction, i.e., with the north-western parts of India itself, as well as with the countries bordering on, or beyond the Indus, and with the rivers which flow through those regions; while the countries and rivers in the central and eastern parts of India are more rarely mentioned; and no allusion whatever is made to the regions of the south. On this subject I borrow the following remarks from Professor Roth's work on the Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 136: "The Sindhu (Indus) is well known and frequently celebrated in the hymns of the Rigveda, while at present I know of only one hymn in which the Ganges is mentioned, and that only in a subordinate capacity. This passage occurs in one of the hymns ascribed to Sindhukshit, son of Priyamedha (x. 75, 5), which is addressed to the Sindhu, 'the most copious of streams,' (*apasām apastamā*). The other rivers are solicited to regard graciously the praises of the poet, which are dedicated to the Sindhu.[115] The passage is, after Yāska (Nirukta, ix. 26), to be explained thus: 'Gangā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Sutudrī, with the Parushṇī, receive graciously my hymn. Marudvṛidhā, hear with the Asiknī, the Vitastā; Arjīkīyā, hear with the

[115] The entire hymn is quoted and translated in the fifth volume of this work, p. 343, f.

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Sushomā.' "[116] (*Imaṁ me Gange Yamune Sarasvati S'utudri stomaṁ sachata Parushṇi ā | Asiknyā Marudvṛidhe Vitastayā Ārjīkīye śṛiṇuhi ā Sushomayā |*)

Another passage in which the Indus is mentioned is the following, R.V. i. 126, 1: *Amandān stomān prabhare manīshā Sindhāv adhi kshiyato Bhāvyasya | Yo me sahasram amimīta savān atūrto rājā sravaḥ ichhamānaḥ |* "With my intellect I produce ardent encomiums upon Svanaya, the son of Bhavya, who dwells on the Sindhu; the invincible prince, who, desirous of renown, has offered through me a thousand oblations." In the 7th verse of the same hymn we find a reference which indicates familiarity with the country of the Gandhāris and its sheep: *Sarvā 'ham asmi romaśā Gandhārīṇām ivāvikā |* "I am all hairy, like a ewe of the Gandhāris." Gandhāra is placed by Lassen (in the map of Ancient India in vol. ii. of his Indian Antiquities) to the west of the Indus, and to the south of the Cophen or Kabul river, the same position to which the Gandaritis of the ancients is referred.[117] In a note to his Transl. of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. ii., p. 174 (Dr. Hall's ed.), Prof. Wilson writes of the Gāndhāras: "These are, also, a people of the north-west, found both on the west of the Indus and in the Punjab." The word Sindhu also occurs in the following passages of the Rigveda, viz., i. 94, 16; i. 122, 6; ii. 15, 6; iv. 30, 12; v. 53, 9; vii. 33, 3; viii. 20, 25; x. 64, 9. It is, however, difficult to say whether the Indus be always meant. The last of these passages

[116] Part of Yāska's note (Nirukta, ix. 26) is as follows:—*Imam me Gange Yamune Sarasvati S'utudri Parushṇi stomam ā sevadham Asiknyā cha saha Marudvṛidhe Vitastayā cha Ārjikīye āśṛiṇuhi Sushomayā cha iti samastārthaḥ | . . . . Irāvatīm Parushṇī ity āhuḥ . . . . Asiknī aśuklā asitā | . . . Marudvṛidhāḥ sarvāḥ nadyaḥ | Marutaḥ enāḥ vardhayanti | . . . Ārjīkīyām Vipāṭ ity āhuḥ |* (See vol. i., pp. 339 and 417, note 210.) "The entire sense is, 'Receive this hymn, O Gangā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, S'utudrī, Parushṇī, and Marudvṛidhā along with the Asiknī, and Ārjīkīyā along with the Vitastā and Sushomā.' . . . Parushṇī is a name of the Irāvatī. . . . Asiknī means 'black.' . . . All rivers [may be called] Marudvṛidhā, because they are swollen by the Maruts . . . Ārjikīyā is a name of the Vipāś." See Roth's remarks on these rivers, in his Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, pp. 136–140; and a passage which will be quoted from Lassen in the text further on.

[117] The Gandarii are mentioned by Herodotus, vii. 66, along with the Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Dadikæ, as forming part of the army of Xerxes. See the Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. 103, ff.; the Journ. Royal Asiatic Society, v. 17; and Rawlinson's Herodotus, iv. 216, f.

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(which occurs in a hymn to the Viśve devas) is as follows, R.V. x. 64, 9: *Sarasvatī Sarayuḥ Sindhur ūrmibhir maho mahīr avasā "yantu vakshaṇīḥ | devīr āpo mātaraḥ sūdayitnvo ghṛitavat payo madhumat na archata |* "Let the Sarasvatī, the Sarayu, the Sindhu, with their waves; let the great [rivers] come swiftly, strengthening us with their succour. Divine waters, mothers, flowing, impart (?) to us your waters with butter and honey."

The verse which has been cited above from the Rigveda, x. 75, 5, in the extract from Professor Roth's work, is followed by another,[118] in which the names of several other rivers are mentioned, viz., the Tṛishṭāmā, the Susartū, the Rasā,[119] the Śvetī, the Kubhā, the Gomatī, the Krumu, and the Mehatnū. In Roth and Böhtlingk's Lexicon, the Kubhā, Gomatī, and Krumu are set down as being affluents of the Indus.[120] That they were really so is rendered probable by their being mentioned in conjunction with that river. In the case of the Kubhā, the probability is strengthened by its name, which has a close resemblance to that of the Kophēn, or Kabul river, which falls into the Indus, a little above Attock (see the passage from Weber's Ind. Liter., above p. 339). This river is mentioned again in R.V. v. 53, 9: *Mā vo Rasā 'nitabhā Kubhā Krumur mā vaḥ Sindhur ni rīramat | mā vaḥ*

[118] R.V. x. 75, 6:—*Tṛishṭāmayā prathamaṁ yātave sajūḥ Susartvā Rasayā Śvetyā tyā | tvaṁ Sindho Kubhayā Gomatīm Krumum Mehatnvā sarathaṁ yābhir īyase |* "Unite first in thy course with the Trishṭāmā, the Susartū, the Rasā and the Śvetī; thou, Sindhu, [meetest] the Gomatī with the Kubhā, the Krumu with the Mehatnū, and with them art borne onward (as) on the same car."

[119] The Rāsā is considered by Dr. Aufrecht, in his explanation of R.V. x. 108, to denote there and elsewhere the "milky way." See Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xiii. p. 498. Yāska merely explains it as meaning a river: *Rasā nādī* | Nir. xi. 26. In his translation of Sāmaveda, ii. 247 (=R.V. ix. 41, 6), Benfey translates *rasā* by "ocean." In his Glossary he explains it of "a particular river which separates the world of Indra from that of the Panis (?);" referring to R.V., x. 108. In R.V. i. 112, 12, he explains it of the river Rasā. In his translation of this verse in Orient und Occident, iii. 150, he makes it a river of the lower world (*unterwelt*). In Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon the Rasā is stated to be the name of a river, in R.V., i. 112, 12; v. 53, 9; x. 75, 6; and to mean "a mythical stream which flows round the earth and sky" in ix. 41, 6; x. 108, 1, f.; x. 121, 4; v. 41, 15.

[120] In his Elucidations (Erläuterungen) of the Nirukta, p. 43, note, Professor Roth remarks: "The Kōphēn is the Kubhā of the Veda, mentioned in R.V. v. 53, 9, and x. 75, 7. If we identify the Krumu and Gomatī of this last text, with the Kurum and Gomal which flow into the Indus from the west (as Lassen proposes in a letter), we may regard the rivers whose names precede [the Tṛishṭāma, Rasā, Śvetī, and Anitabhā] as being affluents of the Indus further to the north than the Kōphēn."

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parishṭhāt Sarayuḥ purīshiṉī asme it sumnam astu vaḥ | "Let not, O Maruts, the Rasā, the Anitabhā, the Kubhā, the Krumu or the Sindhu arrest you: let not the watery Sarayu stop you: let the joy you impart come to us." Another of the rivers named in the verse previously cited (R.V. x. 75, 7), and declared by Roth to be an affluent of the Indus, is the Gomatī. It is not necessary that we should identify this river with the Gomatī (Goomtee), which rises to the north-west of Oude and flows past Lukhnow, though, being mentioned along with the Sarayu (if, indeed, this be the modern Surjoo), it may be the same. A river of the same name is mentioned again in R.V. viii. 24, 30: *Esho apaśrito Valo Gomatīm anu tishṭhati* | "This Vala dwells afar on the [banks of the] Gōmătī."[121] It is quite possible that the names of the rivers in Oude may have been borrowed from some streams further west.[122] Another river, the Suvāstu, which may be an affluent of the Indus, is mentioned in R.V., viii. 19, 37: *Suvāstvāḥ adhi tugvani* | These words are quoted in Nirukta, iv. 15, and explained thus: *Suvāstur nadī* | *tugma tīrtham bhavati* | "Suvāstu is a river; *tugma* means a ferry." On this passage Roth observes, Erläuterungen, p. 43: "The bard Sobhari is recounting the presents which he received from Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, on the banks of the Suvāstu. In the Mahābhārata, vi. 333,[123] the Suvāstu is connected with the Gaurī. Now, according to Arrian, Indica, 4, 11,[124] the Soastos and Garoias

[121] Compare R.V. v. 61, 19.

[122] There is a stream called Gomătī in Kemaon, which must be distinct from the river in Oude, as the latter rises in the plains.

[123] In the list of rivers in the description of Jambukhaṇḍa. The words are: *Vāstuṁ Suvāstuṁ Gaurīṁ cha Kampanāṁ sa-Hiraṇvatīm* | "The Vāstu, the Suvāstu, the Gaurī, the Kampanā, and the Hiraṇvatī."

[124] Κωφὴν δὲ ἐν Πευκελαιήτιδι, ἅμα δι ἄγων Μάλαντόν τε καὶ Σόαστον καὶ Γαρρόαν, ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ινδόν. "The Kophen unites with the Indus in Peukĕlæētis, bringing with it the Malantus, the Soastus, and the Garrœas." Professor Wilson (Ariana Ant. pp. 183, 190, 194) thinks these two last names really denote one and the same river. "Now there can be no doubt that by the Kophen is to be understood the Kabul River; for Arrian says, that having received the Malamantus, Suastus, and Garœus, it mixes with the Indus, in the country of Peukelaotis; and the latter part of Alexander's operations west of the Indus, shortly before he crosses that river, are carried on in the same district along the Indus and the Cophen."—Wilson, Ariana Ant., p. 183. "The united stream [of the Punjkora and Sewat] is called either the Punjkora or Sewat River; and this may explain why Arrian, in his Indica, speaks erroneously of a Suastus as well as a Garœus, whilst in Ptolemy we have no other

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flow into the Kōphen. From comparing these two passages, it results with tolerable certainty that the Suvāstu is the same as the modern Suwad, a stream which flows into the Kabul river from the north, after first joining the Panjkora."

Returning now to R.V. x. 75, 6, and taking first the most westerly streams (next to the Indus) there specified, we come (1) to the Vitastā or Behat, (2) the Asiknī or Chenab (Akesines), (3) the Parushṇī, Irāvatī, or Ravee, (4) the Ārjīkīyā, Vipāś, or Beeas, and (5) the Sutudrī, or Sutlej. Yāska, as we have seen, identifies the Parushṇī with the Irāvatī, and the Ārjīkīyā with the Vipāś; Professor Roth considers the Asiknī to be the same as the Chenab or Akesines; and there is no doubt that the Vitastā is the Hydaspes, and that the Sutdrī is the Sutlej. We have, consequently, in this passage an enumeration of the rivers of the Panjāb. The Asiknī is again mentioned in R.V. viii. 20, 25; the Parushṇī in R.V. vii. 18, 8, 9, and viii. 63, 15; the Sutudrī in iii. 33, 1; and the Vipāś in iii. 33, 1, 3, and iv. 30, 11.

The other rivers named in the passage so often referred to, R.V. x. 75, 5, 6, are the Sarasvatī, the Gangā, and the Yamunā. The following are some of the most remarkable passages in which the Sarasvatī is celebrated. In iii. 23, 4, it is thus mentioned along with the Dṛishadvatī (with which Manu, ii. 17, also associates it) and the Āpāyā: *Ni tvā dadhe vare ā pṛithivyāḥ Iḷāyāspade sudinatve ahnām | Dṛishadvatyām mānushe Āpayāyāṁ Sarasvatyāṁ revad Agne didihi |*

river than the Suastus described."—Ibid. p. 190. "Alexander crossed, according to Arrian's narrative, four rivers before he reached the Indus; and these, the Kophen, Khoes, Euaspla, and Garœus, we have still in the Punjshir, Alishung, Khonar, and Punjkora. . . . Thus even Arrian is a better authority as an historian than as a geographer, for he describes in the latter character the Kophen as bringing with it to the Indus, the Malamantus, Suastus, and Garœus; two of which he does not name at all in his narrative, and of which the third is probably the same as the second."—Ibid. p. 194. Lassen, on the other hand, holds that Ptolemy is in error. "It must surprise us," he remarks (Ind. Ant., iii. 129), "that, of the rivers of Eastern Kabul, Ptolemy mentions only the Suastos, and passes over the Garoias [the ancient name was Gaurī, the present is Panjkora] in silence, though this river must have been known to him from the accounts of the writers of the Macedonian age, who, however, are wrong in making the Suastos to unite not with it, but with the Kophen. This is the more surprising, as Ptolemy is acquainted with the region called Goryaia after that river. . . . Ptolemy is thus misled into making the Suastos rise too far to the north." See also Lassen's Ind. Ant. ii. 668-9. In any case, the existence of a river in the Kabul country, called Suastus at the date of Alexander's expedition, is undoubted.

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"On an auspicious day I place thee on the most sacred spot of Iḷā [the earth]. Shine, O opulent Agni, in the assembly of men on the banks of the Dṛishadvatī, the Āpāyā, the Sarasvatī." In R.V. vi. 61, 2, the same river is thus magnified: *Iyaṁ śushmebhir bisa-khā ivārujat sānu girīṇāṁ tavishebhir ūrmibhiḥ | pārāvata-ghnīm avase suvṛiktibhiḥ Sarasvatīm ā visāsema dhītibhiḥ |* "By her force, and her impetuous waves she has broken down the sides of the mountains, like a man digging lotus fibres. For succour let us, with praises and hymns, invoke Sarasvatī who sweeps away her banks."[125] In verse 13 of the same hymn the same epithet *ápásām apastamā*, "most copious of streams," which is applied to the Sindhu in R.V. x. 75, 7 (see above, p. 341), is also assigned to the Sarasvatī.

Hymns 95 and 96 of the seventh book of the Rigveda are devoted to the praises of the Sarasvatī and her male correlative the Sarasvat. The first and part of the second verse of the former hymn are as follows: *Pra kshodasā dhāyasā sasre eshā Sarasvatī dharuṇam āyasī pūḥ | pra bābadhānā rathy eva yāti viśvāḥ apo mahinā sindhur anyāḥ | ekā achetat Sarasvatī nadīnāṁ śuchir yatī giribhyaḥ ā samudrāt |* "This Sarasvatī has flowed on with a protecting current, a support, an iron barrier. This stream rushes on like a charioteer, in her majesty outrunning all other rivers.[126] Sarasvatī is known as the one river, flowing on pure from the mountains to the sea."[127]

The Jumna is mentioned in two other passages of the Rigveda besides x. 75, 5. In v. 52, 17, reference is made to property in cows

[125] In reference to this verse, Yūska observes, ii. 23: *Tatra "Sarasvatī" ity etasya nadī-vat devatā-vachcha nigamāḥ bhavanti | . . . Atha etad nadī-vat |* "There are texts which speak of Sarasvatī both as a river and as a goddess. . . . In the following she is referred to as a river." He then quotes the verse before us; and explains (ii. 24) *pārāvata-ghīm* by *pārāvāra-ghātinīm* "destroying the further and the near bank." See also the commentary on the Taitt. Br. vol. ii. p. 842 (Bibl. Indica). This interpretation is condemned in B. and R.'s Lexicon, *s. v.*, where the sense is said to be, either (*a*) "striking the distant (demon)," or (*b*) "striking from, or at, a distance."

[126] See the translation of this verse in Benfey's Glossary to the Sāmaveda, p. 157, under the word *rathī*.

[127] Langlois, vol. iii., p. 241, note 13, thinks that Sarasvatī in this hymn stands, not for a river, but for "the goddess of sacrifice," with her libations. "These libations form a river, which flows from the mountains, where the sacrifice is performed, and where the soma plant is collected. This river flows into the *samudra* (sea), which is the vessel destined to receive the libations."

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and horses on the banks of the Yamunā;[128] and in vii. 18, 19, it is said that the "Yamunā protected [or gladdened] Indra."[129] I have found a reference to the Gangā in one other passage besides x. 75, 5, viz., in vi. 45, 31,[130] where the adjective *gāngya*, "belonging to the Gangā," occurs. But the Rigveda contains no hymn devoted to the celebration of the Gangā, such as we find appropriated to the Sindhu and Sarasvatī.

The Sarayu is also referred to in three passages in the R.V.: iv. 30, 18, v. 53, 9, and x. 64, 9. The first of these texts runs thus: *Uta tyā sadyaḥ Āryā Sarayor Indra pārataḥ | Arṇāchitrarathā avadhīḥ |* "Thou hast straightway slain these two Āryas, Arṇa and Chitraratha, on the other side of the Sarayu." The second and third have been already quoted in pp. 343, f. The Sarayu named in these passages, particularly the last two, may be different from the river of the same name which now flows along the north-eastern frontier of Oude, as it is mentioned in connexion with rivers all of which appear to be in the Panjāb. But it is not absolutely necessary to suppose this,[131] as we shall presently see that one of the Vedic ṛishis was acquainted with Kīkaṭa or Behar. In the Rigveda we have no mention made of the rivers of the south, which have in later ages become so renowned in Hindustan for their sanctity, the Narmadā, the Godaverī, and the Kavērī.

[On the subject treated in the preceding pages, the second edition of Lassen's Indian Antiquities contains, at p. 643, vol. i., some new matter which I translate: "The names of the rivers mentioned in the hymns of the R.V. furnish us with the means of arriving at exact conclusions regarding the abodes of the Arian Indians at the time when they were composed. The Gangā and the Yamunā are only mentioned once in the tenth book. In an earlier book the Dṛishadvatī too is only once named: much oftener

[128] R.V. v. 52, 17: *Yamunāyām adhi śrutam ud rādho gavyaṁ mṛije ni rādho aśvyam mṛije |*

[129] R.V. vii. 18, 19: *Āvad Indraṁ Yamunā ityādi |*

[130] See Roth, Litt. und Gesch. des Weda, p. 136; and above p. 341. The words are: *Uruḥ kakṣho na Gāngyaḥ |* Roth, *sub voce kakṣha*, says, the sense of the word *kakṣha* is uncertain. Langlois does not translate it. Wilson misapprehends Sāyaṇa's explanation.

[131] See, however, the opinion of Lassen, as quoted below.

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the Sarasvatī; but most frequently of all the Sindhu (Indus) with its affluents, some of which are designated by their older names, viz., Asiknī for the Chandrabhāgā, Marudvṛidhā for the same stream after its confluence with the Vitastā, Urunjirā for the Irāvatī, and Parushṇī for the Vipāśā. (The principal passage is R.V. x. 75.) The three western affluents of the Indus, which are now called Gomal, Kurrum, and Kabul, are named in these hymns Gomatī, Krumu, and Kubhā respectively: the last word has, as is well known, been turned by the Greeks into Kophen. The Anitabhā, Rasā, and Śvetī must also be regarded as affluents of the same river (R.V., v. 53, 9; x. 75, 6). . . . Before I proceed further, I think it fit to remark that it is not the fault of the learned geographer [M. Vivien de St. Martin], to whom we owe a valuable dissertation on the Vedic geography, but of the French translator [of the R.V., the late M. Langlois], if the former has been misled to assume the existence of three rivers which have no reality. Sushomā and Ārjīkīyā signify vessels which are used in the preparation of the Soma.[132] The assumption that there is a river called Tṛishṭāmā is founded on an ignorance of the language. In the verse in question (R.V., x. 75, 6) 'tṛishṭā,' 'harshly sounding,' is to be referred to the Sindhu, whilst 'amayā' is the instrumental singular feminine from the pronoun 'ama.'[133]

"The following additional rivers are named in the R.V., the Anśumatī, the Hariyupīyā, and the Yavyāvatī, but only once (vi. 27, 5, 6; viii. 85, 13, ff.), and in such a way that their situation cannot be fixed. Finally, the Sarayu is thrice named. In one place (iv. 30, 17) it is said that by the help of Indra Turvasu and Yadu crossed this stream.[134] In the second passage (x. 64, 9) it is named in connexion with the Sarasvatī and Sindhu; and in the third (v. 53, 9), again, in connexion with these two, and as well as with several affluents of the Indus and the Yamunā. These data do

[132] In proof of this Lassen refers to Roth, on the Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 137. See also Roth's Illust. of Nirukta, p. 131, and Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* ārjīkīyā: also Benfey's Glossary to S.V., *s.v.* śaraṇyāvat.

[133] Tṛishṭāmā is given as the name of a river in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon; and this interpretation is not withdrawn in the "additions and improvements," in vol.

[134] The Sarayu is not named in v. 17, but in v. 18, where Indra is said to have slain two Āryas, Arṇa and Chitraratha, on the other side of this river. See p. 347.

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not suffice to show what river is meant. Perhaps it is an affluent of the Sarasvatī; this river is in any case to be distinguished from the well-known affluent of the Gangā. From this survey it is clear that at the time of the composition of the Rigveda the Arian Indians dwelt chiefly in eastern Kābulistan and in the Panjāb as far as the Sarasvatī.

"If we hold the Anitabhā, the Rasā, and the Śvetī,—as from the connexion we must,—for the modern Abu Sin, Burrindu, and Sudum, the Arian Indians were at that time already in possession of a tract on the upper Indus. The conjecture that by the Rasā is meant the Suvāstu, and by the Śvetī the Koas of the ancients, cannot be justified. Whether we are to assign to the Arian Indians a tract in western Kabulistan also, depends on the ascertainment of the modern names of the three rivers mentioned in the R.V., which have not yet been identified. It was only in the period when the tenth book of this collection of hymns was composed that the Arian people had travelled further east and reached the Gangā.

"The Atharvaveda represents to us an important advance in the diffusion of the Arian Indians. The Bahlīkas and Gandhāras appear in the light of peoples living at a distance; so, too, the countries of Magadha and Anga. It may be hence concluded that at that period the Arians had not spread further than to north-western Bengal, on the south bank of the Ganges.[135] Regarding the diffusion of the Brahmanical religion, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa has preserved a remarkable legend, of which the essential import is as follows," etc. Lassen then quotes the passage (i. 4, 1, 10, ff.), which will be cited further on.]

We have already seen (p. 328) that the Himālaya mountains are mentioned in the Atharvaveda. In a fine hymn, the 121st of the 10th maṇḍala of the R.V., also, we have the following verse, x. 121, 4: *Yasya ime Himavanto mahitvā yasya samudraṁ rasayā saha āhuḥ* | "He whose greatness these snowy mountains, and the sea with the aërial river declare,"[136] etc. But no allusion to the Vindhya range,

[135] The author here refers to Roth on the Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, pp. 37, ff., where some verses of A.V., v. 22, are quoted, translated, and illustrated. See p. 351.

[136] See Müller's translation in Bunsen's Gott in der Geschichte, part ii., p. 107. The Himālaya, or snowy range, is also mentioned, A.V. xii. 1, 11: *Girayas te parvatāḥ himavanto araṇyaṁ te pṛithivi syonam astu* | "May thy mountains be snowy, O earth, and thy wilderness beautiful."

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which runs across the central parts of India, is to be found in the Rigveda.

The following text from the R.V. shows that the author of the hymn (said to be Viśvāmitra) knew something of the countries to the eastward as far as Kīkaṭa or Behar, R.V. iii. 53, 14: *Kiṁ te kṛiṇvanti Kīkaṭeshu gāvo na āśiraṁ duhre na tapanti gharmam | ā no bhara Pramagandasya vedo naichāśākham Maghavan randhaya naḥ |* "What are thy cows doing among the Kīkaṭas? They yield no milk for oblations; and they heat no fire. Bring us the wealth of Pramaganda [or the usurer]; and subdue to us, O Maghavat (Indra), the degraded man (naichāśākha)." Yāska explains Kīkaṭa as "a country inhabited by people who were not Āryas," Nirukta vi. 32: *Kīkaṭo nāma deśo 'nāryaniveśaḥ* |[127] The word *Kīkaṭa* is given in the vocabulary called Trikāṇḍaśesha, as equivalent to Magadha. In Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, the following lines are quoted from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, i. 3, 24: *Tataḥ kalau sampravṛitte sammohāya sura-dvishām | Buddho nāmānjana-sutaḥ Kīkaṭeshu bhavishyati |* "Then, when the Kali age has begun, a person named Buddha, son of Anjana, will be born among the Kīkaṭas, in order to delude the enemies of the gods (the Asuras)." The commentator on the Bhāg. Pur. explains the Kīkaṭas by *madhye Gayā-pradeśe* | "in the country of Gayā." Again, Bhāg. Pur., viī. 10, 18, it is said: *Yatra yatra cha mad-bhaktāḥ praśāntāḥ samadarśinaḥ | sādhavaḥ samudāchārās te pūyante 'pi Kīkaṭāḥ |* "In every place where those who are devoted to me, who are calm, who regard all things as alike, who are holy and virtuous, are found, the

[127] Sāyaṇa gives an alternative explanation of *kīkaṭa*, borrowed from a hint in Yāska: *Yadvā "kriyābhir yāga-dāna-homa-lakshaṇābhiḥ kim phalishyati" ity aśraddadhānāḥ pratyuta "pibata khādata ayam eva loko na paraḥ" iti vadanto nāstikāḥ kīkaṭāḥ* | "Or the Kīkaṭās are atheists, who, being destitute of faith, say, 'what fruit will result from sacrifices, alms, or oblations? rather eat and drink, for there is no other world but this.'" In Sāyaṇa's introduction to the Rigveda (Müller's edit. vol. i. p. 7), an aphorism of the Mīmānsā, with a comment, is quoted, in which an objector demurs to the eternity of the Veda, because objects and persons who existed in time are mentioned in it. In the objector's statement, Naichaśākha is spoken of as a city, and Pramaganda as a king: *"Kiṁ te kṛiṇvanti Kīkaṭeshv" iti mantre kīkaṭo nāma janapadaḥ āmnātaḥ | tathā Naichaśākhaṁ nāma nagaram Pramagando nāma rājā ity ete 'rthāḥ anityāḥ āmnātāḥ* | "In the verse, 'what do thy cows among the Kīkaṭas, etc.,' a country named Kīkaṭa is recorded, together with a city called Naichaśākha and a king called Pramaganda; all which are non-eternal objects."

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men [of that country] are purified, even if they be Kīkaṭas." Professor Weber, in his Ind. Stud. i. 186, states his opinion that the Kīkaṭas were not (as Yāska tell us) a non-Arian tribe, but a people who, like the Vrātyas, were of Arian origin, though they did not observe Arian rites; and they may, he thinks, have been Buddhists, or the forerunners of Buddhism.

From these passages there seems to be no doubt that the Kīkaṭas were a people who lived in Magadha or Behar.

The following verses from one of the mantras of the Atharvaveda, v. 22, quoted and explained by Professor Roth in his Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, pp. 37–42, may tend to show what were the limits of the country occupied by the Āryas at the date of its composition. These limits coincide in one direction with those indicated in the preceding passage from the Rigveda, in which the Kīkaṭas are mentioned. This mantra contains an invocation to Takman, apparently a personified cutaneous disease, who is supplicated to withdraw to certain other tribes, whose names are specified, and whom we may therefore with probability conclude to have been regarded as without the Arian pale, though not necessarily non-Arians. A.V., v. 22, verses 5, 7, 8, 12, 14: 5 | *Oko asya Mūjavanto oko asya Mahāvṛishāḥ | yāvaj jātas takmaṁs tāvān asi Bahlikeshu nyocharaḥ* | 7 | *Takman Mūjavato gachha Bahlikān vā parastarām | Śūdrām ichha prapharyaṁ tāṁ Takman vi iva dhūnuhi* | 8 | *Mahāvṛishān Mūjavato bandhu addhi paretya | prai-tāni takmanè brūmo anyakshetrāṇi vā imā* | 12 | *Takman bhrātrā balā-sena svasrā kāsikayā saha | pāmnā bhrātṛivyeṇa saha gachhāmum araṇaṁ janam* | 14 | *Gandhāribhyo Mūjavadbhyo Angebhyo Magadhebhyaḥ | praishyaṁ janam iva śevadhiṁ takmānam pari dadmasi* | 5. "His (Takman's) abode are the Mūjavats, his abode the Mahāvṛishas. As soon as thou art born, O Takman, thou sojournest among the Bahlikas. 7. Go, Takman, to the Mūjavats, or far away to the Bahlikas. Choose the female Śūdra for food; and shake her. 8. Passing (us) by, O friend, devour the Mahāvṛishas and the Mūjavats. We point out to Takman these or those alien regions. 12. Takman, along with thy brother Balāsa, and with thy sister Kāsikā (cough), and with thy nephew Pāman, depart to that foreign people. 14. We transfer Takman as a servant, and as a treasure, to the Gandhāris, the Mūjavats, the Angas, and the Magadhas."

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The Mūjavats are again mentioned in the Vājasanēyi-sanhitā, 3, 61, as follows: *Etat te Rudra avasaṁ tena paro Mūjavato atīhi | avatata-dhanvā pināvāsaḥ kṛittivāsāḥ ahiṁsan naḥ śivo atīhi* |[138] "This, O Rudra, is thy food; with it depart beyond the Mūjavats. With thy bow unbent, and concealed from view, and clad in a skin, pass beyond, uninjuring us and propitious."

The Mūjavats being mentioned along with the Bahlikas, a Bactrian race, and with the Gandhāris (see above, p. 342) may, as Roth thinks, be a hill tribe in the north-west of India; and the Mahāvṛishas may belong to the same region.[139]

The Angas and Magadhas mentioned in verse 13 are, on the contrary, tribes living in south Behar, and the country bordering on it to the west. We have thus in that verse two nations situated to the north-west, and two to the south-east, whom we may suppose, from the maledictions pronounced on them, to have been hostile, or alien tribes,

[138] Mūjavat is explained by the commentator on the V.S., as the name of a mountain, the place of Rudra's abode: *Mūjavān nāma kaśchit parvato Rudrasya vāsa-sthānam* | This is apparently a later idea. Compare the Mahābhārata, Sauptika-parva, 785, *Evam uktvā sa sakrodho jagāma vimanāḥ Bhavaḥ | girer Munjavataḥ pādaṁ tapas taptum mahātapāḥ* | "Bhava (S'iva) having so said, went away angry and disturbed, to the quarter of the hill Munjavat, to perform austerity, the great devotee;" and the Āśvamedhika parva, 180: *Girer Himavataḥ pṛishṭhe Munjavān nāma parvataḥ | tapyate yatra bhagavāṁs tapo nityam Umāpatiḥ* | "On the heights of the Himavat mountain there is a hill called Munjavat, where the divine lord of Umā (S'iva) performs continual austerity." The commentator on the S'atapatha-brāhmaṇa says it is the "Northern Mountain," *udīchyaḥ parvataḥ* | The S'atapatha-brāhmaṇa (ii. 6, 2, 17,) thus comments on the text of the Vāj. S., after quoting it: *Avasena vai adhvānaṁ yanti | tad enaṁ sāvasam eva anvavārjati yatra yatra asya charaṇaṁ tad anu | atra ha vai asya paro Mūjavadbhyaś charaṇam | tasmād āha "paro Mūjavato 'tīhi" iti "avatata-dhanvā pināvāsaḥ" ity "ahiṁsan naḥ śivo 'tīhi" ity | eva etad āha "kṛittivāsāḥ" iti | nishvāpayaty eva enam etat | svapann u hi na kanchana hinasti | tasmād āha "kṛittivāsāḥ" iti* | "Men go on their way with provision. He therefore sends him (Rudra) off with provision, wherever he has to go. Here his journey is beyond the Mūjavats; hence he says 'pass beyond the Mūjavats;' 'with bow unbent and concealed,' 'uninjuring us and propitious, pass beyond.' He adds 'clad in a skin.' This lulls him to sleep; for while sleeping he injures nobody. Wherefore he says 'clad in a skin.'" A derivative of the word Mūjavat occurs also in the R.V. x. 34, 1: *Somasya iva Maujavatasya bhakshaḥ* | "Like a draught of the soma produced on Mūjavat, or among the Mūjavats." Yāska, Nir. 9, 8, explains the word thus: *Maujavato Mūjavati jātaḥ | Mūjavān parvataḥ.* "'Maujavataḥ' means produced on Mūjavat: Mūjavat is a mountain."

[139] On the Bāhīkas and Bāhlīkas, see Lassen, Zeitsch. 1840, p. 194; and for 1839, p. 52, ff.

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who lived on the borders of Brahmanical India, and to have been beyond its boundaries at the time this incantation was composed. (Roth, Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 42.)

It does not, however, follow that the tribes who, in the Atharva-veda, are spoken of as if they were hostile, or alien, were really of a non-Arian origin. (See above, p. 351.)

Thus, the Arians appear in later times to have been in communication with the Gandhārās. In the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa allusion is made to a royal sage called Svarjit, son of Nagnajit, the Gāndhāra, who had expressed an opinion on the nature of breath or life; and although his view was not regarded as authoritative, still the very fact of its being quoted, and its author mentioned as a Rājanya, proves his Arian origin. This is the passage, Śat.-Br. viii. 1, 4, 10: *Atha ha sma āha Svarjid Nāgnajitaḥ | Nagnachid vā Gāndhāraḥ | . . . Yat sa tad uvācha Rājanyabandhur iva tv eva tad uvācha |* "Further Svarjit, son of Nagnajit, said. Now Nagnajit was a Gāndhāra. . . . This which he said, he spake as a mere Rājanya." Nagnajit, the Gāndhāra, is also mentioned in the Ait.-Br., vii. 34, as one of the persons who received instruction regarding a particular rite from Parvata and Nārāda.[140] He is also mentioned[141] in the following passage of the Mahābh., i. 2439–41: *Prahrāda-śishyo Nagnajit Subalaś chābhavat tataḥ | tasya prajā dharma-hantrī jajne deva-prakopanāt | Gandhāra-rāja-putro 'bhūch Chhakuniḥ Saubalas tathā | Duryodhanasya jananī jajnāte 'rtha-viśāradau |* "Nagnajit, the disciple of Prahrāda, and Subala, were then born. Owing to the wrath of the gods, the offspring born to him became the enemies of righteousness. Two children were born to the king of Gandhāra (Subala), Śakuni Saubala, and the mother of Dūryodhana, who were both intelligent." Duryodhana was a Kuru prince, and one of the heroes of the Mahābhārata.

These passages are amply sufficient to prove that the Gandhāras were a people with whom the Arians of India were in the habit of holding intercourse, and contracting affinities, and from this intercourse we may reasonably infer a community of origin and language. On this subject Lassen remarks (Zeitsch. für die Kunde des Morgenl., iii. 206): "Though in individual passages of the Mahābhārata, hatred and con-

[140] Roth, Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, pp. 41, 42.
[141] See Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 218–220.

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tempt are expressed in reference to the tribes living on the Indus and its five great tributaries, yet there is no trace of these tribes being ever regarded as of non-Indian origin. That there was no essential difference in their language is proved, as regards a later period, by the testimony of Pāṇini, which I have already cited." The previous passage here referred to is from the same article, p. 194, where it is said: "The word Bāhīka is used not only in the Mahābhārata, but also in Pāṇini,[142] as a general designation for the tribes of the Panjāb. The use of this appellation is thus fully certified; and if the grammarian found it necessary to give special rules for forming the names of the villages in the Bāhīka country, we may hence conclude that the Bāhīkas spoke Sanskrit, though they applied particular affixes differently from the other Indians."

The same writer elsewhere[143] remarks: "The Indians distinguish, not expressly, but by implication, the nations dwelling between the Sarasvatī, and the Hindu-kush, into two classes: first, those to the eastward of the Indus, and some of those immediately to the westward of that river, as the Gandhāras (see p. 342, above), are in their estimation still Indians; . . . but with the exception of the Kāshmiras, and some less known races, these Indians are not of the genuine sort: the greater freedom of their customs is regarded as a lawless condition." And Weber similarly remarks:[144] "The north-western tribes retained their ancient customs, which the other tribes who migrated to the east had at one time shared. The former kept themselves free from the influences of the hierarchy and of caste, which arose among the latter as a consequence of their residence among people of alien origin (the aborigines). But the later orthodox feelings of the more eastern

[142] The aphorisms here referred to are iii. 3, 78, and iv. 2, 117, 118. The two latter, with the comments, are as follows:—117 | *Vahīka-grāmebhyaścha* | *Vāhīka-grāma-vāchibhyo vṛidha-sanjñakebhyash "ṭhañ" "ñiṭh" ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ* | *Śākalikī* | *Śākalikā* | 118 | *Vibhāshā Uśīnareshu* | *Uśīnareshu ye Vāhīka-grāmās tad-vāchibhyo vṛidhebhyash "ṭhañ" "ñiṭh" ity etau pratyayau vā bhavataḥ* | *Saudarśanikī* | *Saudarśanikā* | *pakshe chhaḥ* | *Saudarśanīyā* | "117. The affixes *ṭhañ* and *ñiṭh* are employed in words taking *vṛiddhi*, which denote villages of the Vāhīkas; as Śākalikī, Śākalikā. 118. Or the affixes *ṭhañ* and *ñiṭh* are optionally employed in words taking *vṛiddhi*, which denote Vāhīka villages in the country of the Uśīnaras; as *Saudarśanikī*, *Saudarśanikā*; or sometimes with the *chhaḥ* affix, *Saudarśanīyā*.

[143] Zeitschrift, ii. 58. See also Asiat. Res. xv. 108; and App. note L.

[144] Ind. Stud. i. 220.

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Arians obliterated the recollection of their own earlier freedom; and caused them to detest the kindred tribes to the westward as renegades, instead of looking on themselves as men who had abandoned their own original institutions."

There are other races also, who, although in the later Sanskrit literature they are spoken of as being now aliens from the Brahmanical communion, are yet declared to have once belonged to the Kshatriya caste; and to have lost their position in it from neglect of sacred rites.[145] (See above, p. 259, and note 35). In addition to this tradition, however, we have yet further proof of the Arian origin of some at least of these tribes. Thus, it appears from the following passage of the Nirukta (already quoted above, p. 152), that the Kambōjas spoke an Arian language, Nirukta, ii. 2: "Among some (tribes) the original forms are used, among others the derivatives. *Śavati* for the 'act of going' is used only among the Kambōjas, while its derivative *śava* is used among the Āryas. *Dāti* is employed by the eastern people in the sense of 'cutting,' while the word *dātram*, 'sickle,' (only) is used by the men of the north." If, therefore, the testimony of Yāska in regard to the language used by Kambōjas is to be trusted, it is clear that they spoke a Sanskrit dialect. It is implied in the remarks he has made, that a close affinity existed between the languages of the Āryas and Kambōjas; that the substance of both was the same, though in some respects it was variously modified and applied. For it is only where such a general identity exists, that the differences existing between any two dialects can excite any attention. Had the two languages had but little in common, no such comparison of minor variations could have suggested itself to the grammarians. Now the country of the Kambōjas was situated to the north-west of India, on the other side of the Indus. It is clear, therefore, that Sanskrit was spoken at some distance to the west of that river.

Professor Roth is even of opinion that this passage proves Sanskrit grammar to have been studied among the Kambōjas. In his Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 67, he observes: "The multitude of grammarians whose opinions are cited in the Prātiśākhyas, proves how widely gram-

[145] This tradition is, however, erroneously extended to some of the eastern and southern tribes, the Puṇḍras, Oḍras and Draviḍas, who, as we shall afterwards see, could not have been of Arian origin.

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matical studies were pursued; and Yāska (Nirukta ii. 2: see above, and p. 152), confirms this in a remarkable passage, according to which verbal forms were variously employed by the grammarians of four different provinces. These four tribes were the Kambōjas and Āryas; together with the Prāchyas and Udīchyas (or eastern and northern peoples). It is thus irrefragably proved that the Kambōjas were originally not only an Indian people, but also a people possessed of Indian culture; and consequently that in Yāska's time this culture extended as far as the Hindukush. At a later period, as the well-known passage in Manu's Institutes (x. 43) shows, the Kambōjas were reckoned among the barbarians, because their customs differed from those of the Indians. . . . . The same change of relation has thus, in a smaller degree, taken place between the Kambōjas and the Indians, as occurred, in a remote antiquity, between the latter and the ancient Persians." [146]

Now, as I have intimated, the fact that Sanskrit was spoken by the tribes to the west of the Indus may be held to prove that that tract of country was inhabited by races of Arian origin, and of common descent with the Indians;[147] and affords an additional argument in support of the position that the Indo-Arians immigrated into India from that direction.

It may, however, perhaps, be objected that the passage in question

[146] In his later work, the edition of the Nirukta, Roth suspects, for certain reasons, that so much of the passage before us as refers to the Kambōjas may be interpolated. He adds, however, that "it is in so far valuable, as it shows that the ancient Indians imagined the Kambōjas also to be students of Sanskrit Grammar." Erläut., pp. 17, 18. In the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vii. 373–377, Professor Müller makes some remarks on the same passage. He alludes to the fact that a similar passage occurs in the Mahābhāshya; and observes that "though this circumstance appears partly to confirm Roth's conjecture regarding the spuriousness of portions of the passage, it may also be possible that the Mahābhāshya has borrowed it from the Nirukta, or that both the Nirukta and the Mahābhāshya may have taken it from the common source of ancient grammatical tradition." In any case, this reference to a distant race like the Kambōjas, looks as if it must have been borrowed from some ancient source. The passage of the Mahābhāshya is as follows, p. 62 of Dr. Ballantyne's edition: *S'avatir gati-karmā Kambōjeshv eva bhāshito bhavati | vikāre eva enam Aryāḥ bhāshante "śavaḥ" iti | "Hammatiḥ" Surāshṭreshu "raṁhatiḥ" Prāchya-madhyameshu "gamtiṁ" eva tv Āryāḥ prayuṅjate | "Dātir" lavanārthe Prāchyeshu dātram Udīchyeshu | "S'avati,* as a verb of going, is employed only by the Kambōjas; the Āryas use only its derivative, *śava*. The Surāshṭras use *hammati*, the central and eastern tribes *raṁhati*, but the Āryas only *gami* in the sense of 'going.' *Dāti* occurs among the eastern tribes as the verb for 'cutting;' *dātra*, a 'sickle,' alone is used by the people of the north."

[147] See Appendix, note M. See Rawlinson's Herodotus, i. p. 670, 671; and Strabo, there quoted.

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(Nir. ii. 2), not only proves that Sanskrit was spoken by the Kambojas, to the north-west, but by the men of the east also. Now, as we may presume that Yāska lived on the banks of the Sarasvatī or of the Yamunā, or of the Gangā, the people whom he designates Prāchyas, or "men of the east," must have been the Kīkaṭas, or the Magadhas, or the Aṅgas, or the Vaṅgas. But since it is evident from this passage that these tribes also spoke Sanskrit, it might in like manner be argued from this circumstance that the Āryas must have penetrated into India from the eastward. To this I reply, that we can prove from other passages, such as that in the S'atapatha-brāhmaṇa, i. 4, i. 10–18 (which will be quoted further on), that the Arian civilization travelled from the west to the east; and that therefore we may reasonably suppose that these Prāchya tribes did not originally live in the eastern country, but formed part of the population which had migrated from the west, or that at least they did not begin to speak Sanskrit till they had learnt it from the Arians coming from the west. And besides, this passage which I have quoted from Yāska does not stand alone; it is only auxiliary to the other arguments which have been already adduced to show that the Indo-Arians came from the north-west.

This fact, that tribes speaking dialects of Sanskrit lived to the north-west of India, might, it is true, be also explained on Mr. Curzon's hypothesis, that these tribes had emigrated from India. But this hypothesis is opposed, as we have already seen, pp. 312, f., 320, f., to the other circumstances of the case.

The argument, then, which I derive from the facts just detailed, when briefly stated, is this: We find the north-west of India to be occupied by various tribes, who spoke the same language as the Arian Indians. On the other hand, we find (as will be shown at length in the next chapter) that different parts (the eastern and southern as well as the north-western) of Hindustan itself, were inhabited by a variety of tribes speaking languages fundamentally distinct from those of the Arian race. From this I draw the conclusion that the Arian Indians must have come from without, from the same side which we find to be occupied from the earliest period by tribes speaking the same language; and have driven before them to the east and south the non-Arian races, to whom, on penetrating into India, they found themselves opposed. This subject, however, will be handled at length in the following chapter.

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CHAPTER III.

THE ARIANS IN INDIA: THEIR ADVANCE TO THE EAST AND SOUTH.

In the preceding chapter I have endeavoured, by a variety of arguments derived from comparative philology, and from general history, as well as from the most ancient written records of the Indians and the Iranians, to prove—First, that the dominant race which we find established in Hindustan at the dawn of history was not autochthonous, but immigrated into that country from Central Asia; and Secondly, that the route by which this people penetrated was from the north-west through Kabul, and across the Indus. I shall, for the future, assume that both of these two propositions have been substantiated; and shall proceed to trace the history of the Indo-Arian tribes after they had entered the Panjāb, and had commenced their advance to the south and east. We have already gathered (see above, pp. 341, ff.), from an examination of the oldest Indian records, the hymns of the Rigveda, that the country on both sides of the Indus was the earliest seat of the Indo-Arians in India. We shall now see (as has also been already intimated, pp. 291) that in these same hymns the ancient bards designated the men of their own tribes by the name of Āryas, and distinguished them expressly from another class of people called Dasyus, who, we have reason to suppose, were a race of distinct origin from the Āryas, and perhaps different from them in colour (see above, p. 282), as they certainly were in language, in religion, and in customs, who had been in occupation of India before it was entered by the Indo-Arians from the north-west. I shall afterwards adduce various passages from the Brāhmaṇas and post-Vedic writings, illustrative of the progress of the Indo-Arians as they advanced to the east and south, driving the indigenous tribes before them into the hills and forests, and taking possession of the territory which the latter had previously

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occupied. I shall subsequently furnish some illustrations of the fundamental differences which exist between the Sanskrit and the languages of the south of India—differences which indicate that the tribes among which the latter dialects were originally vernacular must in all probability have been of a different race from the Indo-Arians. And, finally, I shall refer to the mode in which these various classes of facts support the conclusion to which we have been already led, that the Indo-Arians were not autochthonous in India, but immigrated into that country from the north-west.

SECT. I.—*Distinction drawn between the Āryas and Dasyus in the Rigveda.*

I proceed, then, first, to show that the authors of the Vedic hymns made a distinction between the members of their own community and certain tribes whom they designated as Dasyus. This will appear from the following texts. R.V. 51, 8, 9: *Vijānīhi Āryān ye cha dasyavo barhishmate randhaya śāsad avratān | śākī bhava yajamānasya chodità viśvā it tā te sadhamādeshu chākana |* "Distinguish between the Āryas and those who are Dasyus: chastizing those who observe no sacred rites [or who are lawless], subject them to the sacrificer. Be a strong supporter of him who sacrifices. I desire all these (benefits) at thy festivals."[1] x. 86, 19: *Ayam emi vichākaśad vichinvan dāsam āryam |* "Here I come," (says Indra) "perceiving and distinguishing the Dāsa and the Ārya." i. 103, 3; *Sa jātūbharmā śraddadhānaḥ ojaḥ puro vibhindann acharad vi dāsīḥ | vidvān vajrin dasyave hetim asya āryam saho vardhaya dyumnam Indra |* "Armed with the lightning,[2] and trusting in his strength, he (Indra) moved about shattering the cities of the Dasyus. Indra, thunderer, considering, hurl thy shaft against the Dasyu, and increase the might and glory of the Ārya." i. 117. 21: *Yavaṁ vṛikeṇa Aśvinā vapantā iṣhaṁ duhānā manushāya dasrā | abhi dasyuṁ bakureṇa dhamantā uru jyotiś chak-*

[1] This text, as well as R.V. i. 103, 3, given below, is quoted by Professor Müller, "Languages of the Seat of War," first edition, p. 28, note.

[2] Professor Benfey (Orient und Occident, iii. 132) renders *jātūbharmā*, "a born warrior." Prof. Aufrecht considers it to mean "carrying off the victory, or palm," deriving *jātu* from *ji*, to conquer, which he thinks had another form *jā*, from which comes *jāyu*, "victorious."

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rathur āryāya | "O beautiful Aśvins, sowing barley with the plough, drawing forth (*lit.* milking) food for man, and sweeping [or blowing] away the Dasyu with the thunderbolt, ye have created a great light for the Ārya."[3] i. 130, 8: *Indraḥ samatsu yajamānam āryam prāvad viśveshu śatamūtir ājishu svarmīḷheshu ājishu* | *manave śāsad avratān tvachaṁ kṛishṇām arandhayat* | "Indra, who in a hundred ways protects in all battles, in heaven-conferring battles, has preserved in the fray the sacrificing Ārya. Chastizing the neglectors of religious rites, he subjected the black skin to Manu" (or the Arian man).[4] iii. 34, 8, 9: *Sasāna yaḥ pṛithivīṁ dyām utemām Indram madanti anu dhīraṇāsaḥ* | *sasāna atyān uta sūryaṁ sasāna Indraḥ sasāna purubhojasaṁ gām* | *hiraṇyam uta bhogaṁ sasāna hatvī dasyūn pra āryaṁ varṇam āvat* | "The wise gladden Indra, who bestowed the earth and this firmament. Indra gave horses, he gave the sun, he gave the much-nourishing cow; and he gave golden wealth. Slaying the Dasyu, he protected the Āryan colour." iv. 26, 1, 2: *Aham Manur abhavaṁ sūryaś cha ahaṁ Kakshīvān ṛishir asmi vipraḥ* | *ahaṁ Kutsam Ārjuneyaṁ ni ṛinje ahaṁ kavir Uśanāḥ paśyata mām* | 2 | *aham bhūmim adadām āryāya ahaṁ vṛishṭiṁ dāśushe martyāya* | *aham apo anayaṁ vāvaśānāḥ mama devāso anu ketum āyan* | "I," says Indra, "was Manu, and I the sun; I am the

[3] Sāyaṇa interprets the "great light," either of the glory acquired by the Aśvins: *Svakīyaṁ tejo māhātmyaṁ chakrathuḥ* | or of the sun: *Vistīrṇaṁ sūryākhyaṁ jyotiḥ* | "For it is the living man who beholds the sun:" *Jīvan hi sūryam paśyati* | Roth thinks this verse may refer to some forgotten legend, and that *vṛika* may have the ordinary sense of "wolf." He compares R.V. viii. 226: *Daśasyantā manave pūrvyaṁ divi yavaṁ vṛikṇa karshathaḥ* | "Desiring to be bountiful to the man, ye have of old in the sky ploughed barley with the wolf." He is also of opinion that *dhamantā* has in the verse before us its proper sense of "blowing," and refers in proof to the words of R.V. ix. 1, 8, *dhamanti bākuraṁ dṛitim* | *Bakura* perhaps signifies, he thinks, a "crooked wind instrument, which the Aśvins used to terrify their enemies; and *bākura*" (in R.V. ix. 1, 8) "might denote a skin shaped like a *bakura*." Illustr. of Nirukta, p. 92. In his Lexicon, Roth adheres to the opinion that *bakura* is probably a martial wind-instrument, and that *bākuro dṛitiḥ* is a bagpipe. The two following passages also similarly speak of light: R.V. ix. 92, 5: *Jyotir yad ahne akṛiṇod u lokam prāvad manuṁ dasyave kar abhīkam* | "When he (Soma) gave light to the day and afforded space, he delivered Manu [or the Arian man], and arrested the Dasyu." R.V. x. 43, 4: . . . *vidat svar manave jyotir āryam* | "He (Indra) gave to Manu blessedness (and) a glorious light."

[4] This passage is translated in a review of the first volume of this work, contained in the "Times" of 12th April, 1858. The "black skin," is there interpreted of the dark colour of the Dasyus. The next passage is also partly quoted in the same article.

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wise ṛishi Kakshīvāt. I subdue Kutsa, the son of Arjuni. I am the sage Uśanas: behold me. 2. I gave the earth to the Ārya, and rain to the sacrificer. I have led the longing waters. The gods have followed my will."[5] iv. 30, 18: The Sanskrit text of the following is given above, p. 347.: "Thou, O Indra, hast speedily slain those two Āryas, Arṇa and Chitraratha, on the opposite bank of the Sarayu" (river). vi. 25, 2, 3: *Ābhir viśvāḥ abhiyujo visūchīr āryāya viśo avatārīr dāsīḥ| Indra jāmayaḥ uta ye ajāmayo arvāchīnāso vanusho yuyujre| tvam eshāṁ vithurā śavāṁsi jahi vṛishṇyāni kṛiṇuhi parāchaḥ |* "By these (succours) subdue to the Ārya all the hostile Dāsa people everywhere. Indra, whether it be kinsmen or strangers who have approached and injuriously assailed us, do thou enfeeble and destroy their power and vigour, and put them to flight." vi. 33, 3: *Tvaṁ tān Indra ubhayān amitrān dāsā vṛitrāṇi āryā cha śūra | vadhīr ity ādi.* "Do thou, heroic Indra, destroy both these our foes, (our) Dāsa and our Ārya enemies, etc. vi. 60, 6: *Hato vṛitrāṇi āryā hato dāsāni satpatī | hato viśvāḥ apa dvishaḥ |* "Do ye, O lords of the heroic, slay our Ārya enemies, slay our Dāsa enemies, destroy all those who hate us." R.V. vii. 5, 6: *Tvam dasyūn okaso Agne ājaḥ uru jyotir janayann āryāya |* "Thou, Agni, drovest the Dasyus from the house, creating a wide light for the Ārya." vii. 83, 1: *Dāsā cha vṛitrā hatam āryāṇi cha sudāsam Indrā-Varuṇā 'vasā 'vatam |* "Slay both the Dāsa enemies and the Ārya; protect Sudās (or the liberal man) with your succour, O

[5] Sāyaṇa connects the word *ārya* as an epithet with Manu understood. Professor Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 195, note, thinks that Manu means in this passage the moon. (In pp. 194, 5, he has a dissertation on the word Manu.) The speaker in these verses appear to be Indra. (See Böthl. and Roth's Dictionary, *sub voce*, Uśanas.) The Anukramaṇī, as quoted by Sāyaṇa, says, *Ādyābhis tisṛibhir Indram iva ātmānam ṛishis tushṭāva Indro vā ātmānam |* "In the first three verses the ṛishi celebrates himself as if under the character of Indra; or Indra celebrates himself." Kuhn (Herabkunft des Feuers, p. 143) conjectures that Vāmadeva may perhaps have been an ancient epithet of Indra. In R.V. x. 48, 1, Indra says, similarly: *Ahaṁ dāśushe vibhajāmi bhojanam |* "I distribute food to the sacrificer," etc. The pantheistic author of the Vṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad, thinks that the Ṛishi Vāmadeva is speaking of himself in these words (Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 215, 216): *Tad yo yo devānām pratyabudhyata sa eva tad abhavat tathā ṛishīṇāṁ tathā manushyāṇām | tad ha etat paśyann ṛishir Vāmadevaḥ pratipede "aham Manur abhavaṁ sūryaś cha" iti |* "Whosoever of gods, ṛishis, or men, understood *That*, he became *That*. Perceiving this, the Ṛishi Vāmadeva obtained this text, 'I was Manu, I the sun, etc." Uśanas is connected with Indra in R.V. vi. 20, 11.

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Indra and Varuṇa." x. 38, 3: *Yo no dāsaḥ āryo vā purushṭuta adevaḥ Indra yudhaye chiketati | asmābhis te sushahāḥ santu śatravaḥ tvayā vayaṁ tān vanuyāma śangame |* "O, much lauded Indra, whatever ungodly person, Dāsa or Ārya, designs to fight against us, let these enemies be easily subdued by us. May we destroy them in the conflict." x. 49, 3: *Ahaṁ Sushṇasya śnathitā vadhar yamaṁ na yo rare āryaṁ nāma dasyave |* "I, the slayer of Sushṇa, have restrained the bolt,—I who have not abandoned the Āryan name to the Dasyu." x. 65, 11: *Brahma gām aśvaṁ janayanta oshadhīr vanaspatīn pṛithivīm parvatān apaḥ | sūryaṁ divi rohayantaḥ sudānavaḥ āryā vratā visṛijanto adhi kshami |* "These bountiful ones" (the gods named in the preceding verse) "have generated prayer, the cow, the horse, plants, trees, the earth, the mountains, the waters;—causing the sun to ascend the sky, and spreading Āryan rites over the earth."[6] x. 83, 1: *Sāhyāma dāsam āryaṁ tvayā yujā vayaṁ sahaskṛitena sahasā sahasvatā |* "May we," (O Manyu) "associated with thee, the mighty one, overcome both Dāsa and Ārya through (thy) effectual energy." x. 102, 3: *Antar yachha jighāṁsato vajram Indra abhidāsataḥ | dāsasya vā maghavann āryasya vā sanutar yavaya vadham |* "Restrain, O Indra, the bolt of the murderous assailant: remove far away the weapon of our enemy, be he Dāsa or Ārya." x. 138, 3: *Vi sūryo madhye amuchad rathaṁ vidad dāsāya pratimānam āryaḥ |* "The sun has launched his car in mid-heaven: the Ārya has paid back a recompense to the Dasyu." viii. 24, 27: *Yaḥ ṛikshād aṁhaso muchad yo vā aryāt saptasindhushu | vadhar dāsasya tuvinṛimṇa nīnamaḥ |* "Who delivered [us] from the destroyer, from calamity; who, O powerful [god], didst avert the bolt of the Dāsa from the Ārya in [the land of] the seven streams."

The above-cited texts seem to show that the Rigveda recognizes a distinction between the tribe to which the authors of the hymns belonged, and a hostile people who observed different rites, and were regarded with contempt and hatred by the superior race. This appears from the constant antithetic juxtaposition of the two names Ārya and Dasyu, in most of these texts; and from the specification in others of

[6] Compare R.V. vii. 99, 4: *Urum yajñāyā chakrathur u lokam janayantā sūryam ushasam agnim | Dāsasya chid vṛishaśiprasya māyāḥ jaghnathur narā pṛitanājyeshu:* "Ye (Indra and Vishṇu) have provided abundant room for the sacrifice, creating the sun, the dawn, and fire. Ye, O heroes, have destroyed the powers of the bull-nosed Dāsa."

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enemies, both Ārya and Dasyu. If human enemies are designated in the latter texts by the word Ārya, we may reasonably suppose the same class of foes to be commonly or often denoted by the word Dasyu. It is not, of course, to be expected that we should find the Indian commentators confirming this view of the matter more than partially; as they had never dreamt of the modern critical view of the origin of the Āryas and their relation to the barbarous aboriginal tribes. Yāska (Nirukta, vi. 26) explains the term Ārya by the words "son of a [or, of the] lord."[7] The word Dasyu is interpreted by him etymologically, thus: "Dasyu comes from the root *das*, to destroy; in him moisture is consumed, and he destroys (religious) ceremonies."[8]

Sāyaṇa interprets the word Ārya, by "wise performers of rites;"[9] wise worshippers;"[10] "wise;"[11] "one to whom all should resort;"[12] "the most excellent race [colour] consisting of the three highest castes;"[13] "practising ceremonies;"[14] "most excellent through performance of ceremonies;"[15] and in two places, i. 117, 21, and iv. 26, 2, he regards it as an epithet of Manu. The same commentator interprets the word Dasyu of the "robber Vṛitra;"[16] "enemies who destroy the observers of Vedic rites;"[17] "the Asuras, Piśāchas, etc., who destroy;"[18] "the vexing Asuras;"[19] "all the people who destroy religious rites;"[20] "Vala and the other Asuras, who destroy religious rites;"[21] "enemies devoid of religious ceremonies."[22] From these quotations it will be seen that Sāyaṇa mostly understands the Dasyus of superhuman beings, demons, or Titans, rather than of human enemies.

[7] Nir. vi. 26: *Āryaḥ īśvara-putraḥ* | See Benfey's remarks on this definition in Gött. Gel. Anz., for 1861, pp. 141, f.

[8] Nir. vii. 23: *Dasyur dasyateḥ kshayārtḥād upadasyanty asmin rasāḥ upadāsayati karmāṇi* |

[9] *Vidusho 'nushṭhātṛīn* | on R.V. i. 51, 8.

[10] *Vidvāmsaḥ stotāraḥ* | on i. 103, 3.

[11] *Vidushe* | on i. 117, 21.

[12] *Araṇīyaṁ sarvair gantavyam* | on i. 130, 8.

[13] *Uttamaṁ varṇaṁ traivarṇikam* | on iii. 34, 9.

[14] *Karma-yuktāni* | on vi. 22, 10.

[15] *Karmānushṭhātṛitvena śreshṭhāni* | on vi. 33, 3.

[16] *Chorāṁ vṛitram* | on i. 33, 4.

[17] *Anushṭhātṛīṇām upakshapayitāraḥ śatravaḥ* | on i. 51, 8; and i. 103, 3.

[18] *Upakshaya-kāriṇam asuram piśāchādikam* | on i. 117, 21.

[19] *Bādhakān asurān* | on iii. 34, 9.

[20] *Karmaṇām upakshapayitṛīr viśvāḥ sarvāḥ prajāḥ* | on vi. 25, 2.

[21] *Upakshapayitṛīn karma-virodhino Vala-prabhṛitīn asurān* | on vi. 33, 3.

[22] *Karmahīnāḥ śatravaḥ* | on vi. 60, 6.

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In his note on i. 100, 8, he speaks of them as "destroying enemies living on the earth;"[23] and in another place he explains the Dāsa varṇa, as being either "the Śūdras and other inferior tribes, or the vile destroying Asura."[24]

There is no doubt that in many passages of the R.V., to which I shall presently refer, the words Dasyu and Dāsa are applied to demons of different orders, or goblins (Asuras, Rākshasas, etc.); but it is tolerably evident from the nature of the case, that in all, or at least some of the texts which have been hitherto adduced, we are to understand the barbarous aboriginal tribes of India as intended by these terms. This is yet more clearly established by the sense in which the word Dasyu is used (i.e. for men and not for demons) in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, in Manu, and in the Mahābhārata. Thus the author of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, after making Viśvāmitra say to his fifty disobedient sons, vii. 18: *Tān ānuvyājahāra "antān vaḥ prajā bhakshīshṭa" iti | te ete Andhrāḥ Puṇḍrāḥ Śabarāḥ Pulindāḥ Mūtibāḥ ity udantyāḥ bahavo bhavanti | Vaiśvāmitrāḥ dasyūnām bhūyishṭhāḥ |* "Let your progeny possess the extremities [of the land]," adds, "These are the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas, Mūtibas, and other numerous frontier tribes. Most of the Dasyus are descended from Viśvāmitra."[25] And in the authoritative definition already quoted[26] (see also vol. i., p. 482), Manu tells us: "Those tribes in the world which are without the pale of the castes sprung from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet [of Brahmā], whether they speak the language of the Mlechhas, or of the Āryas, are all called Dasyus."

The Mahābhārata thus speaks of the same people, ii. 26, 1025: *Pauravaṁ yudhi nirjitya Dasyūn parvata-vāsinaḥ | gaṇān Utsavasanketān ajayat sapta Pāṇḍavaḥ |* "Having vanquished the Paurava in battle, the Pāṇḍava conquered the Utsavasanketas, seven tribes of Dasyus inhabiting the mountains." And again, Ibid. ver. 1031–2: *Daradān saha Kāmbojair ajayat Pākaśāsaniḥ | prāguttarāṁ diśaṁ ye cha vasanty āśritya Dasyavaḥ | nivasanti vane ye cha tān sarvān ajayat prabhuḥ | Lohān Paramakāmbojān Ṛishikān uttarān api |* "Pākaśāsāni conquered

[23] *Pṛithivyām bhūmau vartamānān dāsyūn upakshapayitṛīn śatrūn* | on i. 100. 8.

[24] *Dāsaṁ varṇaṁ śūdrādikaṁ yadvā dāsam upakshapayitāram adharaṁ nikṛishṭam asuram.*

[25] See the first volume of this work (2nd ed.), pp. 355, ff.

[26] See above p. 151.

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the Daradas, with the Kāmbojas, and the Dasyus who dwell in the north-east region, as well as all the inhabitants of the forest, with the Lohas, the Parama-Kāmbojas (furthest Kāmbojas), and the northern Ṛishikas." And once more: *Kāmbojānāṁ sahasraiś cha' Śakānāṁ cha viśāmpate | Śabarāṇāṁ Kirātānāṁ Varvarāṇāṁ tathaiva cha | agamyarūpām pṛithivīm māṁśa-śoṇita-kardamām | Kṛitavāṁs tatra Śaineyaḥ kshapayaṁs tāvakam balam | Dasyūnāṁ śa-śirastrāṇaiḥ śirobhir lūnamūrdhajaiḥ | dīrghakūrchair mahī kīrṇā vivarhair aṇḍajair iva |* "Śaineya (Krishṇa's charioteer) made the beautiful earth a mass of mud with the flesh and blood of thousands of Kāmbojas, Śākas, Śāvāras, Kirātas, Varvaras, destroying thy host. The earth was covered with the helmets and shaven and bearded heads of the Dasyus, as with birds bereft of their wings."[27] Here it is evident that the word Dasyu, in the latter part of the sentence, is a generic term denoting the whole of the tribes who had been previously mentioned, the Kāmbojas, Śākas, etc.

Another passage occurs in the Śānti Parva of the Mahābh., sect. 65, verses 2429, ff., where the tribes there enumerated are said to live after the fashion of the Dasyus; and where the duties to be observed by the Dasyus are described. The Dasyus therefore cannot have been regarded by the author of the Mahābhārata as demons.

If any further illustration of this point be required, it may be found in the following story (from the Mahābhārata, Śānti P., sect. 168, verses 6293, ff.) about the sage Gautama living among the Dasyus: *Bhīshma uvācha | hanta te vartayishye 'ham itihāsam purātanam | udīchyāṁ diśi yad vṛittam Mlechheshu manujādhipa | brāhmaṇo madhyadeśīyaḥ kaśchid vai brahma-varjitam | grāmaṁ vṛiddhi-yutaṁ vīkshya prāviśad bhaiksha-kāṁkshayā | tatra Dasyur dhanayutah sarva-varṇa-viśesha-vit | brahmaṇyaḥ satyasandhaś cha dāne cha nirato 'bhavat | tasya kshayam upāgamya tato bhikshāṁ ayāchata | . . . . | Gautamaḥ sannikarsheṇa Dasyubhiḥ samatām iyāt | tathā tu vasatas tasya Dasyu-grāme sukhaṁ tadā | . . . . kim idaṁ kurushe mohād vipras tvaṁ hi kulodvahaḥ | madhyadeśa-parijñāto Dasyu-bhāvaṁ gataḥ katham |* Bhīshma is the speaker: "I will tell thee an ancient story about what happened in the northern region among the Mlechhas. A certain Brahman of the central country, perceiving a particular village, which was destitute

[27] Mahābh. Droṇa Parva. Sect. 119, ver. 4747, ff.

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of Brahmans [or the Veda], to be in a prosperous condition, entered it to solicit alms. There lived there a wealthy Dasyu, who was acquainted with the distinctions of all the castes, religious, truthful, and liberal. Approaching his house, the Brahman asked alms," and a house. . . . . "From proximity with the Dasyus, Gautăma [the Brahman in question] became like them. While he was thus dwelling happily in a village of Dasyus," another Brahman arrived, who demanded of him: "What is this that thou art foolishly doing? Thou art a Brahman of good family, well known in the central region: how is it that thou hast sunk into the condition of a Dasyu?"

From the evidence afforded by these passages of Manu and the Mahābhārata, it is probable that the word Dasyu, when occurring in the Veda, is sometimes at least to be understood of men, and, consequently, of the wild aboriginal tribes, whom the Arian Indians encountered on their occupation of Hindustan. It is true that, by the later authorities whom I have quoted, the Dasyus are regarded as degraded Arians,[28] (though Manu says that some of them spoke Mlechha dialects), and that tribes unquestionably Arian, as the Kāmbojas (see above, p. 355, f.), are included among them. But though it is true that some of the Arian tribes who had not adopted Brahmanical institutions were so designated in after-times, the term Dasyu could not well have been so applied in the earlier Vedic era. At that time the Brahmanical institutions had not arrived at maturity; the distinction between those who observed them strictly and those who observed them laxly could scarcely have arisen; and the tribes who are stigmatized by the Vedic poets, as persons of a different religion must therefore, probably, have been such as had never before been brought into contact with the Arians, and were, in fact, of an origin totally distinct.

It thus appears, that by the Dasyus who are mentioned in the Rig-veda we must, in some passages, though not in all, understand the barbarous aboriginal tribes with whom the Āryas, on their settlement in the north-west of India, were brought into contact and conflict. Before we proceed further, however, it will be interesting to review some of the other principal texts of the R.V. in which the Āryas and Dasyus are mentioned. I should be glad if, while doing so, I could hope to arrive in each case at a definite result in regard to the ap-

[28] See Lassen, Zeitschrift, ii. 49, ff.

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plication made of the words Dasyu and Dāsa, and to determine precisely the relations which subsisted between the tribes sometimes understood under that designation and the Āryas. But the sense of the texts is often so obscure, that I cannot always expect to fix their interpretation, or, consequently, to deduce from them any certain conclusions. As, however, I have collected and arranged a considerable number of passages bearing on this subject, I think it best to present them to the reader, with such illustrations as I am able to supply, in the hope that a fuller elucidation may sooner or later be supplied by the mature researches of some more competent scholar.

[Since the above remarks were written, Professors Benfey and Roth have expressed their opinions on this subject. The former scholar writes as follows, in his review of the first edition of this work above referred to, Gött. Gel. Anz. for 1861, pp. 137, ff.: "On a point which occupies a prominent place in this work I will permit myself one further observation. It is well known that in the Vedas the word 'dasyu,' and in place of it also 'dāsa,' frequently appears as the antithesis of 'ārya.' . . . It admits of no doubt that the Sanskrit-speaking races designate themselves by the word ārya; it is therefore a natural supposition that by the words 'dasyu' and 'dāsa' they denote those who had been subjected by them. This assumption is confirmed by several passages. On the other hand, however, there are not a few in which the same expressions 'dasyu' and 'dāsa' are applied to the demons with whom the gods are in conflict, and whose defeat is a condition of the earth receiving the heavenly blessing which is bestowed by the gods. . . . . The question arises whether one of these is the proper signification, which is only secondarily applied to the other, or whether any third sense common to both lies at the root of them. The answer is already indicated by the alternating employment of 'dasyu' with 'dāsa' (which has the sense of slave) in the same antithesis (with 'ārya')—an employment which we may with the highest probability conjecture to rest upon an identity, or, at least, an inward connexion. This indication receives a tolerably decisive confirmation from the fact that according to an abundance of analogies 'dasyu' and 'dāsa' are found to be akin to each other from a phonetic point of view." . . . . After stating at some length his grounds for this opinion, Prof. Benfey proceeds: "The essential similarity of 'dāsa' and 'das' is thus beyond doubt. But

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'dāsa' has decidedly the sense of 'slave,' and if this was the original meaning of both the forms, it is equally certain that both 'dāsa' and 'dasyu,' in contrast with the 'ārya,' at first designated the aboriginal population subjected by the latter at the time of their diffusion; and this relation which subsisted on earth, which no doubt was not rarely interrupted by revolts of the subject people, was transferred by the Arians to the domain of the gods, whose harmful demons were represented as the rebellious slaves of the deities.

"The view that in this contrasted relation 'dāsa' has really the sense of 'slave,' 'servant,' is supported by three essentially similar half verses of the Atharvaveda (overlooked by the author in his collection), in which 'Sūdra,' the well-known name for the servile caste in India, stands in the same contrast to 'ārya,' as 'dasyu' and 'dāsa' elsewhere do. The first is iv. 20, 4: *Tayā 'ham sarvam paśyāmi yaś cha Śūdraḥ utāryaḥ* | 'By this (plant) I see every one, whether 'Sūdra or Ārya.' The second text is iv. 20, 8: *Tenāhaṁ sarvam paśyāmi uta Śūdram utāryam* | 'By it (a kind of goblin) I see every one, whether Sūdra or Ārya.' The third is xix. 62, 1," which Prof. Benfey does not quote, but which runs thus: *Priyam mā kṛiṇu deveshu priyaṁ rājasu mā kṛiṇu* | *priyaṁ sarvasya paśyataḥ uta śūdre utārye* | "Make me dear to the gods; make me dear to kings, dear to every one who beholds me, whether to Sūdra or Ārya."

Professor Roth, in his Lexicon, *s.v. dasyu*, defines that word as denoting (1) "a class of superhuman beings, who are maliciously disposed both to gods and men, and are overcome by Indra and Agni in particular." Many of the demons subdued by Indra, designated by particular names, as Śambara, Śushṇa, Chumuri, etc., bear the general appellation of Dasyu. They are not only spirits of darkness like the Rakshases, but extended over the widest spheres. In A.V., xviii. 8, 22, they are demons in the form of deceased men (*Ye dasyavaḥ pitṛishu praviṣṭāḥ jñātimukhāś charanti*). They are, he remarks, frequently contrasted (a) generally with men (*manu, āyu, nar*), and are called *amānusha* in R.V., x. 22, 8 (in support of which he refers to R.V., viii. 87, 6; ix. 92, 5; Vāl., 2, 8; R.V., vi. 14, 3, and v. 7, 10); and (b) more specifically with pious orthodox men (*ārya*), and it is but seldom, if at all (he considers), that the explanation of *dasyu* as referring to the non-Arians, the barbarians, is advisable (in proof of which he cites

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R.V., i. 117, 21; vii. 5, 6; ii. 11, 18, f.; iii. 34, 9; i. 103, 3; x. 49, 3; i. 51, 8). The last passage, however, he thinks, is best explained of the barbarians. The word is (2)—he goes on to say—an opprobrious designation of hostile, wicked, or barbarous men, perhaps in the following passages of the Veda, v. 70, 3, *turyāma dasyūn tanūbhiḥ;* "let us overcome the Dasyus in our own persons:" x. 83, 6, *hanāva dasyūn uta bodhi āpeḥ* | "let us slay the Dasyus, and do thou recollect thy friend." In Ait. Br., vii. 18, they are barbarous tribes: *Vaiśvāmitrāḥ dasyūnām bhūyishṭhāḥ* | "Most of the Dasyus are descended from Viśvāmitra."]

SECT. II.—*Additional Vedic texts bearing on the relations of the Āryas and Dasyus.*

First: In the following passages, or some of them, reference may be made to the earth or territory being bestowed on the Āryas, i. 100, 18: *Dasyūn Śimyūmś cha puruhūtaḥ evair hatvā pṛithivyāṁ śarvā nivarhīt* | *sanat kshetraṁ sakhibhiḥ śvitnyebhiḥ sanat sūryaṁ sanad apaḥ suvajraḥ* | "(Indra), the much-invoked, having, according to his wont, smitten to [or on] the earth the Dasyus and Śimyus [or destroyers], crushed them with his thunderbolt. The thunderer, along with his shining friends, bestowed territory, bestowed the sun, bestowed the waters."[29] ii. 20, 7: *Sa vṛitrahā Indraḥ kṛishṇayoṇīḥ purandaro dāśīr airayad vi* | *ajanayad manave kshām apaś cha ityādi* | "Indra, the

[29] Several points are obscure in this passage. Is the word Śimyu the name of a tribe (as Professor Wilson renders it), or does it merely mean a destroyer? In R.V. vii. 18, 5, we have the words *śardhantam śimyum*, which Professor Roth (Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 94) renders by "defiant wrong-doer." Sāyana on that passage explains *śimyum* by *bodhamānam* | "understanding" (participle). In the text before us he explains the word *Śamayitṝn vadhakāriṇo rākshasādīn* | "Subduers, i.e. slayers, Rākshasas, etc."; and again on the same passage: *Śimyūn* | *Śamu upaśame* | *śamayati sarvaṁ tiraskaroti iti rākshasādiḥ śimyuḥ* | "The verb *śam* designates one who contemns every one else. *Śimyu* therefore = *Rākshasa*, etc." Then, who are the "shining friends" of Indra, in the second clause? The Maruts? or the fair-complexioned Āryas? In verse 2 of this hymn, we find the words *sakhibhiḥ svebhiḥ*, "his friends," which Sāyana interprets of the Maruts. He explains verse 18 thus: *śvitnyebhiḥ śvetavarṇair alankāreṇa dīptāṅgair sakhibhir mitraśobhūtair marudbhiḥ saha kshetraṁ śatrūṇāṁ svabhūtām bhūmiṁ sanat samabhākshīt* | "Along with his white-coloured (i.e. whose limbs were shining with ornaments) friends, the Maruts, he divided the territory belonging to his enemies." On the other hand, we have, in verse 6 of this hymn, the worshippers themselves spoken of as, according to Sāyana's gloss, the persons with whom the sun was shared. The

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slayer of Vṛitra, and destroyer of cities, scattered the servile (hosts) of black descent. He produced the earth and waters for Manu."[30] The passages iii. 34, 9, and iv. 26, 2, which have been already quoted above (p. 360, f.), should be again referred to here. vi. 18, 3: *Tvaṁ ha nu tyad adamayo dasyūṁr ekaḥ kṛishṭīr avanor āryāya* | "Thou (Indra) hast then subdued the Dasyus: thou hast alone subdued peoples to the Ārya."[31] vi. 61, 3: *Uta kshitibhyo avanīr avindaḥ* | "And thou (Sarasvatī) hast obtained lands for men."[32] vii. 19, 3: *Paurukutsiṁ Trasadasyum āvaḥ kshetrasātā vṛitrahatyeshu pūrum* | "Thou hast preserved the man Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, in fights

words there are: *Asmākebhir nṛibhiḥ sūryaṁ sanat* | which Sāyaṇa renders, *Asmadīyair nṛibhiḥ purushaiḥ sūryaṁ sūryaprakāsaṁ sanat sambhaktaṁ karotu śatrupurushais tu dṛishṭi-nirodhakham andhakāraṁ saṁyojayatu* | "Let him divide the light of the sun with our men, and involve our enemies in darkness which shall obstruct their view." The same words are rendered by Rosen: *Nostratibus viris solem concedat*, "Let him bestow the sun on our countrymen," where the words in the instrumental case have the sense of the dative assigned to them. If they bear that sense in verse 6, they may equally have it in the 18th also. The meaning would then be, "He bestowed the land, the sun, the waters, on his fair friends." But this use of the instr. would not suit verse 10, *Sa grāmebhiḥ sanitā sa rathebhiḥ* | whether we understand *grāmebhiḥ* of villages, or hosts. On the words, "his fair friends," Professor Wilson remarks, Rigveda i. p. 260, note: "These, according to the scholiast, are the winds, or Maruts; but why they should have a share of the enemy's country (*śatrūṇam bhūmim*) seems doubtful. Allusion is more probably intended to earthly friends or worshippers of Indra, who were white (*świtnya*) in comparison with the darker tribes of the conquered country." The worshipper's friendship with Indra is mentioned in many passages of the R.V., as, i. 101, 1; iv. 16, 10; vi. 18, 5; vi. 21, 5 and 8; vi. 45, 7. Rosen renders this passage: *Expugnavit terram sociis suis nitentibus*, "He conquered the earth with his struggling companions;" thus giving another sense to *śvitnyebhiḥ*. In two other hymns, vii. 99, 3, and x. 65, 11 (quoted above, p. 362), we find mention made of the sun in a somewhat similar manner as in the verse under review. In his translation of the Rigveda in Orient und Occident, ii. 518, f., Prof. Benfey gives the following sense to the verse before us: "The much-invoked smites the robbers and devisers of mischief; in tempest he shatters them to the ground with his bolt; with his shining comrades the thunderer acquired ground, sun, and floods."

[30] Sāyaṇa explains the words *kṛishṇayonīḥ*, etc., thus: *kṛishṇayōnīr nikṛishṭajātīr, dāsīr upakshapayatrīr āsurīḥ senāḥ*, "the destructive armies of the Asuras, of degraded rank." The Vālākhilya ii. 8, has the following words: *yebhir ni dasyum manusho nighoshayah* | "The horses with which (Indra) thou didst scare (?) the Dasyu away from the man."

[31] Sāyaṇa explains *kṛishṭīḥ*, "people," by *putradāsādīn*, "children, slaves," etc.

[32] Sāyaṇa explains *avanīḥ*, by *Asūrair apahṛitāḥ bhūmīḥ*, "lands taken away by the Asuras." Roth (Dict.) assigns also to the word the sense of "streams;" which it might seem to be the function of Sarasvatī to give rather than lands.

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with foes for the acquisition of land." vii. 100, 4: *Vichakrame pṛithivīm esha etāṁ kshetrāya Vishṇur manave daśasyan* | "This Vishṇu traversed this earth, to give it for a domain to Manu (or the [Āryan] man)." It is possible that in these passages, or in some of them, allusion may be made to the occupation of the plains of India, and the subjugation of the aboriginal tribes by the Āryas, on their immigration from the north-west; but it must be confessed that the explanation is uncertain. In R.V., x. 65, 11, quoted above (p. 362), there seems to be a reference to the spread of Āryan institutions.

Second: In two of the passages already quoted (i. 51, 8, 9; i. 130, 8), the epithets *avrâta* and *apavrata*, "devoid of," or "opposed to, religious rites," or "lawless," will have been noticed as applied to the Dasyus. I proceed to cite some further passages in which the character and condition of the Dasyus (whoever they may be) are specified.

They are (1) described as a degraded race, i. 101, 5: *Indro yo dasyūn adharān avātirat marutvantaṁ sakhyāya havāmahe* | "We invoke to be our friend, Indra, attended by the Maruts, who subdued the base Dasyus" [or, "subdued and humbled the Daśyus"].[33] ii. 11, 18: *Dhishva śavaḥ śūra yena Vṛitram avābhinad Dānum Aurṇavābham* | *apāvriṇor jyotir āryāya ni savyataḥ sādi dasyur Indra* | "Maintain, O hero, that strength by which thou hast broken down Vṛitra, Dānu, Aurṇavābha. Thou hast revealed light to the Ārya, and the Dasyu has been set on thy left hand."[34] The text of the following, R.V., ii. 12, 4, has been already given in p. 282: "He who swept away the low Dāsa colour."[35] iv. 28, 4: *Viśvasmāt sīm adhamān Indra dasyūn viśo dāsīr akṛiṇor apraśastāḥ* | "Indra, thou hast made these Dasyus lower than all, and the servile people without renown."

They are described (2) as having either no religious worship, or rites different from those of the Āryas. i. 33, 4, 5: *Ayajvānaḥ Sanakāḥ pretim īyuḥ* | *parā chit śīrshā vivṛijus te Indra ayajvāno yajvabhiḥ spardhamānāḥ* |

[33] Sāyaṇa explains this of making the Asuras vile and slaying them: *Asurān adharān nikṛishṭān kṛitvā.*

[34] Sāyaṇa explains the word Dasyu in this verse of the mythical personage Vṛitra. The words *ni* + *sādi*, making together *nishādi*, present a curious coincidence with the word *Nishāda.*

[35] Roth (Dict.) gives the sense of "removing, putting away," to *guhā. kaḥ.* Sāyaṇa explains it of "hiding in a cavern." The word *varṇa*, colour, race, which is applied to the Āryas, iii. 34, 9, is here made use of in speaking of the Dasyus. Sāyaṇa explains the latter, either of the Śūdra caste, or of the Asuras.

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"The unsacrificing Sanakas perished. Contending with the sacrificers, the non-sacrificers fled, O Indra, with averted faces."[36] i. 131, 4: *S'āsas tam Indra martyam ayajyum ityādi* | "Thou, O Indra, hast chastised the mortal who sacrifices not."[37] i. 132, 4: *Sunvadbhyo randhaya kanchid avrataṁ hṛiṇāyantaṁ chid avratam* | "Subject to those who offer libations the irreligious man, the irreligious man though wrathful." iv. 16, 9: *Ni māyāvān abrahmā dasyur arta* | "The deceitful, prayerless Dasyu has perished." R.V., v. 7, 10: *Ād Agne apriṇato 'triḥ sasahyād dasyūn ishaḥ sasahyād nṛīn* | "O Agni, may the Atri then overcome the illiberal Dasyus: may Isha overcome the men." R.V., vi. 14, 3: *Tūrvanto dasyum āyavo vrataiḥ sīkshanto avratam* | "Men subduing the Dasyu, with rites (or laws) overwhelming the irreligious (or lawless)." v. 42, 9: *Apavratān prasave vāvṛidhānān brahma-dvishaḥ sūryād yavayasva* | "Remove far from the sun the irreligious, the haters of prayer, who increase in progeny." viii. 59, 10: *Tvaṁ naḥ Indra ṛitayus tvānido ni tṛimpasi* | *madhye vasishva tuvinṛimṇa ūrvor ni dāsaṁ śiśnatho hathaiḥ* | 11 |

[36] Sāyaṇa describes the Sanakas as followers of Vṛitra: *Etannāmakāḥ Vṛitrānucharāḥ*. I cannot say who may be meant by the Sanakas here. They may have been heretical Āryas and not Dasyus. A Sanaka was a mindborn son of Brahmā. Wilson, Vish. Pur., first edition, p. 38, note 13. Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 385, note, quotes a text of the Mahābh. xii. 13,078, where he is mentioned as a sage. Benfey renders *sanakāḥ* "old."

[37] In i. 100, 15, the word *marttāḥ*, "men," is opposed to *devāḥ*, "gods." The word *martya*, "mortal," is usually applied to men. But from the following passage of the S'atapatha-brāhmaṇa it appears that the Asuras also are regarded as mortal, and that the gods too were formerly so. ii. 2, 2, 8, ff.: *Devāścha vai Asurāścha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ paspṛidhire* | *Te ubhaye eva anātmāna āsuḥ, martyā hy āsuḥ* | *anātmā hi martyaḥ* | *Teshu ubhayeshu martyeshu Agnir eva amṛita āsa* | *Tam ha sma ubhaye amṛitam upajīvanti . . . . Tato devās tanīyāṁsa iva pariśiśishire* | *Te archantaḥ śrāmyantaś cheruḥ* | *Uta Asurān sapatnān martyān abhibhavema iti te etad amṛitam agnyādheyam dadṛiśuḥ* | *Te ha ūchuḥ* | *hanta idam amṛitam antarātmann ādadhāmahai* | *Te idam amṛitam antarātmann ādhāya amṛitā bhūtvā astaryyā bhūtvā staryān sapatnān martyān abhibhavishyāma iti.* "The gods and Asuras, both the offspring of Prajāpati, strove together. They were both soul-less, for they were mortal; for he who is soul-less is mortal. While they were both mortal, Agni alone was immortal; and they both derived life from him, the immortal. . . . Then the gods were left as the inferior. They continued to practise devotion and austerity, and (while seeking to) overcome their foes, the mortal Asuras, they beheld this immortal consecrated fire. They then said, 'Come, let us place this immortal (fire) in our inmost soul. Having done so, and having [thus] become immortal and invincible, we shall overcome our mortal and conquerable enemies.'" The gods accordingly placed the sacred fire in their hearts, and by this means overcame the Asuras.

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Anyavratam amānusham ayajvānam adevayum | ava svaḥ sakhā dudhuvīta parvataḥ sughnāya dasyum parvataḥ | "Thou, Indra, lovest our religious rites; thou tramplest down those that revile thee; thou, vigorous hero, guard thyself in thy vital parts (*lit.* thighs); thou hast smitten the Dāsa with thy blows. 11. Let his own friend, Parvata, let Parvata strike down to swift destruction the Dasyu who observes different rites, who is inhuman, who does not sacrifice, nor regard the gods."[38] iv. 41, 2: *Sahvāṁso dasyum avratam |* "Subduing the irreligious Dasyu."[39] x. 22, 7, 8: *Ā naḥ Indra pṛikshase asmākam brahma udyatam | tat tvā yāchāmahe avaḥ S'ushṇaṁ yad hann amānusham |* 8 | *Akarmā Dasyur abhi no amantur anyavrato amānushaḥ | tvaṁ tasya amitrahan vadhar Dāsyasya dambhaya |* "Our prayer, O Indra, is lifted up to thee for sustenance. We implore of thee that succour whereby thou didst smite the inhuman S'ushṇa. The Dasyu, irreligious, foolish, observing other rites, and inhuman, is against us: do thou, O slayer of our foes, subdue the weapon of this Dāsa."

Another epithet which is frequently applied to the adversaries of the Vedic bards, or of their deities (whether those adversaries may have been Āryas, Dasyus, or demons), is "anindra," "without Indra," "despisers of Indra." It occurs in the following texts, R.V., i. 133, 1: *Ubhe punāmi rodasī ṛitena druho dahāmi sam mahīr anindrāḥ |* "By sacrifice I purify both worlds, I consume the great female-goblins which regard not Indra." R.V., iv. 23, 7: *Druhaṁ jighāṁsan dhvarasam anindrāṁ tetikte tigmā tujase anīkā |* "Seeking to slay the injurious female-sprite who regards not Indra, he (Indra) makes his sharp weapons sharper for her destruction." R.V., v. 2, 3: *Hiraṇyadantaṁ śuchivarṇam ārāt kshetrād apaśyam āyudhā mimānam | dadāno asmai amṛitaṁ vipṛikkat kim māṁ anindrāḥ kṛiṇavann anukthāḥ |* "From an adjacent spot, while offering to him the imperishable,

[38] I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht for aid in the translation of this passage. The epithets of the Dasyu in the last verse seem well applicable to a mortal; but some of them recur in x. 22, 8. In verse 7 of the same hymn a mortal enemy is referred to: *Na sīm adevaḥ āpad isham dīrghāyo martyaḥ:* "O long-lived god, let not a godless mortal obtain prosperity." In his comment on R.V. v. 20, 2, Sāyana explains the word *anyavrata* thus: *Vaidikād vibhaktam vratam karma yasya tasya Asurasya,* "the Asura whose rites are different from those of the Veda." See Goldstücker, Dict. *s.v.* "*anyavrata.*"

[39] Benfey in a note to his translation of Sāmaveda, ii. 243 (p. 251), understands *Dasyum avratam* of Vṛitra, or the Evil Spirit in general.

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unmingled [fuel or butter?], I beneath [Agni] the golden-toothed, the bright-coloured, fashioning his weapons: what can those who regard not Indra, and recite no hymns, do to me?" R.V., vii. 18, 6: *Ardhaṁ vīrasya śṛitapām anindram parā śardhantaṁ nanude abhi kshām* | "Indra hurled to the ground the half of the struggling heroes, drinkers of the oblation, and disregarders of Indra."[40] R.V., x. 27, 6: *Darśan nu atra śṛitapān anindrān bāhukshadaḥ śarave patyamānān* | *ghṛishuṁ vā ye niniduḥ sakhāyam adhi ū nu eshu pavayo vavṛityuḥ* | "They beheld here those who drink the libation, who regard not Indra, who offer worthless oblations,[41] and are fit victims for the thunderbolt: the wheels have rolled over those who reviled [our] destroying friend." In R.V., x. 48, 7, Indra speaks: *Abhīdam ekam eko asmi nishshāḷ abhi dvā kim u trayaḥ karanti* | *khale na parshān prati hanmi bhūri kim mā nindanti śatravo anindrāḥ* | "Impetuous, I alone vanquish this one enemy; I vanquish two; what can even three do? [In battle] I destroy numerous foes like sheaves of corn on the threshing-floor. Why do the enemies who regard not Indra revile me?"[42]

The following text speaks of men who are destitute of hymns and prayers, x. 105, 8: *Ava no vṛijinā śiśīhi ṛichā vanema anṛichaḥ* | *nābrahmā yajnaḥ ṛidhag joshati tve* | "Take away our calamities. With a hymn may we slay those who employ no hymns. Thou takest no great pleasure in a sacrifice without prayers."[43]

As we have seen above (p. 282), there is some appearance of an allusion being made in the Veda (3) to a distinction of complexion as existing between the Āryas and the aborigines. On this subject I quote the following remarks, made by Prof. Max Müller, in a review of the first volume of this work, which originally appeared in the

[40] See Roth's interpretation of this verse in his Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, pp. 98, 99; and his remarks on the tribes who are referred to in this hymn, ibid. pp. 132–5.

[41] Prof. Roth, *s.v.* explains *bāhukshad* as denoting a niggardly worshipper who offers the foreleg, i.e. a worthless portion of the victim.

[42] See Nirukta, iii. 10, and Roth, Erläuter., p. 29.

[43] In my article "On the Relations of the Priests to the other Classes of Indian Society in the Vedic Age," (Journ. Royal As. Soc., new series, ii. 286, ff.), I have quoted numerous texts from the Rigveda "containing denunciations of religious hostility or indifference," in which "no express reference is made to Dasyus," and which may therefore, "with more or less probability, be understood of members of the Āryan community."

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"Times" newspaper of 10th and 12th April, 1858, and has since been reprinted in his "Chips," vol. ii. (see p. 324):—"At the time," he says, "when this name of 'varṇa' was first used in the sense of caste, there were but two castes, the Āryas and the non-Āryas, the bright and the dark race. This dark race is sometimes called by the poets of the Veda 'the black skin.' Rigveda, i. 130, 8: 'Indra protected in battle the Āryan worshipper, he subdued the lawless for Manu, he conquered the black skin.'"[44] (This passage has been already quoted, p. 360.)

Some other passages in which black-coloured enemies are mentioned may also possibly be referrible to the dark aborigines; such as R.V. ii. 20, 7, already quoted (p. 369): "Indra, the slayer of Vṛitra and destroyer of cities, scattered the servile (*dāsīḥ*) [hosts] of black descent." But Prof. Roth (in his Lex.), explains this last expression, *krishṇayoniḥ*, as well as *kṛishṇagarbhāḥ*, in R.V. i. 101, 1, as descriptive of the black clouds. The latter of these two phrases is similarly understood by M. Regnier in his Étude sur l'Idiome des Vedas, p. 154. In R.V. iv. 16, 13, mention is made of Pipru and Mṛigaya being subjected to Ṛijiśvan, son of Vidathin, and of 50,000 black beings (explained by the commentator as Rakshases) being destroyed by Indra, as old age destroys the body. (*Tvam Piprum Mṛigayaṁ śūśavāṁsam Ṛijiśvane Vaidathināya randhīḥ | pañchāśat kṛishṇā ni vapaḥ sahasrā atkam na puro jarimā vi dardaḥ |*) These, also, are perhaps to be regarded as aërial foes.[45] See also Professor Benfey's explanation of R.V. viii. 85, 15, in his translation of the Sāmaveda, i. 323, p. 228. In

[44] This phrase, "the black skin," occurs also in R.V. ix. 41, 1, a text which reappears in the Sāmaveda, i. 491, and ii. 242. The words are *Pra ye gāvo na bhūṛṇayas tveshāḥ ayāsō akramuḥ, ghnantaḥ kṛishṇām apa tvacham;* which are thus rendered by Professor Benfey: "The flaming, the tempestuous [gods], approach like furious bulls, and chase away the black skin." In a note he adds the explanation: "The Maruts (winds) chase the clouds." In his Glossary to the S.V., the same author explains the phrase "black skin" by "night." A similar expression, *tvacham asiknīm*, occurs in R.V. ix. 73, 5: *Indra-dvishṭām apa dhamanti māyayā tvacham asiknīm bhūmano divas parí* |—"By their might they" (I cannot say who [qu. Maruts?] are here referred to) "sweep away from the sky the black skin of the earth, hated of Indra." So Benfey translates this line in his Glossary, *s.v. asiknī*. But perhaps the words "black skin" should not be construed with the word "earth." The construction may be, "from earth and sky."

[45] Compare Prof. Wilson's Translation and R.V. i. 101, as well as the Introduction to his R.V., vol. iii., pp. viii, ix, xiv and xv.

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the following text allusion is made to black tribes of some kind: R.V. vii. 5, 3: *Tvad-bhiyā viśaḥ āyann asiknīr asamanāḥ jahatīr bhojanāni | Vaiśvānara pūrave śosuchānaḥ puro yad Agne darayann adīdeḥ |* "For fear of thee the black tribes fled, scattered, relinquishing their possessions, when thou, Agni Vaiśvānara, gleaming in behalf of Pūru [or the man], didst tear and burn the cities." Prof. Roth (Lexicon, *s.v.* "*asikni*") explains the words "black tribes" as meaning "spirits of darkness." A similar phrase occurs in R.V. viii. 62, 18: *Puraṁ na dhṛishṇo āruja kṛishṇayā bādhito viśā |* "O impetuous, break down as it were a rampart, being harassed by the black race." It is not clear who is here apostrophized; or what dark-coloured enemies are referred to.

There are (4) some passages in which the epithet "mṛidhravāch" is applied to the speech of the Dasyus. If it were certain that the aboriginal tribes were alluded to in all or in any of these texts, and that the adjective in question had reference to any peculiarity in their language, the fact would be one of the highest interest; but unfortunately both points are doubtful.[46] The following are the passages alluded to:—R.V. i. 174, 2: *Dano viśaḥ Indra mṛidhravāchaḥ sapta yat puraḥ śarma śāradīr dart | ṛiṇor apo anavadya arṇāḥ yūne Vṛitram Purukutsāya randhīḥ |* "When thou, O Indra, our defence, didst destroy the seven autumnal castles, thou didst subdue the people of injurious speech. Thou, blameless one, hast impelled the flowing waters: thou hast subjected Vṛitra to the youthful Purukutsa." R.V. v. 29, 10: *Pra anyach chakram avṛihaḥ Sūryasya Kutsāya anyad varivo yātave kaḥ | anāso Dasyūn amṛiṇor vadhena ni duryoṇe āvṛiṇañ mṛidhravāchaḥ |* "Thou didst detach one wheel of Sūrya: the other thou didst set free to go for Kutsa. Thou hast with thy weapon smitten the mouthless [or noseless] Dasyus: in their abode thou hast beaten down the injuriously speaking people." v. 32, 8: *Tyaṁ chid arṇam madhupaṁ śayānam asinvam vavram mahi ādad ugraḥ | apādam atram mahatā vadhena ni duryoṇe āvṛiṇañ mṛidhravācham |* "The fierce [Indra] seized that huge, restless [Vṛitra], the drinker up of the sweets, reclining, insatiable, the hidden; and beat down in his abode with a great weapon, that footless, devouring, and injuriously-

[46] The Atharvaveda xii. 1, 45, refers to the earth as "sustaining men of very various forms of speech and customs; each dwelling in their own abodes" (*janam bibhratī bahudhā vivāchasaṁ nānādharmāṇam pṛithivī yathaukasam*).

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speaking [demon]." vii. 6, 3: *Ni akratūn grathino mṛidhravāchaḥ Paṇīn aśraddhān avṛidhān ayajnān | pra pra tān Dasyūn Agnir vivāya pūrvaś chakāra aparān ayajyūn |* "The senseless, false, injuriously-speaking, unbelieving, unpraising, unworshipping Paṇis (or niggards); these Dasyus Agni removed far off. It was he who first made the irreligious degraded." vii. 18, 13: *Vi sadyo viśvā dṛiṁhitāni eshām Indraḥ puraḥ sahasā sapta dardaḥ | vi Ānavasya Ṭṛitsave gayam bhāg jeshma Pūruṁ vidathe mṛidhravācham |* "Indra straightway shattered all their strongholds, their seven castles by his violence: he divided to the Ṭṛitsu the substance of the Ānava: we vanquished in the fight the injuriously-speaking Pūru [or man]."

The word "mṛidhravāch," which I have rendered "injuriously-speaking," is explained by Sāyaṇa (in his comments on three of these passages) as meaning "one whose organs of speech are destroyed" (*hiṁsita-vāgindriya*, or *hiṁsita-vachaska*). On i. 174, 2, he interprets it as *marshaṇa-vachanāḥ*, "speaking patiently," ("suing for pardon," Wilson), and on vii. 18, 13, by *bādhavācham*, "speaking so as to vex," ("ill-speaking," Wilson). The same term is rendered by Wilson, in his translation of the second and third passages, by "speech-bereft," or "speechless." Roth, in his "Illustrations of the Nirukta," p. 97, rejects the explanation of Yāska (who (Nir. vi. 31) renders "mṛidhra-vāchaḥ" by "mṛiduvāchaḥ," "softly-speaking,"), and considers that it means "speaking injuriously." Dr. Kuhn, again (Herabkunft des Feuers, p. 60), is of opinion that the epithet in question means "a stutterer;" and thinks that, in R.V. v. 29, 10, reference is made to the gradual dying away of the distant thunder, which is regarded as the voice of the vanquished demon. In treating of the aboriginal races of India, Prof. Müller (Last Results of Turanian Researches, p. 346: see, below, pp. 389, ff.) remarks, that "the 'anāsas,' enemies, whom Indra killed with his weapon (R.V. v. 29, 10), are probably meant for noseless (a-nāsas), not, as the commentator supposes, for faceless (an-āsas) people. (See also the article of the same author already alluded to in p. 375.) Professor Wilson, on the other hand, remarks (R.V., vol. iii., p. 276, note): "*Anāsa*, Sāyaṇa says, means *āsyarahitān*, devoid of, or deprived of, words; *āsya*, face or mouth, being put by metonymy for *śabda*, the sound that comes from the mouth, articulate speech, alluding possibly to the uncultivated dialects of the barbarous tribes, barbarism

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and uncultivated speech being identical, in the opinion of the Hindus, as in the familiar term for a barbarian, 'mlechha,' which is derived from the root, *mlechh*, to speak rudely;" and adds, in reference to Professor Müller's proposed interpretation of *anāsa:* "The proposal is ingenious, but it seems more likely that Sāyaṇa is right, as we have the Dasyus presently called also *mṛidhravāchas*, ... having defective organs of speech."

There are only two of the four preceding passages containing the word *mṛidhravāch*, in which the Dasyus are named; and in the second of these two texts (R.V. vii. 6, 3) this word is applied to persons or beings called *paṇi*, who are either niggards, or the mythical beings who stole the cows of the gods or the Angirases, and hid them in a cave. (See Wilson's R.V. vol. i. pp. 16, 17, note.)[47] In any case, the sense of the word *mṛidhravāch* is too uncertain to admit of our referring it with confidence to any peculiarity in the speech of the aborigines.

In the R.V. frequent mention is made (5) of the cities or castles of the Dasyus, or of the Asuras. One of these passages, i. 103, 3, has been already quoted in p. 359. The following are additional instances: R.V. i. 51, 5: *Tvam Pipror nṛimaṇaḥ prārujaḥ puraḥ pra Ṛijiśvānaṁ Dasyu-hatyeshu āvitha* | "Benevolent to men, thou hast broken the castles of Pipru, and protected Ṛijiśvan in his battles with the Dasyus." R.V. i. 63, 7: *Tvaṁ ha tyad Indra sapta yudhyan puro vajrin Purukutsāya dardaḥ* | "Thou, O Indra, thunderer, fighting for Purukutsa, didst destroy then seven castles." i. 174, 8: *Bhinat puro na bhido adevīr nanamo vadhar adevasya pīyoḥ* | "Thou hast pierced the godless piercers like their castles: thou hast bowed down the weapon of the godless destroyer." ii. 14, 6: *Yaḥ śataṁ Śambarasya puro bibheda aśmaneva purvīḥ* | "Who split the hundred, the numerous, castles of Śambara as with a thunderbolt." ii. 19, 6: *Divodāsāya navatiṁ cha nava Indraḥ puro vi airach Chhambarasya* | "Indra shattered for Divodāsa a hundred castles of Śambara." iii. 12, 6: *Indrāgnī navatim puro dāsapatnīr adhūnutam | sākam ekena karmaṇā* | "Indra and Agni, by one effort together, ye have shattered ninety castles belonging to the Dasyus." iv. 26, 3: *Aham puro mandasāno vi airaṁ nava sākaṁ navatīḥ Śamba-*

[47] See Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. paṇi*, where R.V. vii. 6, 3, is cited among the texts where the word means "niggard;" and comp. my art. on the "Priests in the Vedic Age," Journ. R. A. S. for 1866, p. 290.

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rasya | *S'atatamaṁ veśyaṁ sarvatātā Divodāsam Atithigvam yad āvam* | "Exhilarated, I have destroyed at once the ninety-nine castles of Sambara: the hundredth habitation (remained) in security, when I protected Divodāsa Atithigva."[48] vi. 31, 4: *Tvaṁ śatāni ava S'ambarasya puro jagantha apratīni dasyoḥ* | "Thou hast destroyed hundreds of unequalled castles of the Dasyu Sambara." The following verse seems to show that by these castles, as well as by mountains, clouds are meant:—x. 89, 7: *Jaghāna Vṛitraṁ svadhitir vaneva ruroja puro aradad na sindhūn* | *bibheda girim̃ navaṁ in na kumbham ā gāḥ Indro akṛiṇuta svayugbhiḥ* | "Indra smote Vṛitra as an axe (fells) the woods; he broke down the castles, he as it were hollowed out the rivers. He split the mountain like a new jar; he possessed himself of the cows, with his companions."

Iron castles are spoken of in the following passage: ii. 20, 8: *Prati yad asya vajram bāhvor dhur hatvī dasyūn puraḥ āyasīr nitārīt* | "When they placed the thunderbolt in his (Indra's) hand, he slew the Dasyus, and overthrew their iron castles."[49]

In the following texts "autumnal castles" are spoken of:—i. 131, 4: *Vidus te asya vīryasya pūravo puro yad Indra śāradīr avātiraḥ* | *sāsahāno avātiraḥ* | *śāsas tam Indra martyam ayajyuṁ śavasaspate* | "Men know this heroism of thine, that thou hast overthrown the autumnal castles, violently overthrown them. Lord of power, thou hast chastised the mortal who sacrifices not."[50] (See also R.V. i. 174, 2, which has been quoted in p. 376.) vi. 20, 10: *Sapta yat puraḥ śarma śāradīr dart han dāsīḥ Purukutsāya śikshan* | "When thou, our defence, didst

[48] See Kuhn's Herabkunft des Feuers, p. 140, and note. Benfey in his excursus on *sarvatāti*, Or. und Occ. ii. 524, renders "the hundredth dwelling in safety, when I was gracious to the pious Divodāsa." The words "in safety" may, he says, refer to Indra, or to the hundredth city which he did not destroy; and he refers, as Kuhn also does, to R.V. vii. 19, 5.

[49] Mention is also made of iron castles or ramparts in the following texts: R.V. iv. 27, 1; vii. 3, 7; vii. 15, 14; vii. 95, 1; viii. 89, 8; and x. 101, 8; but not in connexion with the Dasyus.

[50] The "autumnal" castles may mean the brilliant battlemented cloud-castles, which are so often visible in the Indian sky at this period of the year. Sāyana *in loco* explains the term thus: *S'āradīḥ saṁvatsara-sambandhinīḥ saṁvatsara-paryantam prākāra-parikhādibhir dṛiḍhīkṛitāḥ puraḥ śatrūṇām purīḥ* | "The enemies' annual cities, fortified for a year with ramparts, ditches, etc.;" but see next note.

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break down the seven autumnal castles, thon didst slay the Dāsa (people), showing favour to Purukutsa."[51]

The epithet *śasvat* is applied to castles in the following text. This word means, as is well known, "constant," "perpetual," but according to the Nighaṇṭus it has the meaning of "many;" and Sāyaṇa generally understands it in this sense. viii. 17, 14: *Drapso bhettā purāṁ śaśvatīnām Indro munīnāṁ sakā* | "The drop (of Soma) is the splitter of many (or of the perpetual) castles. Indra is the friend of sages." viii. 87, 6: *Tvaṁ hi śaśvatīnām Indra dartā purām asi* | *hantā dasyor manor vṛidhaḥ patir divaḥ* | "Thou, Indra, art the destroyer of many (or the perpetual) castles, the slayer of the Dasyu, the benefactor of man, the lord of the sky."[52] Castles of stone are mentioned in one passage, iv. 30, 20: *S'atam aśmanmayīnām purām Indro vi āsyat Divodāsāya dāśushe* | "Indra has thrown down a hundred castles built of stone, for his worshipper Divodāsa."[53] In R.V. viii. 1, 28, mention is made of a "moving" castle: *Tvam puraṁ charishṇvaṁ vadhaiḥ S'ushṇasya sampiṇak* | "Thou hast shattered with thy bolts the moving castle of S'ushṇa."[54]

The castles referred to in these Vedic hymns were, in later times, at least, understood of castles of the Asuras; and the following legend was invented to explain what they were. In the Commentary on the Vājasaneyi-Sanhitā of the Yajurveda, the following passage occurs: *Atra iyam ākhyāyikā asti* | *devaiḥ parājitāḥ asurās tapas taptvā trailokye trīṇi purāṇi chakrur lohamayīm bhūmau rājatīm antarikshe haimīṁ divi* | *tadā devais tāḥ dagdhum upasadā Agnir ārādhitaḥ* | *tataḥ upasad-devatā-rūpo 'gnir yadā tāsu pūrshu praviśya tāḥ dadāha tadā tisraḥ puro 'gnes tanavo 'bhūvan* | *tad abhipretya ayam mantraḥ* | "On this text [Vāj. Sanh. 5, 8], the following story is told:—The Asuras

[51] Sāyaṇa, in his note on this verse, explains the word *śāradīḥ* differently, as *śaran-nāmnaḥ asurasya sambandhinīḥ* | "Belonging to an Asura called S'arad." Sāyaṇa renders the word *śarma* in this passage by "with thy thunderbolt." In his note on R.V. i. 174, 2, he had previously rendered it by "for our happiness." I have ventured to render it "our defence."

[52] In R.V. viii. 84, 3, we find the same epithet applied to persons: *Tvam hi śaśvatīnam patiḥ rājā viśām asi* | "Thou art the lord, the king of many peoples."

[53] Sāyaṇa interprets *aśmanmayīnām* by *pāshāṇair nirmitānām*, "built of stone," and says they were the cities of S'ambara.

[54] It appears that moving cloud-castles are here meant.

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having been vanquished by the gods, performed austerities, and built three castles in the three worlds,—one of iron on the earth, one of silver in the atmosphere, and one of gold in the sky. Then Agni was supplicated by the gods to burn these castles with the upasad. In consequence, Agni, in the form of the upasad deity, entered these castles, and burned them. Then these castles became the bodies of Agni. It is to this that this Mantra (text) has reference."[55] The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (iii. 4, 4, 3, ff.) has the following passage on the same subject:—*Devāś cha vai asurāś cha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ paspṛidhire | tato 'surāḥ eshu lokeshu puraś chakrire ayasmayīm eva asmin loke rajatām antarikshe harinīm̃ divi | tad vai devāḥ aspṛiṇvata | te etābhir upasadbhir upāsīdan | tad yad upāsīdaṁs tasmād upasado nāma | te puraḥ prābhindann imān lokān prājayan | tasmād āhur "upasadā puraṁ jayanti" iti |* "The gods and Asuras, who were both the offspring of Prajāpati, contended together. Then the Asuras constructed castles in these worlds, one of iron in this world, one of silver in the atmosphere, and one of gold in the sky. The gods were envious of this. They sat near (*upa-asīdan*) with these 'upasads' [ceremonies so called, or sieges]; and from their thus sitting the name of 'upasad' originated. They smote the cities, and conquered these worlds. Hence the saying that men conquer a city with an 'upasad.'" In the sequel of the same passage, iii. 4, 4, 14, it is said: *Vajram eva etat saṁskaroti Agnim anīkaṁ Somaṁ śalyaṁ Vishṇuṁ kulmalam |* "He thus prepares the thunderbolt, making Agni the shaft, Soma the iron, Vishṇu the point."[56] (See also Weber's Ind. Stud. ii. 310.)

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa i. 23 gives the following variation of the story: *Devāsurāḥ vai eshu lokeshu samayatanta | te vai asurāḥ imān eva lokān puro 'kurvata yathā ojīyāṁso balīyāṁsaḥ | evaṁ te vai ayasmayīm eva imām akurvata rajatām antarikshaṁ harinīm̃ divaṁ te tathā imān lokān puro 'kurvata | te devāḥ abruvan "puro vai ime 'surāḥ imān lokān akrata | puraḥ imān lokān prati karavāmahai" iti "tathā" iti | te sadaḥ eva asyāḥ*

[55] The reference here is to the text of the V.S. 5, 8, which contains the words *yā te Agne ayaḥśayā tanūḥ; yā te agne rajaḥśayā tanūḥ; yā te agne hariśayā tanūḥ:* "The body of thine, Agni, which reposes in iron; which reposes in silver; which reposes in gold." The 'upasad' was a festival, part of the jyotishṭoma, which was kept for several days. See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon.

[56] The Commentary says: "*anīkaṁ*" *vajrasya mukha-pradeśaḥ | śalyas tataḥ pūrvo bhāgaḥ* "*kulmalaṁ*" *tatpuchha-bhāgaḥ |*

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pratyakurvata agnīdhram antarikshād havirdhāne divas tathā imān lokān puraḥ pratyakurvata|te devāḥ abruvann "upasadaḥ upāyāma upasadā vai mahāpurāṁ jayanti" iti "tathā" iti | te yām eva prathamām upasadam upāyaṁs tayā eva enān asmāl lokād anudanta yāṁ dvitīyāṁ tayā 'ntarikshād yāṁ tṛitīyāṁ tayā divaḥ | tāṁs tathā ebhyo lokebhyo 'nudanta.

"The gods and Asuras strove together in these worlds. The Asuras made these worlds into castles, as strong and powerful persons do. Thus they made this earth a castle of iron, the air one of silver, and the sky one of gold: thus did they make these worlds castles. The gods said: "These Asuras have made these worlds into castles; let us in turn make of them counter-castles.' (The other gods said) 'so be it.' They (accordingly) made out of this earth a sitting-room [57] (*sadas*), out of the air a fire-altar, and out of the sky two receptacles of oblations: thus they made these worlds into counter-castles. The gods said, 'let us enter upon sieges (*upasadaḥ*),[58] for by siege men conquer a great fort.' (The other gods said) 'so be it.' By the first siege on which they entered they drove them (the Asuras) from this earth, by the second from the air, and by the third from the sky. So they drove them from these worlds."

Further on, in section 25 of the same chapter, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says:—*Ishuṁ vai etāṁ devāḥ samaskurvata yad upasadaḥ | tasyāḥ Agnir anīkam āsīt Somaḥ śalyo Vishṇus tejanaṁ Varuṇaḥ parṇāni | tām ājyadhanvāno 'sṛijaṁs tayā puro bhindantaḥ āyan |* "The gods prepared this arrow, the Upasads. Agni was its shaft, Soma was its iron, Vishṇu was its point, Varuṇa its feathers. Using the ājya for a bow, they discharged this arrow, and went forward shattering the castles."

The Taittirīya Sanhitā, vi. 2, 3 (as quoted in the commentary on an earlier part of the same work, Bibl. Ind., Black Yajurveda, in the first volume, page 390, f.), thus relates the story, combining the parts of the narrative which are separated in the two other Brāhmaṇas:—*Teshām asurāṇām tisraḥ puraḥ āsan | ayasmayī avamā 'tha rajatā 'tha hariṇī | tāḥ devāḥ jetuṁ nāśaknuvan | tāḥ upasadā eva ajigīshan | tasmād āhur "yaś chaivaṁ veda yaś cha na upasadā vai mahāpuraṁ jayanti" iti |*

[57] This is Prof. Haug's rendering. See his note, Transl. of Ait. Br. p. 51.

[58] "There is throughout this chapter a pun between the two meanings of *upasad*, 'siege,' and a certain ceremony" [so called] "observable."—Haug, p. 52.

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te ishuṁ samaskurvata Agnim anîkam Somaṁ śalyaṁ Vishṇuṁ tejanam | te 'bruvan "kaḥ imâm asisyati" iti | "Rudraḥ" ity abruvan | "Rudro vai krûraḥ so 'asyatv" iti | so 'bravîd "varaṁ vṛiṇai aham eva paśûnâm adhipatir asâni" iti | tasmâd Rudraḥ paśûnâm adhipatiḥ | taṁ Rudro 'vâsṛijat | sa tisraḥ puro bhitvâ ebhyo lokebhyo 'surân prâṇudata | "These Asuras had three castles, the lowest one of iron, next one of silver, and then one of gold. The gods were unable to conquer these. They sought to capture them by siege (or by an *upasad*). Hence men say, 'he who knows, and he who does not know, this, both conquer a great fort by siege.' They prepared an arrow, making Agni the wooden shaft, Soma the iron, and Vishṇu the point.[59] They said, 'who shall shoot this arrow?' 'Rudra,' they said; 'Rudra is cruel, let him shoot it.' He (Rudra) said, 'let me ask a boon; let me be the lord of cattle (or victims).' Hence Rudra is the lord of cattle. He discharged the arrow, and having shattered the three castles, drove the Asuras from these worlds."[60]

The Atharvaveda, v. 28, 9, f., speaks of three castles of the gods:— *Divas tvâ 'pâtu haritam madhyât tvâ pâtu arjunam | bhûmyâḥ ayasmayam pâtu prâgâd devapurâḥ ayam | imâs tisro devapurâs tâs tvâ rakshantu sarvataḥ |* "May the golden protect thee from the sky, the silver from the air, the iron from the earth: this man has reached the castles of the gods. May these three castles of the gods preserve thee continually."

Another text speaks of the castles of the Asuras, Atharvaveda, x. 6, 10: *Tâm bibhrach chandramâḥ maṇim asurâṇâm puro 'jayad dânavânâṁ hiraṇmayîḥ |* "Holding that gem, the Moon captured the golden castles of the Asuras, sons of Danû."

And verse 20 of the same hymn says: *Tair medino Angiraso Dasyûnâm bibhiduḥ puras tena tvaṁ dvishato jahi |* "Allied with them (the Atharvans) the Angirases shattered the castles of the Dasyus: with it do thou slay thine enemies."

In several texts Dasyus are mentioned in connexion with mountains. Thus in R.V., ii. 12, 11, we have the words, *Yaḥ S'ambaram parvateshu kshiyantam chatvâriṁśyâṁ śaradi anvavindat |* "Who discovered

[59] Comm. p. 391: *Anîka-śabdo bânasya prathama-bhâgaṁ kâshṭham âchashṭe śalya-śabdo lôhaṁ tejana-śabdas tad-agram.*

[60] See the version of the same story, given in the Anuśâsana parva of the Mahâbhârata, as quoted in vol. iv. of this work, pp. 168, f.; and at much greater length in the Karṇa parva, vv. 1407, ff.

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Sambara living in the mountains in the fortieth autumn;" and in i. 130, 7: *Bhinat puro navatim Indra Pūrave Divodāsāya mahi dāśushe nṛito vajreṇa dāśushe nṛitaḥ | Atithigvāya Sambaraṁ girer ugro avābharat | maho dhanāni dayamānaḥ ojasā viśvā dhanāni ojasā* | "O Indra, impetuous, thou didst shatter by thy bolt ninety-nine cities for Pūru (or the man), for the very liberal sacrificer Divodāsa;—impetuous,—for the liberal sacrificer. Fierce, he hurled down Sambara from the mountain for the sake of Atithigva, bestowing great wealth by his power, all wealth by his power." iv. 30, 14: *Uta dāsaṁ Kaulitaram bṛihataḥ parvatād adhi | avāhann Indra Sambaram* | "Thou, Indra, didst cast down the Dāsa Sambara, son of Kulitara, from the great mountain." vi. 26, 5: *Ava girer dāsaṁ Sambaram han prāvo Divodāsam* | "Thou didst hurl down the Dāsa Sambara from the mountain, thou didst preserve Divodāsa."

The wealth or property of the Dasyus or Asuras is spoken of in various places. Thus in i. 33, 4: *Vadhīr hi dasyuṁ dhaninaṁ ghanena ekaś charann upa śākebhir Indra* | "Thou, O Indra, advancing singly, hast slain the wealthy Dasyu, together with his allies, with thy destructive weapon."[61] i. 176, 4: *Asunvantaṁ samaṁ jahi dūṇāśaṁ yo na te mayaḥ | asmabhyam asya vedanaṁ daddhi sūriś chid ohate* | "Kill all those who make no oblations, though difficult to destroy, and who cause thee no gladness; give us their wealth: the worshipper expects it." ii. 15, 4: *Sa pravoḷhṝn parigatya Dabhīter viśvam adhāg āyudham iddhe agnau | sa gobhir aśvair asṛijad rathebhiḥ* | "Surrounding those (Asuras) who had carried away Dabhīti, he burned all their weapons in the blazing fire, and presented him with cows, horses, and chariots." iv. 30, 13: *Uta Śushṇasya dhṛishṇuyā pramṛikṣho abhi vedanam | puro yād asya sampiṇak* | "Thou didst boldly sweep away the wealth of Śushṇa, when thou didst shatter his castles." viii. 40, 6: *Api vṛiścha purāṇa-vad vratater iva gushpitam | ojo dāsasya dambhaya | vayaṁ tad asya sambhṛitaṁ vasu Indreṇa vibhajemahi* | "Root up, as of old, like (a tree) overgrown by a creeping plant; subdue the might of the Dāsa; may we through [or with]

[61] Sāyaṇa remarks on this verse: "The Vājasaneyins distinctly record the wealth [of Vṛitra] in these words; '*Vṛittrasyāntaḥ sarve devāḥ sarvāścha vidyāḥ sarvāṇi havīṁshi cha āsan:* In Vṛitra were contained all the gods, all the sciences, and all oblations.'"

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Indra divide his collected wealth." x. 69, 6: *Sam ajryā parvatyā vasūni dāsā vṛitrāṇi āryā jigetha* | "Thou hast conquered the property, whether situated in the plains or hills, (thou hast conquered) the Dāsa and the Ārya enemies."

In the following and numerous other texts (as well as in some of the preceding), various Dasyus, or at least adversaries, are specified by name, together with the persons who were delivered from them. R.V., i. 51, 6: *Tvaṁ Kutsaṁ Śushṇahatyeshu āvitha arandhayo Atithigvāya Śambaram* | *mahāntaṁ chid Arbudaṁ nyakramīḥ padā sanād eva dasyuhatyāya jajnishe* | "Thou hast preserved Kutsa in his fights with Śushṇa; hast subdued Śambara to Atithigva; thou hast trodden under foot the great Arbuda; of old hast thou been born to destroy the Dasyus."[62] vii. 19, 2: *Tvaṁ hi ṭyad Indra Kutsam āvaḥ śuśrūshamāṇas tanvā samaryye* | *dāsaṁ yat Śushṇaṁ Kuyavaṁ ni asmai arandhayaḥ Ārjuneyāya śikshan* | "Thou, O Indra, didst then deliver Kutsa in the fray, interposing with thy body, when favouring that son of Arjuni, thou didst subdue to him the Dāsa Śushṇa, and Kuyava."[63] i. 53, 8: *Tvaṁ Karanjam uta Parṇayaṁ vadhīs tejishṭhayā Atithigvasya vartanī* | *tvaṁ śatā Vangṛidasya abhinat puro anānudaḥ purishūtāḥ Ṛijiśvanā* | 9 | *Tvaṁ etān jana-rājno dvirdaśa abandhunā Suśravasā upajagmushaḥ* | *shashṭiṁ sahasrā navatiṁ nava śruto ni chakreṇa rathyā dushpadā avṛiṇak* | 10 | *Tvaṁ āvitha Suśravasaṁ tavotibhis tava trāmabhir Indra Tūrvayāṇam* | *ivaṁ asmai Kutsam Atithigvam Āyum mahe rājne yūne arandhanāyaḥ* | "8. Thou hast slain Karanja and Parṇaya with the glittering spear of Atithigva. Unyielding, thou hast broken down the hundred cities of Vangṛida, which had been blockaded by Ṛijiśvan. 9. Thou, renowned Indra, hast with thy swift chariot-wheels, crushed those twenty kings of men, who assailed the unaided Suśravas, [and their] sixty thousand and ninety-

[62] This verse is followed almost immediately by the text, i. 51, 8, quoted above, p. 359. "Distinguish between the Āryas," etc.

[63] In R.V., iv. 26, 1 (quoted above, p. 360), also, Kutsa is called the son of Arjuni. Kuhn considers that Kutsa is a personification of the lightning, a view which he considers to be confirmed by his patronymic of Ārjuni, Arjuna being an epithet of Indra, and of the thunderbolt. See Herabkunft des Feuers, pp. 57-62, 65, 140, 176. See also Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.* Kuyava is also mentioned in i. 103, 3: *Kshīreṇa snātaḥ Kuyavasya yoshe, hate te syātām pravaṇe S'iphāyāḥ.* "The two wives of Kuyava bathe with water; may they be drowned in the stream of the S'iphā."

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nine [followers]. 10. Thou hast by thy aids protected Suśravas, and by thy help Tūrvayāṇa. To this mighty youthful king thou hast subjected Kutsa, Atithigva, and Āyu."[64] ii. 30, 8: *Sarasvati tvam asmān aviḍḍhi marutvatī dhṛishatī jeshi śatrūn | tyaṁ chit śardhantaṁ tavishīyamāṇam Indro hanti vṛishabhaṁ S'aṇḍikānām |* "Sarasvatī, do thou protect us: impetuous, attended by the Maruts, thou conquerest our enemies. Indra destroys the chief of the S'aṇḍikas, arrogant, and making a display of his strength."[65] iv. 30, 15: *Uta dāsasya Varchinaḥ sahasrāṇi śatā 'vadhīḥ | adhi pancha pradhīn iva | 21 | asvāpayad Dabhītaye sahasrā tṛiṁśataṁ hathaiḥ | dāsānām Indro māyayā |* "Thou hast slain above a thousand and five hundred followers of the Dāsa Varchin like fellies of a wheel [crushed, or whirled round?][66] 21. Indra,

[64] The youthful king, alluded to in the last verse, is said by Roth (Lexicon, under the word "Atithigva") to be Tūrvayāṇa. See, however, under Tūrvayāṇa. - Benfey (Or. und Occ., i. 413) says it must be Suśravas. These names occur again in vi. 18, 13. Kutsa is sometimes aided (R.V., i. 63, 3; i. 121, 9; iv. 16, 12; x. 99, 9), and sometimes vanquished (ii. 14, 7; iv. 26, 1; vi. 18, 13; Vāl., 5, 2), by Indra.

[65] Sāyaṇa says that *S'aṇḍāmarkāv Asurapurohitau:* "S'aṇḍa and Marka are the priests of the Asuras." See the story regarding them in Taitt. San., vi. 4, 10, 1, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 230, note, where they appear in the character referred to by Sāyaṇa. The story is somwhat differently told in S'atap. Br., iv. 2, 1, 5: *Yatra vai devāḥ asura-rakshasāni apajaghnire tad etāv eva na śekur apahantum | yad ha sma devāḥ kincha karma kurvate tad ha sma mohayitvā kshipre eva punar apadravataḥ | 6 | te ha devāḥ ūchuḥ | "upajānīta yatha imāv apahanāmahai" iti | te ha ūchuḥ | "grahāv eva ābhyām grihṇāma tāv abhyavaishyataḥ | tau svīkṛityā apahanishyāmahe" iti | tābhyāṁ grahau jagṛihuḥ | tāv abhyavaitām | tau svīkṛitya apaghnata | tasmāt S'aṇḍāmarkābhyāṁ gṛihyete devatābhyo hūyete |* "When the gods smote the Asuras and Rakshases, they could not smite these two (S'aṇḍa and Marka, who had just been named). When the gods performed any rite, these two used to come and disturb it, and then run away quickly. 6. The gods said: 'Consider how we shall smite them.' They (the other gods?) said: 'Let us prepare two draughts for them; they will alight; and then we shall master and smite them.' They accordingly prepared libations for these two. They alighted. They (the gods) mastered and smote them. Hence two draughts are prepared for S'aṇḍa and Marka, but are offered to the gods." In the S'atapatha-brāhmaṇa, i. 1, 4, 14 (p. 9 of Weber's edition), Kilāṭa and Ākuli are declared to be the priests of the Asuras: *Kilāṭākulī iti ha Asura-brahmāv āsatuḥ.* Z. D. M. G. for 1850, p. 302. In Ind. Stud., i. 32, Weber quotes the following words from the Pāñchvinś'a-brāhmaṇa, 13, 11; *Gaupāvanānām vai satram āsīnānām Kirātākulvāv asuramāye,* etc. "While the Gaupāvanas were seated at a sacrifice, Kirāta and Ākuli, etc." See also Ind. Stud., i., p. 186, 195, ii. 243. According to the Mahābhārata, i. 2544, Uśanas Kāvya, or S'ukra, son of Bhṛigu (v. 2606) was the teacher (*upādhyāya*) of the Asuras, and his four sons were their priests (*yājakāḥ*). In verses 3188, ff., of the same book, the rivalry of Uśanas and Angiras is referred to. Uśanas Kāvya was the messenger of the Asuras, according to the Taitt. San., i. 5, 8, 5.

[66] See also R.V., vii. 99, 5.

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by his superhuman power, put to sleep with his weapons thirty thousand Dāsas for Dabhīti." v. 30, 7: *Atra dāsasya Namucheḥ śiro yad avartayo manave gātum ichhan* | 9 | *striyo hi dāsaḥ āyudhāni chakre kim māṁ karann abalāḥ asya senāḥ* | *antar hi akhyad ubhe asya dhene atha upapraid yudhaye dasyum Indraḥ* | "When, designing prosperity for Manu, thou didst strike off the head of the Dāsa Namuchi.[67] 9. The Dāsa took his wives for allies in battle. What will his feeble hosts do to me? He concealed his two fair ones; and then Indra approached to fight with the Dasyu." viii. 32, 26: *Ahan Vṛitram ṛichīshamaḥ Aurṇavābham Ahīśuvaṁ himena avidhyad Arbudam* | "Indra slew Vṛitra, Aurṇavābha, Ahīśuva: with frost he pierced Arbuda." viii. 40, 10: *Yaḥ ojasā S'ushṇasya aṇḍāni bhedati jeshat svarvatīr apaḥ* | "Who by his might crushes the eggs of Sushṇa; he conquered the celestial waters." x. 54, 1: *Prāvo devān ātiro dāsam ojaḥ prajāyai tvasyai yad aśikshaḥ Indra* | "Thou hast protected the gods, thou hast overcome the might of the Dasyus, when thou, O Indra, didst favour some one people." x. 73, 7: *Tvaṁ jaghantha Namuchim makhasyuṁ dāsaṁ kṛiṇvānaḥ ṛishaye vimāyam* | "Thou hast slain the vehement Namuchi, making the Dāsa devoid of power for the ṛishi."[68] x. 95, 7: *Yat tvā Purūravo raṇāya avardhayan dasyuhatyāya devāḥ* | "When, Purūravas, the gods strengthened thee for the conflict with the Dasyus."

I have gone over the names of the Dasyus or Asuras mentioned in the R.V. with the view of discovering whether any of them could be regarded as of non-Arian or indigenous origin; but I have not observed any that appear to be of this character. But we should recollect that the Arians would not unnaturally designate the aboriginal leaders (if they specified any of them in their sacred hymns) by names of Arian origin, or at least softened into an Arian form. The Greeks introduced Greek modifications into Persian and other proper names, and the Chaldeans are stated in the Book of Daniel to have given Chaldean appellations to the Jews.

In some passages the Dasyus are spoken of as monsters.[69] Thus, ii.

[67] There is a legend about Indra and the Asura Namuchi in the S'atap. Brāh., v. 4, 1, 8, p. 459.

[68] See Benfey, Gloss. to S.V. under the word *Namuchi*.

[69] The Dasyus must be evil spirits in A.V., xviii. 2, 28: *Ye dasyavaḥ pitṛishu pravishtāḥ*, etc. ("the Dasyus who have entered into, or among, the Pitṛis"). They

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14, 4: *Yah Uraṇaṁ jaghāna nava chakhvāṁsaṁ navatiṁ cha bāhūn | yo Arbudam ava nīchā babādhe* | "Who slew Uraṇa, displaying ninety-nine arms; who struck down Arbuda," etc. x. 99, 6: *Sa id dāsaṁ tuviravam patir dan shaḍakshaṁ triśirshāṇaṁ damanyat | asya Trito nu ojasā vṛidhāno vipā varāham ayoagrayā han* | "This lord humbled and subjugated the loud-shouting Dāsa, with six eyes and three heads.[70] Trita, increasing in strength, smote this boar with his iron-tipped shaft." The enemies of Indra are spoken of in a few passages as scaling the sky: thus, ii. 12, 12: *Yo Rauhiṇam asphurad vajrabāhur dyām arohantaṁ sa janāsaḥ Indraḥ* | "O men, he who, armed with the thunder, slew Rauhiṇa as he was scaling the heaven, is Indra." viii. 14, 14: *Māyābhir utsisṛipsataḥ Indra dyām ārurukshataḥ ava dasyūn adhūnuthāḥ* | "Thou, Indra, hast hurled down the Dasyus, who, by their superhuman powers, were mounting upwards, and seeking to scale heaven."[71] In ii. 12, 2, the Dasyus are said to regard themselves as immortal: *Sṛijo mahīr Indra yāḥ apinvaḥ parishṭhitāḥ Ahinā śūra pūrvīḥ | amartyaṁ chid dāsan manyamānam avābhinad ukthair vavṛidhānaḥ* | "Thou hast, O heroic Indra, let loose the abundant waters, which thou augmentedst when they were stopped by Ahi. Gaining vigour by hymns, he shattered the Dāsa, who regarded himself as immortal." In v. 7, 10, the Dasyus are conjoined with men: *Ād Agne apṛiṇato 'triḥ sāsahyād dasyūn ishaḥ sāsahyād nṛīn* | "Hereupon, O Agni, may the Atri overcome the illiberal Dasyus, may Isha overcome the men."

I have thus brought under review in this section a variety of passages which bear, or might be conceived to bear, some reference to the conquest of territory by the Āryas and to the condition, colour, speech, religious rites, and castles of the Dasyus. The meaning of many of these texts is, however, as we have seen, extremely doubtful; and some of them are clearly of a mythological import. Such, for instance, are those which describe the contests of Indra with Vṛitra, the demon of

are said to be *parāpuraḥ* and *nipuraḥ*, which the commentary on V.S., 2, 30, explains as having gross or subtile bodies. In that passage the word *asurāḥ* is used instead of *Dasyus*. See also A.V., x. 3, 11, where they are identified with asuras. *Indro dasyūn iva asurān.*

[70] In S'atap. Br., p. 57, a son of Tvashṭṛi with three heads and six eyes is mentioned as having his three heads cut off by Indra.

[71] In i. 78, 4, the expression *yo dasyūn ava dhūnushe* recurs.

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the clouds, who withholds rain; where we are, no doubt, to understand both the god and his adversary as personifications of atmospherical phenomena. In the same way, Śambara, Śushṇa, and Namuchi are to be regarded as mythical personages, of a kindred character with Vṛitra. And yet there are many passages in which the word "vṛitra" has the signification of enemy in general (as R.V. vi. 33, 3; vi. 60, 6; vii. 83, 1, p. 361); and Professor Spiegel, as we have seen (p. 317), is of opinion that the word "vṛitrahan" had originally nothing more than a general signification, and that it was only at a later period that it came to be a special designation of Indra. The word Śambara, again, as Benfey (Glossary to Sāmaveda, p. 181) remarks, is given in the Nighaṇṭus as synonymous with *megha*, "a cloud" (i. 10), with *udaka*, "water" (i. 12), and with *bala*, "force" (ii. 9); while the mythical narrations generally identify him with Vṛitra. In regard to this word Professor Roth remarks as follows (Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 116): "In the passages which speak of Divodāsa, mention is made of his deliverance, by the aid of the gods, from the oppressor Śambara, e.g. Ṛ.V. i. 112, 14; ix. 61, 2. It is true that Śambara is employed at a later period to designate an enemy in general, and in particular the enemy of Indra, Vṛitra; but it is not improbable that this may be the transference of the more ancient recollection of a dreaded enemy to the greatest of all enemies, the demon of the clouds." (See, however, p. 368, above.)

Professor Müller (Last Results of the Turanian Researches, pp. 344, ff. remarks as follows on the use of the words Dasyu, Rakshas, Yātudhāna, etc.: "Dasyu simply means enemy; for instance, when Indra is praised because 'he destroyed the Dasyus and protected the Arian colour.'[72] The 'Dasyus,' in the Veda, may mean non-Arian races in many hymns; yet the mere fact of tribes being called the enemies of certain kings or priests can hardly be said to prove their barbarian origin. Vasishṭha himself, the very type of the Arian Brahman, when in feud with Viśvāmitra, is called not only an enemy but a 'Yātudhāna,' and other names, which in common parlance are only bestowed on barbarian savages and evil spirits." (See the first volume of this work, pp. 326, f.,

[72] [This passage, iii. 34, 9, appears to me to be, rather, one of those in which the contrast is most strongly drawn between the Āryas and the aborigines. See above, pp. 282 and 360.—J.M.]

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where the original passage and the translation are given.) "In other passages [of the R.V.] the word . . . devil (rakshas) is clearly applied to barbarous nations. Originally rakshas meant strong and powerful, but it soon took the sense of giant and barbarian,[73] and in this sense it occurs in the Veda, together with Yātudhāna. Another Vaidik epithet applied, as it seems, to wild tribes infesting the seats of the Āryas, is 'anagnitra,' 'they who do not keep the fire.' Thus we read, 'Agni, drive away from us the enemies—tribes who keep no sacred fires came to attack us. Come again to the earth, sacred god, with all the immortals, come to our libation.'[74] The same races are called 'kravyād,' or flesh-eaters. In a famous hymn of Vasishṭha we read: 'Indra and Soma, burn the Rakshas, destroy them, throw them down, ye two Bulls, the people that grow in darkness. Hew down the madmen, suffocate them, kill them, hurl them away, and slay the voracious. Indra and Soma, up together against the cursing demon! may he burn and hiss like an oblation in the fire! Put your everlasting hatred on the villain, who hates the Brahman, who eats flesh, and whose look is abominable.'[75] . . . Kravyād, flesh-eater, means people who eat raw meat, . . . and they are also called *āmādas*, . . . or raw-eaters, for

[73] The Rev. Dr. Wilson (India Three Thousand Years Ago, p. 20) thinks that the words Rākshasa, Piśācha, and Asura, were originally names of tribes; but he adduces no proof of this, and I have found none.

[74] R.V. i. 189, 3: *Agne tvam asmad yuyodhi amīvāḥ anagnitrāḥ abhyamanta kṛishṭhīḥ | Punar asmabhyan suvitāya Deva kshām viśvebhir amṛitebhir yajatra* ||

[75] [R.V. vii. 104, 1, 2: *Indrā-Somā tapatam raksha ubjatam ni arpayatam vṛishaṇā tamovṛidhaḥ | Parāśṛiṇītam achito ni oshatam hatam nudeṭhām ni śiśītam atriṇaḥ | Indrā-Somā sam aghaśaṁsam abhy agham tapur yayastu charur agnivān iva | Brahmadvishe kravyāde ghorachakshase dvesho dhattam anavāyam kimīdine* | In a similar strain, Viśvāmitra, the rival of Vasishṭha, says, in R.V. iii. 30, 15–17: *Indra dṛihya yāmakośā abhūvan yajñāya śiksha gṛiṇate sakhibhyaḥ | Durmāyavo durevā martyāso nishangiṇo ripavo hantvāsaḥ | sam ghoshaḥ śṛiṇve avamair amitrair jahi ni eshu aśanim tapishṭhām | Vṛiścha īm adhastād vi ruja sahasva jahi raksho Maghavan randhayasva | Udvṛiha rakshaḥ sahamūlam Indra vṛiścha madhyam prati agram śṛiṇīhi | ā kīvataḥ salalūkam chakartha brahmadvishe tapushim hetim asya |* "Indra, be strong; [the Rakshases?] have stopped the road: bestow favour on the sacrifice, and on thy worshipper and his friends: let our mortal foes, bearing quivers, practising wicked deceit, and malicious, be destroyed. A sound has been heard by our nearest foes; hurl upon them thy hottest bolt, cut them up from beneath, shatter them, overpower them; kill and subdue the Rakshas, O Maghavan! Tear up the Rakshas by the roots, Indra, cut him in the midst, destroy him at the extremities. How long dost thou delay? Hurl thy burning shaft against the enemy of devotion." See Roth, Illustr. of Nir., vi. 3, p. 72.—J.M.]

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the cooking of meat was a distinguishing feature of civilized nations, and frequently invested with a sacrificial character. Agni, who in the Vedas is the type of the sacrifice, and with it of civilization and social virtues, takes an entirely different character in his capacity of 'kravyād,' or flesh-eater. He is represented under a form as hideous as the beings he is invoked to devour. He sharpens his two iron tusks, puts his enemies into his mouth and swallows them. [R.V., x. 87, 2, ff.] He heats the edges of his shafts, and sends them into the hearts of the Rakshas. He tears their skin, minces their members, and throws them before the wolves to be eaten by them, or by the shrieking vultures. These Rakshas are themselves called 'achitas,' mad, and 'mūradevās,'[78] worshippers of mad gods. Nay, they are even taunted with eating human flesh, and are called 'asutṛipas,' as enjoying the life of other men. In the Rigveda we read [x. 87, 16], 'the Yātudhānas who gloat on the bloody flesh of men or horses, and steal the milk of the cow, O Agni, cut off their heads with thy fiery sword.' All these epithets seem to apply to hostile, and, most likely, aboriginal races, but they are too general to allow us the inference of any ethnological conclusions. The Vaidik ṛishis certainly distinguish between Arian and non-Arian enemies. The gods are praised for destroying enemies, Arian as well as barbarian (*dāsā cha vṛittrā hatam āryāṇi cha*), and we frequently find the expression 'kill our Arian enemies, and the Dāsā enemies; yea, kill all our enemies.' But there is no allusion to any distinct physical features, such as we find in later writers. The only expression that might be interpreted in this way is that of 'suśipra,' as applied to Arian gods. It means 'with a beautiful nose.' As people are fain to transfer the qualities which they are most proud of in themselves to their gods, and as they do not become aware of their own good qualities, except by way of contrast, we might conclude that the

[78] [The far more opprobrious epithet of *śiśnadeva* is applied, apparently, to the same class of people, in R.V. vii. 21, 5; and x. 99, 3. The former of these texts ends thus: *Mā śiśnādevāḥ apigur ṛitam naḥ:* "let not the lascivious wretches approach our sacred rite." Yāska (Nir. iv. 19) explains *śiśnadeva* by *abrahmacharyya;* Roth (Illustrations to Nir., p. 47) thinks the word is a scornful appellation for priapic, or sensual demons. The last line of the second text (x. 99, 3, apparently spoken of Indra) is as follows: *Anarvā yat śatadurasya vedo ghnan śiśnadevān abhi varpasā bhūt.* "When, smiting the lascivious wretches, the irresistible god by art made himself master of the wealth of [the city] with a hundred portals." (See the fourth volume of this work, pp. 345, ff.)—J.M.]

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beautiful nose of Indra was suggested by the flat noses of the aboriginal races. Tribes with flat, or even no noses at all, are mentioned by Alexander's companions in India; and in the hymns of the Rigvéda, Manu is said to have conquered Vi-śiśipra (Pada-text, viśi-śipra), which may be translated by 'noseless.' The Dāsa, or barbarian, is also called 'vṛishaśipra' in the Veda, which seems to mean 'goat or bull-nosed,' and the 'anāsas,' enemies whom Indra killed with his weapon (R.V. v. 29, 9, 10), are probably meant for noseless (a-nāsas), not, as the commentator supposes, for faceless (an-āsas) people." (See above, p. 377, f.)

Professor Müller then proceeds to remark that the physical features of the aboriginal tribes are more distinctly described in the Purāṇas. (See the first volume of this work, pp. 301, 303, and a passage from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa which will be quoted further on).

We may, perhaps, be better able to understand many of the expressions and allusions in the hymns, and the manner in which some particular phrases and epithets are applied (as it would appear, indiscriminately, to the different classes of beings, human, ethereal, or demoniacal), if we can first of all obtain an idea of the position in which the Āryas, on their settlement in India, would probably find themselves placed in reference to the aboriginal tribes; and if we, secondly, consider that the hymns in which these phrases are recorded were composed at various dates, ranging over several centuries; that the same words and phrases are perpetually recurring in the different hymns; and that expressions employed in one sense in the earlier hymns may have been transferred, in the compositions of a later date, to a different class of beings. We have further to recollect, that the hymns may not always have been handed down in a complete state, and that portions of different compositions, which had originally a different subject and purpose, may have been erroneously thrown together by compilers in after-ages. I shall say a few words, by way of conjecture, on each of these topics.

First, then, we may conceive the Āryas advancing from the Indus in a south-easterly direction into a country probably covered with forest, and occupied by savage tribes, who lived in rude huts, perhaps defended by entrenchments, and subsisted on the spontaneous products of the woods, or on the produce of the chase, and of fishing; or by some attempts

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at agriculture. These barbarians were of dark complexion, perhaps also of uncouth appearance, spoke a language fundamentally distinct from that of the Āryas, differed entirely from them in their religious worship, which no doubt would partake of the most degraded fetishism, and (we can easily suppose) regarded with intense hostility the more civilized invaders who were gradually driving them from their ancient fastnesses. The Āryas, meanwhile, as they advanced, and gradually established themselves in the forests, fields, and villages of the aborigines, would not be able all at once to secure their position, but would be exposed to constant reprisals on the part of their enemies, who would "avail themselves of every opportunity to assail them, to carry off their cattle, disturb their rites, and impede their progress."[77] The black complexion, ferocious aspect, barbarous habits, rude speech, and savage yells of the Dasyus, and the sudden and furtive attacks which, under cover of the impenetrable woods,[78] and the obscurity of night, they would make on the encampments of the Āryas, might naturally lead the latter to speak of them, in the highly figurative language of an imaginative people in the first stage of civilization, as ghosts or demons;[79] or even to conceive of their hidden assailants as possessed of magical and superhuman powers, or as headed by devils. The belief in ghosts is not obsolete (as every one knows) even in modern times and among Christian nations. In the case of nocturnal attacks, the return of day would admonish the assailants to withdraw, and would restore the bewildered and harassed Āryas to security; and, therefore, the rising of the sun in the east would be spoken of as it is

[77] Wilson, R.V. vol. i. Introd. p. xlii. See the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 450, ff.

[78] In the Rigveda there is a hymn (x. 146) of six verses, addressed to Araṇyānī, the goddess of forests, which we can conceive to have been composed at a period such as that described above, by a ṛishi accustomed to live amidst vast woods, and to the terrors incident to wandering through their solitudes. The first and last stanzas of this hymn are as follows: *Araṇyāni Araṇyāni asau yā preva naśyasi | kathā grāmam na pṛichhasi na tvā bhīr iva vindati | . . . Añjanagandhiṁ surabhiṁ bahvannām akṛishīvalām | prāham mṛigāṇām mātaram Araṇyānim aśaṁsisham.* "Araṇyānī, Araṇyānī, thou who almost losest thyself, how is it that thou seekest not the hamlet? Doth not fear possess thee? . . . I have celebrated Araṇyānī, the unctuous-scented, the fragrant, abounding in food, destitute of tillage, the mother of wild beasts." See Roth, Illustr. of Nir., p. 132: and the fifth volume of this work, p. 422.

[79] In R.V. viii. 18, 13, human enemies are spoken of as acting like Rakshases: *Yo naḥ kaśchid ririkshati rakshastvena martyaḥ svais sa evaiḥ ririshīshṭa:* "May the man who seeks, with Rakshas-like atrocity, to injure us, perish by his own misconduct."

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in one of the Brāhmaṇas, as driving away or destroying the devils.[80] In a similar way the author of the Rāmāyaṇa (if we suppose that there is any historical basis for his poetical narrative) speaks, as we shall shortly see, of the barbarian tribes encountered by Rāma in the Dekhan as Rākshasas and monkeys.[81] This state of things might last for some time. The Āryas, after advancing some way, might halt, to occupy, to clear and to cultivate the territory they had acquired; and the aborigines might continue in possession of the adjacent tracts, sometimes at peace, and sometimes at war with their invaders. At length the further advance of the Āryas would either drive the Dasyus into the remotest corners of the country, or lead to their partial incorporation with the conquerers as the lowest grade in their community. When this stage was reached, the Āryas would have no longer any occasion to compose prayers to the gods for protection against the aboriginal tribes; but their superstitious dread of the evil spirits, with which the popular mind in all ages has been prone to people the night, would still continue.

Secondly. Throughout the whole period (which we may presume to have extended over several centuries) during which the state of things just described continued, the composition of the Vedic hymns was proceeding. These hymns were (as we have supposed, pp. 196, 198) preserved by the descendants of the several bards, who on their part, again, were constantly adding to the collection other new compositions of their own. The authors of these new effusions would naturally incorporate in them many thoughts and phrases borrowed from the older hymns which were preserved in their recollection,[82] and which were now, perhaps, beginning to be invested with a certain sanctity. As circumstances changed, the allusions and references in the older hymns might be forgotten; and it might happen that some of the expressions occurring in them would no longer be distinctly understood, and might in this way be applied to conditions and events to which they had originally no reference. The same thing might also happen by way of accommodation: phrases or epithets referring

[80] Quoted by Sāyaṇa on R.V. i. 33, 8: *'Ādityō hy eva udyan purastād rakshāṁsy apahanti.* See also Sāyaṇa on R.V., i. 71, 4.

[81] And in our own experience the Chinese speak of Europeans as "foreign devils."

[82] Compare Renan's Histoire des langues Sémitiques, 2nd ed. p. 120, note 1.

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to one class of enemies might be transferred to another, as Professor Roth (see p. 389) supposed to have been the case with the word Sambara. When, in fact, we see that hints and allusions in the Vedas have been often developed in the Purāṇas into legends of an entirely different character and tendency, that the functions and attributes of the Vedic gods were quite changed in later ages, and that even in the Brāhmaṇas the true meaning of many of the Vedic texts has been misunderstood, it becomes quite admissible to suppose, that, even in the age when the later hymns were composed, the process of misapplication may have commenced, and that their authors may, in various instances, have employed the words of the earlier hymns in a different manner from that in which they were at first applied. In this way it is conceivable that what was originally said of the dark-complexioned, degraded, and savage aborigines, of their castles, or rude fortifications, and of their conflicts with the Āryas, may have been at a later period transferred to the foul sprites of darkness, to the hostile demons of the clouds, and to the conflicts of the gods with the Asuras and the Daityas. Or it is, perhaps, a more probable supposition that, in the artless style of early poetry, the earthly enemies of the worshipper were mentioned in the hymns along side of the malicious spirits of darkness (with whom, as we have just seen, p. 393, they might be supposed to have some affinity or alliance), or the aërial foes of Indra. This conjunction or confusion of different kinds of enemies becomes the more intelligible if the word Dasyu, as is supposed by the Indian commentators (page 3C3, above), originally bore the generic sense of destroyer. (See, however, the remarks of Professor Benfey in p. 367, f.) It might thus come to be applied to all kinds of enemies, as the mention of one description of foes might naturally suggest a reference to the others, and to the epithets applicable to them. We ourselves apply to the devil the appellation of the foul fiend, a word which means enemy (*feind*) in German; and when employing such prayers as "deliver us from the fear of the enemy," we naturally include all disturbers of our peace, outward or inward, physical or ghostly. Epithets like *anyavrata*, "observing different rites," *avrata*, "without rites," *ayajyu*, "not sacrificing," *adeva*, "without gods," which were originally applicable only to men, might thus, in the progress of a fantastic mythology, be afterwards transferred to demons.

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That this is not merely a presumption, but that, at least, something like the process in question actually took place in India, may be illustrated by the following curious passage from the Chhāndogya Upanishad, p. 585: *Tasmād api adya iha adadānam aśraddadhānam ayajamānam āhur "āsura vata" iti | Asurāṇāṁ hy eshā upanishat pretasya śarīram bhikshayā vasanena alankāreṇa iti saṁskurvanti | etena hy amuṁ lokaṁ jeshyanto manyante |* "Hence even at the present day a person who is destitute of liberality and faith, and who does not sacrifice, is contemptuously addressed as one of the Asura race. This is the sacred doctrine of the Asuras: they adorn the bodies of the dead with gifts, with raiment, and jewels, and imagine that by this means they shall attain the world to come." [83]

The following passage of the Śatap. Br. iii. 2, 1, 23 and 24 (p. 23 Weber's ed.), may also serve to show the connexion between the aborigines and Asuras: *Te Asurāḥ āttavachaso "he alavaḥ he alavaḥ" iti vadantaḥ parābabhūvuḥ | Tatra etām api vācham ūdur upajijñāsyām | sa mlechhas | Tasmād na brāhmaṇo mlechhed | Asuryā ha eshā vāk.* "The Asuras, deprived of speech, and crying *he alavaḥ* ('O enemies,' incorrectly, instead of *he arayaḥ*), were defeated. Here they also spoke this doubtful expression. This is incorrect language [or one who speaks so is a mlechha]. Therefore let no Brahman speak incorrectly: for this is the language of the Asuras." [84]

[83] See Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 271, 2, and note. Compare Manu, xi. 20: *Yad dhanaṁ yajñaśīlānām deva-svaṁ tad vidur budhāḥ | Ayajvanāṁ tu yad vittam āsura-svam tad uchyate ||* "The wealth of those who practise sacrifice is regarded by the wise as the property of the gods; but the wealth of those who never sacrifice is called the property of the Asuras." See also Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, xiii, 8, 1, 5 (App. Note N.), and Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 189; as well as the text from the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa cited in the first volume of this work, 2nd ed., p. 21.

[84] In the Brāhmaṇas numerous mythical tales occur of battles between the Devas (gods) and Asuras, which Weber (Ind. Stud. i. 186, and ii. 243) thinks are often to be understood of contests between the Arians and the aborigines. This he considers to be proved by the passage about Kilāta (whose name nearly corresponds with that of the Kirātas, an aboriginal race) and Ākuli, priests of the Asuras, quoted above, p. 386, note, from the Śatap. Br., and by the legend of Rāvaṇa. It may be also worthy of note, that the word *krivi*, when occurring in the R.V. (as in ii. 17, 6, and elsewhere), though taken by Roth, in his Lexicon, to mean generally a cloud, is understood by the Commentator as the name of an Asura; while this same word is stated in the Śatap. Br. xiii. 5, 4, 7, to be an old name of the Panchālas; *Krivayaḥ iti ha vai purā Panchālān āchakshate.*

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SECT. III.—*The Arians on the Sarasvatī, and their diffusion eastward and southward from that point.*

In the preceding sections we have seen that the Āryas, on penetrating into Hindustan from the north-west, and advancing across the Panjāb from the Indus towards the Sarasvatī, found themselves in contact and conflict with a race of people, apparently aboriginal, who are designated in the Vedic hymns by the appellation of Dasyus. We shall shortly find that at a later period, on their southward progress from the Doab towards and across the Vindhya range, the Arians again began to press upon the aborigines, and drove them further and further into the Dekhan. We shall also, perhaps, find in the epithets applied in the Rāmāyaṇa to the barbarous tribes of the Dekhan, a confirmation of the opinion that in the hymns of the Rigveda the same class of people are designated by such terms as Rakshas, etc. Before proceeding with this investigation, however, we must first pause for a moment with the Brahmanical Indians in the holy land on the banks of the Sarasvatī, and then by the aid of some texts from their ancient writers, trace their advance from that point to the eastward, and their diffusion over northern India generally.

We shall now, therefore, suppose that the Āryas, after traversing the country of the five rivers, have arrived on the banks of the Sarasvatī, and have even extended themselves as far as the Jumna and the Ganges. It would appear that the narrow tract called Brahmāvartta between the Sarasvatī and the Dṛishadvatī, alluded to in the classical passage of Manu, ii. 17–24, must have been for a considerable period the seat of some of the most distinguished Indian priests and sages, that there the Brahmanical institutions must have been developed and matured, and perhaps the collection of the Vedic hymns completed and the canon closed. (See above, pp. 302, 345, 348.) It is not easy to account in any other way for the sacred character attached to this small tract of country.[85] On this subject Lassen remarks as follows (in his

[85] Some texts of the Veda relating to the Sarasvatī have been quoted above, p. 345, f. Weber (Ind. Stud., ii. 311) quotes two passages from the S'ānkhāyana and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas, about the ṛishis holding a sacrifice on the banks of this river. See also Professor Haug's Ait. Br. The commencement of the legend in the Ait. Br., ii. 19, is as follows: *Rishayo vai Sarasvatyām satram āsata, te Kavasham Ailūsham somād anayan: "dāsyaḥ putraḥ kitavo 'brāhmaṇaḥ katham no madhye dīkshishṭā" iti tam bahirdhanva udavahann "atra enam pipāsā hantu | Sarasvatyāḥ*

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Zeitschrift, iii. p. 201):—"The holiness [of the Sarasvatī] must also rest on historical grounds, and be referred to an age when the contrast had become strongly marked between the inhabitants of inner India, whose institutions were framed according to rigid sacerdotal principles, and the occupants of the Panjāb, by whom such rules were but imperfectly observed. This contrast, however, was not only applicable to the people of the west: towards the south also the country which was regulated by institutions of a strictly Indian character, terminated with the Sarasvatī: the place where that river disappeared was the door of the Nishāda country; and she disappeared in order that she might not come into contact with that impure race."[66] Of the same locality Professor Wilson (Vishṇu-Purāṇa, Preface, p. lxvii) remarks: "Various adventures of the first princes and most famous sages occur in this vicinity; and the Āśramas, or religious domiciles, of several of the latter are placed on the banks of the Sarasvatī. According to some authorities, it was the abode of Vyāsa, the compiler of the Vedas and Purāṇas; and agreeably to another, when on one occasion the Vedas had fallen into disuse, and been forgotten, the Brahmans were again instructed in them by Sārasvata, the son of Sarasvatī.[67] One of the most distinguished of the tribes of the Brahmans is known as the Sārasvata. . . . . The

udaṅkam māpād" iti | "The ṛishis attended at a sacrifice on the [banks of] the Sarasvatī. They removed Kavasha Ailūsha from the soma, saying, 'This is the son of a bondmaid, a gamester (or deceiver), and no Brāhman; how has he consecrated himself among us in the sacred rite?' Accordingly they took him into the wilderness, saying, 'Let thirst destroy him here; let him not drink the water of the Sarasvatī.'" The Sarasvatī, however, showed him favour, and the Brāhmans in consequence admitted him to their fellowship. In the Mahābh., iii. 5074, quoted by Lassen (Zeitschr., iii. 200), it is said: *Dakshiṇena Sarasvatyāḥ Dṛishadvaty-uttareṇa cha, ye vasanti Kurukshetre te vasanti tripishṭape*| "Those who dwell in Kurukshetra, south of the Sarasvatī, and north of the Dṛishadvatī, dwell in heaven." See also the first volume of this work, 2nd ed., p. 421, f.

[66] Mahābh., iii. 10,538: *Etad Vinaśanaṁ nāma Sarasvatyāḥ viśāmpate* | *dvāraṁ Nishādarāshṭrasya yeshāṁ doshāt Sarasvatī* | *Praviśhṭā pṛithivīṁ vīra mā Nishādāḥ hi māṁ viduḥ* | "This is the place called the Vinaśana (disappearance) of the Sarasvatī, the gate of the country of the Nishādas, to whose impurity it was due that the Sarasvatī sank into the earth, lest [as she said] the Nishādas should become acquainted with her."

[67] An abstract of the legend here referred to is given by Professor Wilson at p. 285, 1st ed. of his work, note 9; 2nd ed., vol. iii. p. 70. The passage occurs in the ixth or S'alya Parva of the Mahābh., verse 2960. A twelve years' drought

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river itself receives its appellation from Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, under whose auspices the sacred literature of the Hindus assumed shape and authority." [May we not with as much probability suppose the converse to have been the case,—especially as her name is derived from *saras*, "water" (Nir., ix. 36),—and that the goddess derived her name from the river on whose banks she may be said to have been born?][88] "These indications render it certain that, whatever seeds were imported from without, it was in the country adjacent to the Sarasvatī river that they were first planted and cultivated and reared in Hindustan." See also Lassen, Zeitschrift, iii. p. 202.

The high degree of sanctity ascribed by the Indians, at the close of the Vedic era, to the country between the Sarasvatī and Dṛishadvatī, is further proved by the following passage of Manu, already repeatedly referred to:

Manu, ii. 17–24: *Sarasvatī-Dṛishadvatyor deva-nadyor yad antaram | tañ deva-nirmitañ deśam Brahmāvartam prachakshate | 18 | Tasmin deśe yaḥ āchāraḥ pāramparya-kramāgataḥ | varṇānāñ sāntarālānāñ sa sadāchāra uchyate | 19 | Kurukshetrañ cha Matsyāś cha Pañchālāḥ Śūrasenakāḥ | esha Brahmarshi-deśo vai Brahmāvartād anantaraḥ | 20 | Etaddeśa-prasūtasya sakāśād agrajanmanaḥ | svañ svañ charitrañ śikseran pṛithivyāñ sarva-mānavāḥ | 21 | Himavad-Vindhyayor madhyañ yat prāg Vinaśanād api | pratyag eva Prayāgāch cha madhyadeśaḥ prakīrtitaḥ | 22 | Ā samudrāt tu vai pūrvād ā samudrāt tu paśchimāt | tayor evāntarañ giryor āryāvartañ vidur budhāḥ | 23 | kṛishnasāras tu charati mṛigo yatra svabhāvataḥ | sa jneyo yajniyo deśo Mlechchhadeśas tataḥ paraḥ | 24 | Etān dvijātayo deśān samśrayeran prayatnataḥ | śūdras tu yasmin kasmin vā nivased vṛitti-karshitaḥ |* "The tract, fashioned by the gods, which lies between the two divine rivers Sarasvatī and

occurred, during which the great ṛishis travelled hither and thither in search of food, and thus lost the Vedas (*teshām kshudā parītānāñ nashṭāḥ vedā 'bhidhāvatām*). The Muni Sārasvata was about to depart also, but was dissuaded by the Sarasvatī; *na gantavyam itaḥ putra tavāhāram ahañ sadā | dāsyāmi matsyapravarān ushyatām tha Bhārata:* "Go not hence, my son: I will give thee excellent fish for food." He accordingly remained, "preserving his life and the Vedas" (*prāṇān vedāñścha dhārayan*); and communicated the Vedas again to the other ṛishis at their desire.

[88] See the fifth volume of this work, pp. 338, ff. Professor Weber, however, in his review of that volume in the Lit. Centralblatt of July 28th, 1870, p. 864, objects to the view there stated.

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Dṛishadvatī, is called Brahmāvartta. 18. The usage relating to castes and mixed castes which has been traditionally received in that country, is called the pure usage. 19. The country of Kurukshetra, and of the Matsyas, Panchālas, and Sūrasenas, which adjoins Brahmāvartta, is the land of brahmarshis (divine ṛishis). 20. From a Brāhman born in that region let all men upon earth learn their respective duties. 21. The tract situated between the Himavat and the Vindhya ranges to the east of Vinaśana, and to the west of Prayāga, is known as the Madhyadeśa (central region). 22. The wise know as Āryāvartta the country which lies between the same two ranges, and extends from the eastern to the western ocean. 23. The land where the black antelope naturally grazes is to be regarded as the proper region of sacrifice; beyond that limit lies the country of the Mlechhas. 24. Let twice-born men be careful to remain within these (specified) countries. But a Sūdra may dwell anywhere, when drawn to seek subsistence."[89]

From this passage it appears that at the period to which the rules prescribed in these verses are referable the Brāhmans had not ordinarily penetrated to the south of the Vindhya range, though adventurers might have visited, or hermits might have settled, in those regions. And even to the north of the Vindhya we find the country distributed into several tracts more or less holy, according to their distance from the hallowed spot in the north lying on the banks of the Sarasvatī. First, then, we have this small region itself, Brahmāvartta. This name may signify (1) either the region of Brahmā, the creator, in which case it may have been regarded as in some peculiar sense the abode of this god, and possibly the scene of the creation; or (2) the region of devotion or the Vedas (brahma), and then it will rather denote the country which was sanctified by the performance of holy rites and the study of sacred literature. Next in order we have the land of the Brahmarshis, comprising Kurukshetra

[89] I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for the following note: "Pāṇini, ii. 4, 10, says: *Śūdrāṇām aniravasitānām:* the combination into a *dvandva* of Śūdras who are not excluded (Kaiyyaṭa explains *niravasita* by *vahishkṛita*) is put into the singular. On this the Mahābhāshya remarks: *Āryāvartād anirvasitānām | ke punar Āryāvartāḥ | prāg Ādarśāt pratyak Kālakavanād dakshiṇena Himavantam uttareṇa Pariyātram |* " The sense is as follows: "'Not excluded' from Āryāvarta. But what are the Āryāvartas? The country east of Ādarśa, west of Kālakavana (or the forest of Kālaka), south of the Himavat, and north of Pariyātra.'

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(the country west of the Jumna, and stretching from the Sarasvatī on the north towards Vṛindāvana and Mathurā),[90] with the country of the Matsyas, Panchālas, and Sūrasenas. The Panchālas are said by Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, the commentator on Manu, to have occupied the country about Kānyakubja or Kanauj; and the Sūrasenas to have lived in the neighbourhood of Mathurā.[91] The third tract, called Madhyadeśa, embraces a wider area, and stretches, north and south, from the Himālaya to the Vindhya range, and north-west and south-east, from Vinaśana, where the Sarasvatī disappeared in the desert (see above, p. 398) to Prayāga or Allahabad. The fourth region, Āryāvartta, or the abode of the Āryas, is yet more extensive than the last, and extends within the same limits of latitude from the sea at the mouth of the Indus to the Bay of Bengal (the eastern and western oceans).

The manner in which these several countries are here successively introduced seems to intimate that the Āryas proceeded gradually from the banks of the Sarasvatī (where, as we have supposed, they had established themselves after traversing the Panjāb) towards the east and south; and that the countries farthest to the south and east, as well as to the south-west, of the Sarasvatī, were those with which they had become last acquainted, and were least familiar. Another proof that the Arians had not yet penetrated to the south of the Vindhya, or thoroughly occupied the eastern provinces of Northern India, at the time to which we refer, may be found in Manu, x. 43, 44 (see first volume of this work, second ed., pp. 481, f., 486, ff.), where we are told that the Pauṇḍrakas, Oḍras, and Draviḍas, who had formerly been Kshatriyas, had, from neglect of religious rites and the absence of Brāhmans, sunk to the state of Vṛishalas, or Sūdras. From this it would appear that some at least of the people of those countries, i.e. of the inhabitants of Bengal proper and of northern Orissa, as well as those of the Coromandel coast,[92] were then living without Brahmanical institutions; and consequently that the Brāhmans had not yet taken complete possession of all those provinces; though, if the definition above given by Manu of the word Āryāvartta may be relied on as proof, the Āryas must have carried their conquests as far eastward as the eastern ocean, or Bay of Bengal.

[90] See the map of Ancient India, in Lassen, Ind. Ant. vol. ii.

[91] *Panchālāḥ Kānyakubja-deśāḥ Śūrasenakāḥ Mathurā-deśāḥ.*

[92] See Wilson's Vishṇu-Purāṇa, 1st ed., pp. 190, 192; 2nd ed. vol. ii., pp. 170, 177, and notes.

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In the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa we find the following remarkable legend, to which attention was first drawn by Weber (in his Ind. Stud., i. 170, ff.),[93] regarding the advance of the Brāhmans, and the spread of their religious rites in an easterly direction from the banks of the Sarasvatī (Śatap. Br., i. 4, 1, 10, ff.):—*Videgho ha Māthavo 'gniṁ Vaiśvānaram mukhe babhāra | tasya Gotamo Rāhūgaṇaḥ ṛishiḥ purohitaḥ āsa | tasmai sma āmaṁtryamāṇo na pratiśṛiṇoti "na id me 'gnir vaiśvānaro mukhād nishpadyātai" iti | tam ṛigbhir hvayituṁ dadhre "'vītihotraṁ tvā kave dyumantaṁ samidhīmahi | Agne bṛihantam adhvare' videgha" iti | sa na pratiśuśrāva "'Ud Agne śuchayas tava śukrāḥ bhrājaṇtaḥ īrate | tava jyotīṁshi archayo' videghā" iti | sa ha naiva pratiśuśrāva | "taṁ tvā ghṛitasnav īmahe" ity eva abhivyāharad | atha asya ghṛita-kīrtāv eva Agnir Vaiśvānaro mukhād ujjajvāla | taṁ na śaśāka dhārayitum | so 'sya mukhād nishpede | sa imām pṛithivīm prāpa adaḥ | tarhi Videgho Māthavaḥ āsa sarasvatyām | sa tataḥ eva prāṅ dahann abhīyāya imām pṛithivīm | taṁ Gotamaś cha Rāhūgaṇo Videghaś cha Māthavaḥ paśchād dahantam anvīyatuḥ | sa imāḥ sarvāḥ nadīr atidadāha | Sadānīrā ity uttarād girer nirdhāvati | tāṁ ha eva na atidadāha | tāṁ ha sma tām purā brāhmaṇāḥ na taranti "anatidagdhā agninā Vaiśvānareṇa" iti | tataḥ etarhi prāchīnam bahavo brāhmaṇāḥ | tad ha akshetrataram iva āsa srāvitaram iva asvāditam Agninā Vaiśvānareṇa iti | tad u ha etarhi kshetrataram iva brāhmaṇāḥ u hi nūnam etad yajñair asishvidan | sā 'pi jaghanye naidāghe sam iva eva kopayati tāvat śītā 'natidagdhā hy Agninā Vaiśvānareṇa | sa ha uvācha Videgho Māthavaḥ "kva aham bhavāni" iti | "ataḥ eva te prāchīnam bhuvanam" iti ha uvācha | sā eshā 'py etarhi kośala-videhānām maryādā | te hi Māthavāḥ | Atha ha uvācha Gotamo Rāhūgaṇaḥ "Kathaṁ nu me āmantryamāṇo na pratyaśraushīr" iti | Sa ha uvācha "Agnir me Vaiśvānaro mukhe 'bhūt sa na id me mukhād nishpadyātai tasmāt te na pratyaśrausham" iti | "tad u katham abhūd" iti | "Yatra eva tvam 'ghṛitasnav īmahe' iti abhivyāhārshīs tadā eva ghṛita-kīrtāv Agnir Vaiśvānaro mukhād udajvālīt taṁ nāśakaṁ dhārayitum | sa me mukhād nirapādi" iti | "Videgha[94] the Māthava bore Agni Vaiśvānara in his mouth. The Ṛishi Gotama Rāhūgaṇa[95] was his priest (purohita). Though addressed by him he (Videgha) did not answer, 'lest (he said)*

[93] See also Lassen's Ind. Ant. vol. i. (2nd ed.), p. 645.

[94] Afterwards prakritized to Videha?

[95] See R.V. i. 78, 5.

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Agni (Fire) should escape from my mouth.' [The priest] began to invoke Agni with verses of the Ṛik; 'We kindle thee at the sacrifice, O wise Agni, the sacrificer, the luminous, the mighty,' (R.V. v. 26, 3) 'O Videgha.' He made no answer. [The priest then repeated,] 'Thy bright, brilliant, flaming beams and rays mount upwards, O Agni,' (R.V. viii. 44, 16) 'O Videgha.' [Still] he made no reply. [The priest then recited:] 'Thee, O dropper of butter, we invoke,' etc. (R.V. v. 26, 2). So far he uttered; when immediately on the mention of butter (ghṛita), Agni Vaiśvānara flashed forth from his mouth: he could not restrain him, so he issued from his mouth, and then fell down to this earth. Videgha the Māthava was then on [or in] the Sarasvatī. [Agni] then traversed this earth, burning towards the east. Gotama Rāhūgaṇa and Videgha the Māthava followed after him as he burned onward. He burnt across all these rivers; but he did not burn across the Sadānīrā, which descends from the northern mountain [the Himālaya]. The Brāhmans formerly did not use to cross this river, because it had not been burnt across by Agni Vaiśvānara. But now many Brāhmans [live] to the east of it. It used to be uninhabitable, and swampy, being untasted by Agni Vaiśvānara. It is now, however, habitable; for Brāhmans have caused it to be tasted by sacrifices. In the end of summer this river is, as it were, incensed, being still cold, not having been burnt across by Agni Vaiśvānara. Videgha the Māthava spake: 'Where shall I abide?' [Agni] replied, 'Thy abode [shall be] to the east of this (river).' This stream is even now the boundary of the Kośalas and Videhas; for they are Māthavas. Gotama Rāhūgaṇa then said: 'How was it that, though addressed by me, thou didst not answer?' He replied: 'Agni Vaiśvānara was in my mouth. I did not answer lest he should escape from my mouth.' 'How then,' [rejoined Gotama] 'did it come to pass [that he escaped]?' [Videgha answered]: 'As thou didst utter the words, "O dropper of butter, we invoke," then, at the mention of butter, Agni Vaiśvānara flashed forth from my mouth: I could not retain him, he issued from my mouth.'"

In this passage the gradual advance of the Āryas with their Brahmanical worship, from the banks of the Sarasvatī eastward to those of the Sadānīrā, and afterwards beyond that stream, is, as I have said, distinctly indicated. At the time when the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa was

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composed, the Brāhmans had already (as Weber remarks) dwelt for a long time in the country beyond the Sadānīrā, and it had then become a principal seat of the Brahmanical religion; as Janaka, the king of Videha, appears in that work with the title of "samrāṭ," or emperor. Thus (Śatap. Br. xi. 3, 1, 2), we have the following notice: "Janaka the Vaideha put this question to Yājnavalkya. 'Dost thou, O Yājnavalkya, know the Agnihotra sacrifice?' 'O monarch,' he replied, 'I know it.'"[96] Professor Weber makes the following remarks on the legend I have just quoted: "Under the name of Agni Vaiśvānara (the Fire which burns for all men), the sacrificial worship of the Brāhmans appears to be intended. The part which in the legend the priest plays in reference to the king is mysterious; but I understand it to mean that he compelled him to propagate the Arian worship towards the east. The Sadānīrā presents an obstacle, not from its magnitude or the difficulty of crossing it (which the Ganges and Jumna must have previously done in a greater degree), but from the inhospitable character of the territory beyond; for the word 'srāvitaram,' 'somewhat flowing,' designates the nature of the tract as an inundated swamp.[97] Even after Videgha Māthava had advanced across the river, the Brāhmans (as the Arians are here called) appear to have remained for a long time on its western bank, and to have only crossed in greater numbers after the king with his people had cultivated the country; until, in the time of the Śatap. Br., it had attained such a flourishing condition, that the tradition of its oceanic origin was only indistinctly preserved." Ind. Stud. i. pp. 178, 179.

In the Vocabularies of Amara Sinha, i. 2, 3, 33, and Hemachandra, 4, 150, Sadānīrā is given as a synonym of Karatoyā, a river in the north of Bengal Proper. But as the Sadānīrā is in this passage described as forming the boundary between the Kośalas and Videhas, or the countries of Oudh and North Behar, it seems that the river at present called the Gandak must be meant.—Weber, as above, p. 181.

[96] Śatap. Br. p. 846: *Tad ha etaj Janako Vaideho Yājñavalkyam paprachha "vettha agnihotram Yājñavalkya" iti "veda samrāḍ" iti* | See also Śatap. Br. xi. 6, 2, 1, p. 872, where Janaka is addressed by the Brāhmans by the same title.

[97] In illustration of this, a line of the Mahābh. ii. 1078, is referred to by Weber, which states that Bhīmasena, in the course of his conquest of the eastern country, came to the territory bordering on the Himavat, which was of aqueous origin: *tato Himavataḥ pārśvam samabhyetya jalodbhavam.*

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Lassen, Ind. Ant. i. 64 (2nd ed.), remarks: "Some lexicographers identify the Karatoyā with the Sadānīrā, whilst in other lists they are distinguished from each other. This appears to be the correct view in the present case, especially as Sadānīrā means always 'abounding in water,' and might be applied to any large river."

Lassen (Zeitschrift for 1839, p. 22, f.) quotes, for another purpose, and comments on, the following passage from the Mahābhārata, in which the name of the Sadānīrā occurs; but it throws no light on its position. "Departing from the Kurus (from Indraprastha), they passed through the middle of Kurujāngala, and came to the lovely Padma lake. Then passing Kālakūṭa, they crossed successively on one mountain (or in Ekaparvataka?) the rivers Gandakī, Mahāśōna, and Sadānīrā. Having then crossed the beautiful Sarayū, and seen the eastern Kośalā, they crossed the river Mālā Charmaṇvatī, and came to Mithilā."[98] In this passage (if any order has been preserved), it will be noticed that the Sadānīrā is placed between the Gandakī (whatever stream this name denotes) and the Sarayū, and so to the west of the latter river. Its position does not, therefore, seem to be well defined in the ancient Indian authorities. This, however, is of little consequence for our present purpose, as any uncertainty in regard to the precise locality of the river does not obscure the plain and express purport of the legend, viz., that the Brāhmans with their worship advanced from the Sarasvatī eastward to Behar and Bengal.

SECT. IV.—*Advance of the Arians from the Doab across the Vindhya Mountains; and their conflicts with the aboriginal tribes of the Dekhan.*

It is not essential for the object which I have in view to attempt to trace with any precision the different stages in the progress of the Āryas to the east and south, which a review and comparison of the data supplied by the Brāhmaṇas, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Mahābhārata may enable the careful investigator to determine, and to refer to particular periods.

[98] Mahābh., ii. 793: *Kurubhyaḥ prasthitās te tu madhyena Kurujāngalam | Ramyam Padmasaro gatvā Kālakūṭam atītya cha | Gaṇḍakīṁ cha Mahāśoṇaṁ Sadānīrāṁ tathaiva cha | Ekaparvatake nadyaḥ kramenaityāvrajanta te | Uttīrya Sarayūṁ ramyām dṛishṭvā pūrvāṁ cha Kośalām | Atītya jagmur Mithilām Mālāṁ Charmaṇvatīṁ nadīm ||*

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As it is only necessary for my argument to prove that they did advance from the north-west to the east and to the south, and that in so doing they came into contact with aboriginal races who had been in previous occupation of the country, it will suffice for this purpose if (after the foregoing notice of their progress to the eastward) I now pass on to that great southward movement, of which we can perhaps discern the indistinct outlines in the poetic and hyperbolical narrative of the Rāmāyaṇa.

"The Rāmāyaṇa," remarks Professor Lassen (Ind. Ant., first ed., i. 534; second ed., p. 646, f.), "in the proper action of the poem, designates, for the most part, only the north of Hindustan as Arian." "It represents Mithilā and Anga in the east as Arian countries; and regards the Kekayas in the west, though dwelling beyond the Sarasvatī, as a pure Arian race; and to this tribe one of the wives of king Daśaratha belongs." Among the persons who were to be invited to the sacrifice of that monarch are the following, Rāmāyaṇa, Schlegel's ed., i. 12, 20, ff. (=Bombay ed., section 13, 21, ff.; and Gorresio's ed., 12, 18, ff.): *Mithilādhipatiṁ śūraṁ Janakaṁ dṛidha-vikramam | nishṭhitaṁ sarva-śāstreshu | tathā vedeshu nishṭhitam | . . . | tathā Kekaya-rājānaṁ vṛiddham parama-dhārmikam | śvaśuraṁ rāja-siṁhasya sa-putraṁ tvam ihānaya | Angeśvaraṁ cha rājānam Lomapādaṁ susatkṛitam | suvrataṁ deva-śankāśam svayam evānayasva ha | Prāchyāṁś cha Sindhusauvīrān Saurāshṭreyāṁś cha pārthivān | Dākshiṇātyān narendrāṁś cha sarvān ānaya mā chiram |* "[Bring] Janaka, the heroic king of Mithilā, of stubborn valour, versed in all the Sāstras, and in the Vedas. . . . . Bring also the aged and very righteous king of the Kekayas, the father-in-law of the lion-like king, together with his son; and thyself bring Lomapāda, the devout and god-like king of the Angas, paying him all honour. And bring speedily all the eastern, the Sindhusauvīra, the Surāshṭra, and the southern monarchs."

The word "southern kings" may, Lassen says, be employed here in a restricted sense, or inexactly, for from other parts of the poem it appears that the country to the south of the Vindhya was still unoccupied by the Āryas. Even the banks of the Ganges are represented as occupied by a savage race, the Nishādas. Thus we are told in the Rām., ii. 50, 33, ff., Bombay ed. (=ii. 50, 18, ff., Schlegel's ed.; and ii. 47, 9, ff. in Gorresio's ed.) (a curious passage, which I shall

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cite at some length) *Tatra rājā Guho nāma Rāmasyātma-samaḥ sakhā | Nishāda-jātyo balavān sthapatiś cheti viśrutaḥ | sa śrutvā purusha-vyāghraṁ Rāmaṁ vishayam āgatam | vṛiddhaiḥ parivṛito 'mātyair jñātibhiś chāpy upāgataḥ | tato Nishādādhipatiṁ dṛishṭvā dūrād upasthitam | saha Saumitriṇā Rāmaḥ samāgachhad Guhena saḥ | tam ārtaḥ samparishvajya Guho Rāghavam abravīt | "yathā 'yodhyā tathedaṁ te Rāma kiṁ karavāṇi te | īdṛiśaṁ hi mahābāho kaḥ prāpsyaty atithim priyam" | tato guṇavad annādyam upādāya pṛithagvidham | arghyaṁ chopānayach chhīghraṁ vākyaṁ chedam uvācha ha | "svāgataṁ te mahābāho taveyam akhilā mahī | vayam preshyāḥ bhavān bhartā sādhu rājyam praśādhi naḥ" | . . . . Guham evam bruvāṇaṁ tu Rāghavaḥ pratyuvācha ha | "architāś chaiva hṛishṭāś cha bhavatā sarvadā vayam | padbhyām abhigamāch chaiva sneha-sandarsanena cha" | bhujābhyāṁ sādhu-vṛittābhyām pīḍayan vākyam abravīt | "dishṭyā tvāṁ Guha paśyāmi hy arogaṁ saha bāndhavaiḥ" |* "There [there was] a king called Guha, of the race of the Nishādas, a friend whom Rāma regarded as himself, and renowned as a powerful chief (sthapati).[99] He, hearing that the eminent Rāma had come to his country, approached him attended by his aged ministers and relations. Rāma then, along with the son of Sumitrā (i.e. Lakshmaṇa), seeing from a distance that the Nishāda king had arrived, met him. Guha, distressed (at the state in which he saw Rāma), embraced him, and said: 'This country is thine, like (thine own) Ayodhyā. What can I do for thee? For who shall find a guest so dear as thou art?' He then brought excellent food of various sorts, and quickly presented the customary 'arghya' (offering); and then said: 'Welcome, large-armed hero, this whole earth is thine: we are thy servants, thou art our master: rule over our kingdom prosperously.' . . . . Rāma replied thus to this address of Guha: 'We have always been honoured by thee, and we have been delighted with thee; both by thy coming on foot to meet us, and by thy display of affection.' Then pressing (Guha) with his holy arms, he said: 'Happily, O Guha, I behold thee and all thy kinsfolk in good health,'" etc.[100] This chieftain provided a boat to ferry Rāma with

[99] See the first volume of this work, p. 366, note 164, and the gloss of Govinda Ānanda on Brahma Sūtra, i. 3, 34. Bibliotheca Indica, p. 317.

[100] It is singular that a Nishāda should be here represented as a friend of Rāma, "equal to (or, dear as) himself," and whom he affectionately embraces. The commentator thus tries to explain the matter: *Yadyapi īdṛiśa-sakhyaṁ "hīna-preshyaṁ*

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his wife and brother across the Ganges (Rām., Schegel's ed. ii. 52, vv. 4–7 and 68, ff., = Bombay ed. ii. 52, 5, ff., 74, ff.): and afterwards attended on his other brother, Bharata, when he also passed the same way. (Rām., Schegel's and Bombay editions; ii. 83, 20, and 84, 1, 10, etc.)

In the same poetical narrative, the Daṇḍaka forest is represented as beginning immediately to the south of the Jumna. The whole country from this point to the Godāvarī is described as a wilderness, over which separate hermitages are scattered,[101] while wild beasts and Rākshasas everywhere abound.[102] "The Rāmāyaṇa," says Lassen (first ed., i. 535; second ed., pp. 647, f.), "contains the narrative of the first attempt of the Arians to extend themselves to the south by

hīna-sakhyam" ity ādinā upapātakeshu gaṇitaṁ tathāpi tad vipra-vishayam | rājnām āṭavika-balena prayojanavattvāt shaḍvidha-bala-sangrahasya rāja-dharmatvāchcha tat-sakhyam eva itv dik | atra idam bodhyam Nishāda-Guha-vishaye Rāmasya "ātmasamaḥ sakhā" ity evaṁ vadatā Vālmīkinā Rāma-samatva-Rāma-samānakhyātitvoktyā bhagavad-bhaktatvena Nishādatve 'pi pūrva-kṛita-śravaṇādimattvena tasya tattvajnatvaṁ sūchitam | "Although such a friendship is, according to the words (no doubt of some smriti), 'the service of the low, and the friendship of the low,' etc., reckoned among the minor sins, yet this refers to Brāhmans, since in the case of kings such friendship is owing to the need they have of a force of people living in the forests, and it is part of a king's duty to collect a force of six kinds of soldiers. Here it is to be understood that Vālmīki, when he describes the Nishāda Guha as being a 'friend dear to Rāma as his own soul,' by speaking of his equality with Rāma, and of his being in the same category with Rāma, intimates that he had,—through his devotion to the Divine Being, and although now in the state of a Nishāda, yet by what he had formerly done and heard,—attained to a knowledge of the highest truth."

[101] Rām. iii. 1, 1, Bombay ed. (= iii. 6, 1, Gorresio): *Praviśya tu mahāraṇyaṁ Daṇḍakāranyam ātmavān |. Rāmo dadarśa durdharshas tāpasāśrama-maṇḍalam |* Rāma alludes to the vastness of the forest, iii. 11, 31, Bombay ed. (= iii. 15, 33, Gorresio): *Na tu jānāmi taṁ deśaṁ vanasyāsya mahattayā | Kutrāśrama-padam ramyam maharshes tasya dhīmataḥ |* "From the vastness of the forest, I cannot discover the spot where the sacred hermitage of the great and wise ṛishi exists.

[102] At a later period, after the commencement of the Mahomedan inroads into Hindustan, southern India came to be regarded as the sanctuary of the Brahmanical religion and learning. Thus in the verse of Vyāsa cited by Weber (Hist. of Ind. Lit., p. 247, note), it is said: *Samprāpte tu kalau kāle Vindhyādrer uttare sthitāḥ |. Brāhmaṇāḥ yajñarahitāḥ jyotiḥ-śāstra-parāṅgmukhāḥ |* "In the Kali age the Brāhmans living to the north of the Vindhya are destitute of sacrifice, and averse to astronomy;" while another law book, quoted by the same writer, says: *Vindhyasya dakshiṇe bhāge yatra Godāvarī sthitā | tatra Vedāścha yajñāścha bhavishyanti Kalau yuge |* "In the Kali age the Vedas and sacrifices will be found to the south of the Vindhya, on the banks of the Godāvarī."

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conquest; but it presupposes the peaceable extension of Brahmanical missions in the same direction, as having taken place still earlier. Râma, when he arrives on the south of the Vindhya range, finds there the sage Agastya, by whom the southern regions had been rendered safe and accessible. Agastya appears as the adviser and guide of Râma, and as the head of the hermits settled in the south. In this legend we cannot but recognize the recollection that the south was originally a vast forest, which was first brought into cultivation by Brahmanical missions. The Râkshasas who are represented as disturbing the sacrifices and devouring the priests, signify here, as often elsewhere, merely the savage tribes which placed themselves in hostile opposition to the Brahmanical institutions. The only other actors who appear in the legend in addition to these inhabitants are the monkeys, which ally themselves to Râma, and render him assistance. This can only mean that when the Arian Kshatriyas first made hostile incursions into the south, they were aided by another portion of the indigenous tribes. Râma reinstates in possession of his ancestral kingdom a monkey-king who had been expelled, and in return receives his assistance."

Whether or not we concur with Lassen in thinking that the idea of the monstrous characteristics which are assigned to these gigantic demons, the Râkshasas, have been borrowed from the barbarous tribes whom the Brahmanical anchorites found in occupation of the forests, and from whom they would no doubt suffer continual molestation and cruelty (and perhaps this view derives some confirmation from the fact that both the rude aboriginal races, and cloud-demons, and malignant sprites appear to be denoted by the word Dasyu in the Vedic hymns), —or whether we regard them as poetical creations, in which the Indian imagination runs riot in the description of coarse and grotesque brutality,—there can be no doubt that southern India was at the period referred to but partially cultivated, and that it had only begun to be occupied by Arian colonists. The following are some of the passages of the Râmâyaṇa in which the atrocities of the Râkshasas are described. An aged ṛishi, the spokesman of the hermits in the neighbourhood of Chitrakûṭa, thus represents to Râma the sufferings to which they were exposed, Râm., ii. 116, 11, ff. (Bombay ed. Comp. Gorresio's ed., iii. 1, 15, ff.): *Râvaṇâvarajaḥ kaśchit Kharo nâmeha*

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rākshasaḥ | utpāṭya tāpasān sarvān janasthāna-nivāsinaḥ | 12 | dhṛishṭaś cha jitakāśī cha nṛisaṁśaḥ purushādakaḥ | avaliptaś cha pāpaś cha tvāṁ cha tāta na mṛishyate | 13 | tvaṁ yadā-prabhṛiti hy asminn āśrame tāta vartase | tadā-prabhṛiti rakshāṁsi viprakurvanti tāpasān | 14 | darśayanti hi bībhatsaiḥ krūrair bhīshaṇakair api | nānā-rūpair virūpaiś cha rūpair asukha-darśanaiḥ | 15 | apraśastair aśuchibhiḥ samprayujya cha tāpasān | pratighnanty aparān kshipram anāryāḥ puṇyataḥ sthitān | 16 | teshu teshv āśrama-sthāneshv abuddham avalīya cha | ramante tāpasāṁs tatra nāśayanto 'lpachetasaḥ | 17 | avakshipanti srug-bhāṇḍān agnīn sinchanti vāriṇa | kalaśāṁś cha pramardanti havane samupasthite | 18 | tair durātmabhir āvishṭān āśramān prajighāṁsavaḥ | gamanāyānya-deśasya chodayanty ṛishayo 'dya mām | tat purā Rāma śārīrīm upahiṁsāṁ tapasvishu | darśayanti hi dushṭāś te tyakshyāmaḥ imam āśramam | "11, 12. A certain Rākshasa, called Khara, the younger brother of Rāvaṇa, fierce, esteeming himself victorious, cruel, a man-eater, arrogant, wicked, distresses the devotees dwelling in Janasthāna and cannot endure thee. 13. From the time when thou hast dwelt in this hermitage the Rākshasas distress the devotees. 14. They show themselves in various disgusting, cruel, terrible, and ugly forms. 15. And these base (*anārya*) wretches harass others by bringing them into contact with vile and impure objects. 16. These foolish beings coming unperceived and disguised[103] into different places near the hermitages take delight in destroying the ascetics. 17. They cast away the sacrificial ladles and vessels, put out the fires with water, and smash the water-jars at the time of the oblation. 18. Desiring to desert the hermitages infested by these malignant wretches, the ṛishis to-day are urging me to go to another place. 19. The wicked ones already show a desire to inflict bodily injury on the ascetics: we shall abandon this hermitage."

Proceeding on his journey through the forest, Rāma encounters Virādha, a Rākshasa, who is thus described, Rām. Bombay ed. iii. 2, 4, ff. (Gorresio's ed. iii. 7, 5, ff.): *Dadarśa giriśṛingābham purushādam mahāsvanam | 5 | gabhīrāksham mahāvaktraṁ vikaṭaṁ vikaṭodaram |*

[103] The original words are: *Abuddham* and *avalīya*, which the commentator explains as "*abuddham*" *aviditam yathā bhavati tathā nidrādau* "*avalīya cha*" *nirbhayam āślishya cha* | "Unknown, in sleep, etc.; and fearlessly insinuating themselves." Gorresio's edition substitutes the words *līnāḥ vikṛita-darśanāḥ*, "dissolved" [into air] and "changed in appearance."

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bībhatsaṁ vishamaṁ dīrghaṁ vikṛitaṁ ghora-darśanam | 6 | *vasānaṁ charma vaiyāghraṁ vasārdraṁ rudhirokshitam* | *trāsanaṁ sarva-bhūtānāṁ vyāditāsyam ivāntakam* | 7 | *trīn siṁhāṁs chaturo vyāghrān dvau vṛikau pṛishatān daśa* | *savishāṇam vasā-digdhaṁ gajasya cha śiro mahat* | *avasajyāyase śūle vinadantam mahāsvanam*' | "He beheld a being like a mountain peak, a man-eater, loud-voiced, (5) hollow-eyed, large-mouthed, huge, huge-bellied, horrible, rude, long, deformed, of dreadful aspect, (6) wearing a tiger's skin, dripping with fat, wetted with blood, terrific to all creatures, like Death with open mouth, (7) bearing three lions, four tigers, two wolves, ten deer, and the great head of an elephant with the tusks, and smeared with fat, on the point of an iron pike, shouting with a loud voice." [104]

This demon, who was slain by Rāma, turned out to be a Gandharva, who by a curse had been transformed into a Rākshasa; but now on his death, regains his primeval form. He, nevertheless, requests that his body shall be buried after the manner of the Rākshasas; Rām., Bomb. ed. iii. 4, 22 (Gorresio iii. 8, 19): *Avaṭe chāpi māṁ Rāma nikshipya kuśalī vraja* | *rakshasāṁ gata-satvānām esha dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ* | 23 | *avaṭe ye nidhīyante teshāṁ lokāḥ satātanāḥ* | . . . . | 27 | *tataḥ khanitram ādāya Lakshmaṇaḥ śvabhram uttamam* | *akhanat pārśvatas tasya Virādhasya mahātmanaḥ* | 28 | *tam mukta-kaṇṭham utkshipya śankukarṇam mahāsvanam* | *Virādham prākshipat śvabhre nadantam bhairavasvanam* | "And, Rama, cast me into a trench, and go away prosperously, for such is the immemorial custom in regard to deceased

[104] The Nishādas also are described in the Purāṇas as very black and ugly, but differ from the Rākshasas in being very short. See the first vol. of this work, pp. 301, 303, and Wilson's Vishṇu-Pur. 2nd ed., i. 181. The Bhāg.-Pur., iv. 14, 43-46, thus describes them:—"*Vinishchityaivam ṛishayo vipannasya mahīpateḥ* | *mamanthur ūrum tarasā tatrāsīd bāhuko narāḥ* | *kākakṛishṇo 'tihrasvāṅgo hrasvabāhur mahāhanuḥ* | *Hrasvapād nimnanāsāgro raktākshas tāmramūrdhajaḥ* | *Taṁ tu te 'vanatam dīnam kiṁ kāromīti vādinam* | *nishīdety abruvaṁs tāta sa nishādas tato 'bhavat* | *Tasya vaṁśāstu naishādāḥ giri-kānanu-gocharāḥ* | "The ṛishis having thus resolved, vigorously rubbed the thigh of the defunct king (Vena), when there issued from it a servile man, black as a crow, very short in limb, with short arms, large jaws, short feet, pendent nose, red eyes, and copper-coloured hair. This man, humble and bowed down, asked them what he should do. They answered, 'Sit down' (*nishīda*), and he, in consequence, became a *Nishāda*. His descendants are the Naishādas, who dwell in hills and forests." We are informed by Prof. Wilson that the Padma Purāṇa (Bhū.-K.) "has a similar description, adding to the dwarfish stature and black complexion, a wide mouth, large ears, and a protuberant belly."

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Rākshasas; such of them as are so interred attain to ever-enduring worlds." . . . "27. Then Lakshmaṇa, taking a spade, dug a suitable trench by the side of the great Virādha. 28. And raising the pin-eared,[105] loud-voiced Rākshasa, after Rāma had removed his foot from his throat, he cast him into the trench, resounding dreadfully."[106] This may allude (as Weber remarks, Ind. Stud. i. 272, note) to a difference between the funeral rites of the Brahmanical Indians and the aboriginal tribes.

The following are two further passages in which the Rākshasas and their oppression of the anchorites are described. The sufferers, it appears, assert that they possess the power of ridding themselves of their enemies by their superhuman faculties; but these faculties they do not choose to exert, for the reason assigned. Rām., Bombay ed., iii. 6, 15, ff. (Gorresio's ed. iii. 10, 16, ff.): *So 'yam brāhmaṇa-bhūyishṭho vānaprastha-gaṇo mahān | tvannātho 'nāthavad Rāma Rākshasair hanyate bhṛiśam | ehi paśya śarīrāṇi munīnām bhāvitātmanām | hatānāṁ Rākshasair ghorair bahūnām bahudhā vane | Pampā-nadī-nivāsānām anu Mandākinīm api | Chitrakūṭālayānāṁ cha kriyate kadanam mahat |* "This large company of hermits, principally Brāhmans, whose lord thou art, is slaughtered by the Rākshasas, as if they had no protector. Come, Rāma, and behold the bodies of numerous meditative munis, lying slain by the Rākshasas in many parts of the forest. A great slaughter is being perpetrated of the dwellers on the Pampā, and the Mandākinī,[107] and the residents on Chitrakūṭa." Ram. iii. 10, 10, Bombay ed. (=Gorresio's ed. iii. 14, 11, ff.): 10 | *Rākshasair Daṇḍakāraṇye bahubhiḥ kāmarūpibhiḥ |* 11 | *arditāḥ sma bhṛiśam Rāma*

[105] The sense of the epithet *śanku-karṇa* is not clear. It is compounded of *śanku*, a "pin," "peg," or "stake," and *karṇa*, "ear." The commentator explains *śanku* by *śanku-vat kaṭhinam*, "hard as a pin."

[106] In the sequel, however, Rāma encounters Kabandha, another Rākshasa, whom at his request Laksmaṇa burns on a funeral pile in a trench.—Rām. iii. 71, 31; 72, 1, ff. (=Gorr. sec. 76, verses, 45, 50, ff.)

[107] Here it will be observed that the name of a river in the Himālaya [a branch of the Ganges, flowing down from the glacier of Kedarnath; see the first volume of this work, 1st ed., p. 187, note; Rāmāyaṇa, iv. 44, 94, Gorresio's ed. *saptarshi-bhavanāṁ tatra tatra Mandākinī nadī* | "There (in the country of the Uttara Kurus) is the abode of the seven ṛishis; there is the river Mandākinī;" and my "Notes of a trip to Kedarnath," printed in 1855 for private circulation, p. 15, f.] is applied to a river in the centre of India. This illustrates what has been said above (pp. 344, 347 and 349) about the application of the same name to different streams.

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bhavān nas tatra rakshatu | homa-kāle tu samprāpte parva-kāleshu chānagha | 12 | *dharshayanti sma durdharshāh Rākshasāḥ piśitāśanāḥ | Rākshasair dharshitānāṁ cha tāpasānāṁ tapasvinām* | 13 | *gatim mṛigdyamānānām bhavān naḥ paramā gatiḥ | kāmaṁ tapaḥ-prabhāvena śaktāḥ hantuṁ niśācharān* | 14 | *chirārjitaṁ na chechhāmas tapaḥ khaṇḍayituṁ vayam | bahuvighnaṁ tapo nityaṁ duścharaṁ chaiva Rāghava* | 15 | *tena śāpaṁ na munchāmo bhakshyamāṇāś cha Rākshasaiḥ* | 10, 11. "We are greatly harassed by numerous Rākshasas in the Daṇḍaka forest, who change their forms at will. At the time of offering the oblation and on festivals, (12) the fierce, flesh-devouring Rākshasas assail us. Of us, the devout ascetics, thus assailed, and (13) seeking a helper, thou art the supreme defence. It is true that by the power of our austerities we could at will slay these goblins; (14) but we are unwilling to nullify the merit which has been earned by long exertion. The acquisition of such merit is arduous, and attended with many obstacles: (15) it is on that account that, even while being devoured, we abstain from launching curses against our oppressors." The utterance of a curse, it appears from this passage, was an act which neutralized the sanctity of him who pronounced it. Compare the story of Viśvāmitra in the first volume of this work, p. 408. Sītā, however, thinks that her husband Rāma has no right to slay the Rākshasas, who were not in a state of hostility with him, and had done him no injury.[108]

It does not appear, however, why the aid of Rāma should have been so earnestly invoked, as the sage Agastya appears to have been perfectly successful in keeping the Rākshasas under restraint. His prowess is thus described, Rām. iii. 11, 79; Bombay ed. (= Gorresio's ed. iii. 17, 17, ff.): *Agastyaḥ iti vikhyāto loko svenaiva karmaṇā | āśramo dṛiśyate tasya pariśrānta-śramāpahaḥ* | . . . . | 81 | *Nigṛihya tarasā mṛityuṁ lokānāṁ hita-hāmyaya | dakshiṇā dik kṛitā yena śaraṇyā puṇyakarmaṇā* | 82 | *Tāsyedam āśrama-padam prabhāvād yasya rākshasaiḥ | dig iyaṁ dakshiṇā trāsād dṛiśyate nopabhujyate* | 83 | *yadā-prabhṛiti chākrāntā dig iyam puṇyakarmaṇā | tadā-prabhṛiti nirvairāḥ praśāntāḥ rajanīcharāḥ* | 84 | *Nāmnā cheyam bhagavato dakshiṇā dik*

[108] Rām. iii. 9, 24, Bomb. ed. (=Gorr. ed. iii. 13, 22): *Na kathanchana sā kāryā gṛihīta-dhanushā tvayā | buddhir vairaṁ vinā hantuṁ Rākshasān Daṇḍakāśritān | aparādhaṁ vinā hantum loko vīra na maṁsyate |*

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pradakshiṇā | prathitā trishu lokeshu durdharshā krūra-karmabhiḥ | 85 | *Mārgaṁ niroddhuṁ satatam bhāskarasyāchalottamaḥ | sandeśam pālayaṁs tasya Vindhyaśailo na vardhate |* . . . . | 90 | *Nātra jīved mṛishāvādī krūro vā yadivā śaṭhaḥ | nṛiśaṁsaḥ pāpavṛitto vā munir esha tathāvidhaḥ |* "79. The hermitage of Agastya, renowned in the world by his holy acts, (that hermitage) which offers relief to the wearied, is now in view. . . . . 81. [This is the] meritorious sage, who has restrained death by his power, and who, through his benevolence to mankind, has rendered the southern regions perfectly secure (see above, p. 409). 82. This is the hermitage of that saint by whose might it is effected that this southern region is, owing to their dread of him, only gazed upon, and not possessed, by the Rākshasas. 83. Ever since that holy man has visited this region, all the goblins have become devoid of enmity and subdued. 84. Through the name of this saint this southern country has become prosperous, and renowned in the three worlds, as secure against the attacks of the cruel. 85. The lofty Vindhya range (which sought to grow to a great height), with the view of stopping the path of the sun, now, submissive to the sage's command, increases no farther." . . . "90. No liar, or cruel, or wicked, or murderous, or sinful man may dwell here:—such is this muni."

In a preceding part of the same section, iii. 11, 55, f., Bombay ed. (=Gorresio's ed., iii. 16, 13, ff.), the destruction of two Asuras called Vātāpi and Ilvala, by this sage, is described: *Ihaikadā kila krūro Vātāpir api chelvalaḥ | bhrātarau sahitāv āstāṁ brāhmaṇa-ghnau mahāsurau |* 56 | *Dhārayan brāhmaṇaṁ rūpam Ilvalaḥ saṁskṛitaṁ vadan | āmantrayata viprān sa śrāddham uddiśya nirghṛiṇaḥ |* 57 | *Bhrātaraṁ saṁskṛitaṁ kṛitvā tatas tam mesha-rūpiṇam | tān dvijān bhojayāmāsa śrāddha-dṛishṭena karmaṇā |* 58 | *Tato bhuktavatāṁ teshāṁ viprāṇām Ilvalo 'bravīt | "Vātāpo nishkramasv" eti svareṇa mahatā vadan |* 59 | *Tato bhrātur vachaḥ śrutvā Vātāpir mesha-vad nadan | bhitvā bhitvā śarīrāṇi brāhmaṇānāṁ vinishpatat*[109] | . . . . | 61 | *Agastyena tadā devaiḥ prārthitena maharshiṇā |*

[109] We have here a form of the imperfect without the augment, *vinishpatat* for *vinirapatat*, on which the commentator remarks that the absence of the augment is Vedic (*aḍ-abhāvaḥ ārshaḥ*). In Gorresio's edition the perfect *nishpapāta* is substituted. In i. 18, 17, the Bombay edition has similarly *pushpa-vṛishtiś cha khāt patat*, "a shower of flowers fell from the sky," where the commentator makes a similar remark (*aḍ-abhāvaś chhāndasaḥ*).

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anubhūya kila śrāddhe bhakshitaḥ sa mahāsuraḥ | 62 | *Tataḥ "sampannam" ity uktvā datvā haste 'vanejanam* | *bhrātaraṁ "niskramasv" eti Ilvalaḥ samabhāshata* | 63 | *Sa tadā bhāshamāṇaṁ tu bhrātaraṁ vipraghātinam* | *abravīt prahasan dhīmān Agastyo munisattamaḥ* | 64 | *"Kuto nishkramituṁ śaktir mayā jīrṇasya Rakshasaḥ* | *bhrātus tu mesharūpasya gatasya Yama-sādanam"* | 65 | *Atha tasya vachaḥ śrutvā bhrātur nidhana-saṁśritam* | *pradharshayitum ārebhe muniṁ krodhād niśācharaḥ* | "55. Formerly the cruel Vātāpi and Ilvala, two brothers, who were great Asuras and slayers of Brāhmans, lived together here. 56. The ruthless Ilvala, assuming the shape of a Brāhman, and speaking Sanskrit, used to invite the Brāhmans to a funeral ceremony (*śrāddha*). 57. He then served up to them, with the rites appropriate to a śrāddha, his brother Vātāpi, who had been transformed into a ram. 58. But after they had eaten him, he called out with a loud voice, 'Vātāpi, issue forth.' 59. Hearing his brother's voice Vātāpi, bleating like a ram, issued forth, rending asunder the Brāhmans' bodies." Thousands of Brāhmans were constantly killed by them in this way. "61. The ṛishi Agastya, however, at the request of the gods, understanding the state of things, devoured Vātāpi. 62. Ilvala then cried, 'All is complete,' gave him water to wash his hands, and called to his brother, 'Issue forth.' 63. The wise ṛishi, however, smiled and said to the Brāhman-slayer who thus addressed his brother, 'How can he come forth, when he has been digested by me in his form of a ram, and has gone to the abode of Yama?' 65. Hearing these words pronouncing his brother's doom, Ilvala began to assail Agastya," but was burnt up by the flash of his eye.[110]

Agastya is again spoken of (Rām., vi. 117, 14, Bombay ed.) as the conqueror of the south:[111] *Nirjitā jīvalokasya tapasā bhāvitātmanā* | *Agastyena durādharshā muninā dakshiṇeva dik* | "As the southern

[110] An explanation of this legend is suggested by Weber, Ind. Stud., i. 475. He thinks it may partly have taken its rise in the remembrance of some cannibals living in the Dekhan. The story is told more at length in the recension of the text followed by Gorresio, and with a touch of humour. Ilvala asks Agastya, smiling, how he alone will be able to eat a whole ram. Agastya, also smiling, replies that he is hungry, after his many years of fasting and austerities, and will find no difficulty whatever in devouring the entire animal; which he accordingly begs may be served up, and swallows (iii. 16, 22, ff.), with the result already told.

[111] On Agastya see the quotation from Lassen above, p. 409; and Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar.

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region, unassailable by living beings, was conquered by the meditative muni Agastya, through his austerities."

Vibhīshaṇa, the brother of Rāvaṇa, is represented by his sister Sūrpaṇakhā, in her interview with Rāma, as virtuous and one who does not follow the practices of the Rākshasas.[112] Can this allude to some of the southern tribes or chiefs, who allied themselves to Rāma, having adopted Brahmanical usages, or is it merely a fictitious portion of the story? Vibhīshaṇa eventually deserts his brother, and is kindly received and embraced as a friend by Rāma.[113] In the Rāmopākhyāna in the Third Book of the Mahābh., verses 15,913–18, while Rāvaṇa asks Brahmā to make him invincible by superhuman beings, Vibhīshaṇa, on the other hand, prays, "that even in the greatest calamity, he may never incline to unrighteousness, and that the Brahmanical weapon may appear to him a thing he had never learned to wield."[114] He thus indicates his submissive disposition towards the Brāhmans.

The Rākshasas are described by Khara, one of their chiefs, Rām. iii. 22, 8, f. (=Gorr. ed. iii. 28, 18), as being "of fearful swiftness, unyielding–in battle, in colour like a dark blue cloud."[115]

Khara himself is characterized by Rāma as the "perpetual enemy of the Brāhmans,"[116] as "cruel, hated of the Brāhmans, devoid of righteousness, and wicked."[117] Rāvana is stigmatized as an "overthrower of religious duties, and a ravisher of the wives of others;"[118] as "one who at the sacrifices and oblations polluted the Soma which

[112] Rām., Bombay ed., iii. 17, 22: *Vibhīshaṇas tu dharmātmā na tu Rākshasaceshṭitaḥ* (=Gorresio's ed., iii. 23, 38: *Vibhīshaṇaś cha dharmātmā Rākshasāchāravarjitaḥ*.])

[113] Rām. (Gorresio's ed.), v. 91, 20: *Tañcha Rāmaḥ samutthāpya parishvajya cha Rākshasam | Uvācha madhuraṁ vākyam sakhā mama bhavān iti |* The Bombay ed., vi. 19, 24, has only *iti bruvāṇaṁ Rāmas tu parishvajya Vibhīshaṇam | abravīl Lākshmaṇam ityādi |*

[114] Mahābh., iii. 15,918: *Paramāpadgatasyāpi nādharme me matir bhavet | Akshitaṁ cha bhagavan brahmāstram pratibhātu me |* "In verse 15,197 Vibhīshaṇa is styled *dharmagoptā kriyāratiḥ*, "a protector of righteousness, and devoted to religious rites."

[115] *Rakshasām bhīma-vegānāṁ samareshv anivarttinām | Nīlajīmūta-varṇānām*, etc.

[116] Rām., iii. 30, 12 (=Gorr., iii. 35, 68, and 100): *Nityam brāhmaṇakaṇṭaka.*

[117] Gorresio, Ibid., verse 70: *Krūrātman brahmavidveshṭa tyaktadharma supāpakṛit.*

[118] Ibid., 32, 12 (= Gorr. 36, 11): *Uchchetāraṁ cha dharmāṇām paradārābhimardanam.*

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the Brāhmans had offered with hymns;" and as a "snatcher away of prepared sacrifices, a killer of Brāhmans, a wicked and cruel being."[119] Nevertheless, to inspire confidence, Rāvaṇa approaches Sītā, pronouncing the Vedas, Rām. iii. 46, 14, (= Gorr. 52, 20).[120]

Under the designation of monkeys, again, which play so important a part in the Rāmāyaṇa, have we another class of the aborigines, who allied themselves to the Brāhmans, and embraced their form of religious worship; or are they, as well as the Rākshasas, merely rude poetical creations? In Rām., iii. 72, 18, f., Bombay ed. (= Gorr., iii. 75, 66), it is said that "Sugrīva, chief of the monkeys, is not to be despised, as he is grateful, can change his form at will, and is active in aiding his friends."[121] And we are told that at the inauguration of this same Sugrīva, who was reinstated by Rāmā in his kingdom, from which he had been expelled by Bāli, "the monkeys gratified the Brāhmans according to the prescribed rule, with gifts of jewels, clothes, and food: after which men skilled in the Vedic formulas poured clarified butter, consecrated by sacred texts, upon the kindled fire, under which had been spread kuśa grass."[122]

The monkeys are described as living in a cavern (Rām. (Bombay and Gorresio's editions), iv. 33, 1, ff.), which Lakshmaṇa is represented as entering to convey a message of remonstrance to Sugrīva for his tardiness in aiding Rāma. The cavern, however, is a cave only in name, as, in the usual style of later Indian poetry, it is depicted as filled with trees, flowery thickets, palaces, a mountain stream, etc. This feature of monkey-life (their occupation of a cavern) may be either purely poetical, and intended to be in keeping with their other

[119] Rām., 32, 19 (=Gorr. 36, 11, ff.): *Mantrair abhishṭutam puṇyam adhvareshu dvijātibhiḥ | havirdāneshu yaḥ somam upahanti māhābalaḥ | Prāpta-yajña-haraṁ dushṭam brahmaghnam krūrakāriṇam |*

[120] *Brahma-ghosham udīrayan |* In the Mahābh., iii. 15,981, the sons of Vaiśravaṇa, i.e. Rāvaṇa and his brothers, are said to have been originally *sarve veda-vidaḥ śūrāḥ sarve sucharita-vratāḥ*, "all of them learned in the Vedas, heroic, and attentive to religious rites."

[121] *Na tu te so 'vamantavyaḥ Sugrīvo vānarādhipaḥ | kṛitajñaḥ kāmarūpī cha sahāyārthe cha kṛityavān |* See above, p. 157.

[122] Rām., iv. 26, 29, ff. (=Gorr. 25, 27, 28): *Tatas te vānaraśreshṭhaṁ abhishektuṁ yathāvidhi | Ratnair vastraiś cha bhakshyaiś cha toshayitvā dvijarshabhān | 30 | Tataḥ kuśa-paristīrṇāṁ samiddham jātavedasam | Mantrapūtena havishā hutvā mantravido janāḥ ||*

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characteristics, or it may have reference to the rude habits of the aboriginal inhabitants of the southern forests.

I need not decide whether it is more probable that the extravagant descriptions of the gigantic and sylvan inhabitants of the Dekhan which I have just quoted, should have originated in some actual and hostile contact with the savages who occupied the then uncleared forests of that region, than that they should be the simple offspring of the poet's imagination.

It is certain that the description given of the Rākshasas in the Rāmāyaṇa corresponds in many respects with the epithets applied to the similar class of beings, the Dasyus (whether we take them for men or for demons), who are so often alluded to in the Rigveda. The Rāmāyaṇa, as we have seen, depicts them as infesting the hermitages or settlements of the Arians, as obstructing their sacred rites,[123] as enemies of the Brāhmans, as eaters of men,[124] as horrible in aspect, as changing their shape at will, etc., etc. In the same way the Rigveda (see above, pp. 363, 371, ff., and 390, ff.) speaks of the Dasyus, Rākshasas, or Yātudhānas as being "destitute of, or averse to religious ceremonies" (*akarman, avrata, apavrata, ayajyu, ayajvan*), as "practising different rites" (*anyavrata*) as "godless" (*adeva, adevayu*), "haters of prayer" (*brahmadvish*), as "inhuman" (*amānūsha*), "ferocious looking, or with fierce eyes" (*ghora-chakshas*), as "flesh-eaters" (*kravyād*), "devourers of life," or "insatiable" (*asutṛip*), as "eaters of human and of horse flesh," (R.V. x. 87, 16: *Yaḥ paurusheyeṇa kravishā samankte yo aśvyena paśunā yātudhānaḥ*); as monstrous in form, and possessed of

[123] In the Mahābh., xiv. 2472–74, the same hostile act which is so often assigned in the Rāmāyaṇa to Rākshasas, is attributed to a Nishāda. Arjuna is there said to have arrived in the course of his progress to the south, in the country of Ekalavya, king of the Nishādas; and to have vanquished that king's son, who had come to obstruct a sacrifice (*yajña-vighnārtham āgatam*).

[124] In the story of Gautama, already partially quoted, in p. 365, f. from the Mahābh., the very same epithet of "man-eater" (*purushāda*) which the Rāmāyaṇa applies to the Rākshasas, is employed to characterize the Dasyus, who are regarded in the Mahābh. merely as a tribe of savages, and not as demons. The Brāhman who reproaches Gautama with sinking into the condition of a Dasyu, is said to have seen him 'coming home with a bow in his hand, his limbs besmeared with blood, and in appearance like a man-eater," etc. (. . . . *dhanush-pāṇim dhṛitāyudham | Rudhireṇāvasiktāngaṁ gṛiha-dvāram upāgatam | Taṁ dṛishṭvā purushādābham apadhvastaṁ kshayāgatam*, etc.)

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magical or superhuman powers.[125] It is quite possible that the author of the Rāmāyaṇa may have borrowed many of the traits which he ascribes to his Rākshasas from the hymns of the Rigveda.

The last editor and translator of the Rāmāyaṇa, Signor Gorresio, writes as follows in regard to the fabulous races with which that work has peopled the Dekhan (Notes to vol. vi. pp. 401, 402): "The woodland inhabitants of India south of the Viñdhya range are called in the Rāmāyaṇa monkeys, in contempt, I conceive, of their savage condition, and also, perhaps, because they were little known at that time. In the same way Homer related fabulous stories about the races who, in his age, were unknown to the Greeks. The occupants of the Dekhan differed from the Sanskrit-speaking Indians in origin, worship, and language." And in regard to the Rākshasas he observes, p. 402: "The author of the Rāmāyaṇa has no doubt, in mythical allegory, applied the hated name of Rākshasas to a barbarous people who were hostile to the Sanskrit-speaking Indians, and differed from them in civilization and religion. These Rākshasas were, I say, robbers or pirates who occupied the southern coasts of India, and the island of Ceylon." In his preface to the last volume (the tenth) of the Rāmāyaṇa (pp. i-ix), Signor Gorresio returns to this subject; and, after remarking that the Arian tribes, on their immigration from Northern Asia into the Panjāb, had to encounter indigenous races of a different origin,[126] whom they partly drove before them, and partly reduced to servitude, he proceeds to make a distinction between the savage tribes occupying the Vindhya and its neighbourhood and those further south. The first, whom the Rāmāyaṇa styles Vānaras or monkeys, though they differed from the Āryas in race, language, colour, and features, must, he thinks, have shown a disposition to receive the Arian civilization; since they entered into league with Rāma, and joined in his expedition against the black tribes further south. The greater part of the tribes

[125] In R.V., iv. 4, 15, another epithet, viz. *aśas*, "one who does not praise [the gods]," is applied to the Rakshases. *Daha aśaso Rakshasaḥ pāhi asmān druho nido mitramaho avadyāt:* "Thou who art to be revered by thy friends, burn the Rākshases who offer no praise; deliver us from the reproach of the oppressor and the reviler."

[126] The same thing, he remarks, happened to the Semitic races also, who came into contact with the Hamitic or Cushitic tribes, some of them nearly savage, as the Rephaim and the Zamzummim, Deut., ii. 20.

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south of the Vindhya also submitted to the institutions of the Âryas; but towards the extremity of the peninsula and in Ceylon, there was (Gorresio believes) a ferocious black race, opposed to their worship. To this race the Arians applied the name of Râkshasas, an appellation which, in the Veda, is assigned to hostile, savage, and hated beings. It is against this race that the expedition of Râma, celebrated in the Râmâyaṇa, was directed. The Arian tradition undoubtedly altered the attributes of these tribes, transforming them into a race of giants, deformed, terrific, truculent, and able to change their form at will. But notwithstanding these exaggerations, the Râmâyaṇa has (Gorresio thinks) preserved here and there certain traits and peculiarities of the race in question which reveal its real character. It represents these people as black, and compares them sometimes to a black cloud, sometimes to black collyrium; attributes to them crisp and woolly hair, and thick lips; and describes them as wearing gold earrings, necklaces, turbans, and all those brilliant ornaments in which that race has always delighted. These people are also represented as hostile to the religion of the Âryas, and as disturbers of their sacrifices. The god whom they prefer to all others, and specially honour by sacrifices, is the terrible Rudra or Śiva, whom Gorresio believes to be of Hamitic origin.[127] Their emblems and devices are serpents and dragons, symbols employed also by the Hamites.[128] Signor Gorresio considers the story of Râma's expedition against the Râkshasas to be historical in its foundation, though exaggerated by mythical embellishments; and he observes that the Arian tradition has even preserved the memory of an earlier struggle between the same two races, as some Puranic legends relate that Kârttavîrya, of the Yâdava family, a contemporary

[127] In a note (no. 35, vol. x., p. 291), to Râm., vi. 54, 33 (where the disturbance of Daksha's sacrifice by Śiva is alluded to), Gorresio writes: "The fact here alluded to is mentioned rather than described in the First Book, 68, 9, ff. (=Bombay ed., 66, 9, ff.). It appears to me that this fact represents, under a mythical veil, the struggle of the ancient forms of worship, Śiva, a deity, as I believe, of the Cushite or Hamite tribes, which preceded the Arian or Indo-Sanskrit races, wished to participate in the new worship and sacrifices of the conquerors, from which he was excluded; and by disturbing their rites, and committing acts of violence at their sacrifices, succeeded in being admitted to share in them." In regard to Śiva's interference with the sacrifice of Daksha, see Wilson's Vishṇu Purâṇa, vol. i., pp. 120, ff. (Dr. Hall's ed.), and the fourth volume of this work, pp. 168, 203, 226, 241, 312–324.

[128] As Signor Gorresio has not supplied any references to the passages in which these various characteristics of the Râkshasas are described, I am unable to verify his details. See, however, Râm. v. 49, 1, ff. (= Gorr. 45, 1, ff.)

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of Paraśurāma, and somewhat anterior to the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, invaded Laṅkā (Ceylon), and made Rāvaṇa prisoner (Wilson, Vishṇu Purāṇa, 1st ed., pp. 402, 417; Dr. Hall's ed. iv. 22, f., 55, f.; and the first volume of this work, p. 478).[129]

In regard to Signor Gorresio's views as above expounded, I will only observe here, that the aborigines of southern India are not generally regarded as of Hamitic origin; but, as we shall see in a subsequent Section, are considered by other philologists to be of Turanian extraction.

Professor Weber is of opinion (Hist. of Ind. Lit. p. 181), that the principal characters who figure in the Rāmāyaṇa, are not historical personages at all, but mere personifications of certain events and circumstances. Sītā (the furrow), he remarks, occurs both in the Rigveda,[130] and in the Gṛihya ritual, as an object of worship, and represents the Arian agriculture; while he regards Rāma as the ploughman personified. The Rāmāyaṇa has only, he thinks, an historical character in so far as it refers to an actual occurrence, the diffusion of Arian civilization towards the south of the peninsula.[131]

[129] The story is thus told in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 11, 4: *Māhishmatyāṁ digvijayābhyāgato Narmadā-jalāvagāhana-kṛīḍā-nipānamadākulēna ayatnenaiva tena aśesha-deva-daitya-gandharveśa-jayodbhūta-madāvalepo 'pi Rāvaṇaḥ paśur iva baddhaḥ sva-nagaraikānte sthāpitaḥ* | "When, in the course of his campaign of conquest, Rāvaṇa came to Mahishmatī (the capital of Kārttavīrya), there he who had become filled with pride from his victories over all the devas, daityas, and the chief of the Gandharvas, was captured without difficulty by Kārttavīrya (who was excited by bathing and sporting in the Narmadā, and by drinking wine), and was confined like a wild beast in a corner of his city." Prof. Wilson (p. 417, note) states that, according to the Vāyu Pur., Kārttavīrya invaded Laṅkā, and there took Rāvaṇa prisoner; but that the circumstances are more generally related as in the Vishṇu Purāṇa.

[130] Rigveda, iv. 57, 6, f. (=A.V. iii. 17, 8): *Arvāchī subhage bhava sīte vandāmahe tvā* | *Yathā naḥ sabhagā'sasi yathā naḥ suphalā 'sasi* | 17 | (=A.V., iii. 17, 4) *Indraḥ sītāṁ ni gṛihṇātu tāṁ Pūshā anu yachhatu* | (A.V., *abhi rakshatu*) | *Sā naḥ payasvatī duhām uttarām uttarāṁ samām* | "Propitious Furrow, approach; Furrow, we worship thee, that thou mayest be propitious to us, and prolific to us. 7. May Indra plough the Furrow, may Pūshan direct her: may she, full of moisture, milk forth (food) for us in each successive year." See Wilson's translation and note, and Vāj. Sanhitā, 12, 70.

[131] See also the Indische Studien of the same author, vol. i. pp. 175, 277; vol. ii. pp. 292, 410; his dissertation on the Rāmatāpanīya-upanishad (Berlin, 1864), p. 275; and his Essay on the Rāmāyaṇa (Berlin, 1870), p. 7, ff. It would lead me too far to give any summary of the varied contents of this learned treatise. The reader can also consult the views of Mr. Talboys Wheeler in his History of India, vol. 2, The Rāmāyaṇa and the Brahmanic period, pp. 37, f.; 315–318.

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SECT. V.—*Indian traditions regarding the tribes in the south of the peninsula.*

Having furnished some account of the advance of the Āryas into southern India, and of the races whom they there encountered (if there is any historical basis for the fabulous narrative of the Rāmāyaṇa), I have now to inquire whether the other Hindu traditions offer us any probable explanation of the origin and affinities of the tribes who occupied the Dekhan before its colonization by the Brāhmans.

Among the Dasyu tribes which, according to the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, vii. 18,[132] were descended from the Ṛishi Viśvāmitra, are mentioned the Andhras. And Manu, x. 43, 44,[133] specifies the Draviḍas among the tribes which had once been Kshatriyas, but had sunk into the condition of Vṛishalas (or Śūdras), from the extinction of sacred rites, and the absence of Brāhmans. In like manner the Cholas and Keraḷas are stated in the Harivaṅśa to have once been Kshatriyas, but to have been deprived of their social and religious position by King Sagara.[134] In the same way it appears that several of the Purāṇas, the Vāyu, Matsya, Agni, and Brahma, claim an Arian descent for the southern races, by making their progenitors, or eponyms, Pāṇḍya, Karṇāṭa, Chola, and Kerala, to be descendants of Dushyanta, the adopted son of Turvasu, a prince of the lunar line of the Kshatriyas. (See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, Dr. Hall's ed. vol. iv. p. 117, note 1).[135] Turvasu, the Purāṇas say, was appointed by his father to rule over the south-east. Thus the Harivaṅśa relates: "Yayāti, son of Nahusha, having conquered the earth with its seven continents and oceans, divided it into five portions for his sons. This wise monarch placed Turvasu over the south-east region."[136]

According to the legend, Turvasu, in common with most other of

[132] Quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 356, 358; and above, p. 364.

[133] Already quoted in the first volume, pp. 481, f., together with other parallel texts from the Mahābh.

[134] See the first volume, p. 488.

[135] The Harivaṅśa, sect. 32, verse 1836, substitutes Kola for Karnāṭa: *Kuruthāmād athʼ Ākrīḍaś chatvāras tasya chhʼ ātmajāḥ | Pāṇḍyaścha Keralaśchaiva Kolaś Cholaścha pārthivaḥ | Teshāṁ janapadāḥ sphītāḥ Pāṇḍyāś Cholāḥ sakeralāḥ |* "From Kuruthāma sprang Akrīḍa, who had four sons, Pāṇḍya, Kerala, Kola, and Chola, who were the kings of the rich countries of Pāṇḍya, Chola, and Kerala."

[136] Ibid., sect. 30, verses 1616, ff.: *Saptadvīpāṁ Yayātis tu jitvā pṛithvīṁ sasāgarām | vyabhajat panchadhā rājan putrāṇāṁ Nāhushas tadā | Diśi dakshiṇapūrvasyām Turvasam matimān prabhuḥ | . . . . nyayojayat | |*

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Yayāti's sons, had declined to accede to his father's request that he should exchange his condition of youthful vigour for his father's decrepitude, and was, in consequence, cursed by the old man. The Mahābh. i. 3478, ff., gives the following particulars of the curse: "Since thou, though born from within me, dost not give me up thy youth, therefore thy offspring shall be cut off. Thou, fool, shalt be king over those degraded men who live like the mixed castes, who marry in the inverse order of the classes, and who eat flesh; thou shalt rule over those wicked Mlechhas who commit adultery with their preceptors' wives, perpetrate nameless offences, and follow the practices of brutes." [137]

The Andhras, Draviḍas, Cholas, and Keralas, who have been mentioned in the preceding passages as degraded Kshatriyas, or as descendants of the adopted son of Turvasu, were the inhabitants of Telingana, of the central and southern parts of the Coromandel coast (or the Tamil country), and of Malabar respectively. It is evident that the legendary notices which I have just quoted do not throw any light on their origin. That these tribes could not have been of Arian descent, I shall proceed to show in the next Section by more satisfactory evidence, derived from the language of their modern descendants.

Sect. VI.—*Languages of the south of India, and their fundamental difference from Sanskrit.*

As I have already intimated in the earlier parts of this volume, there appear in the vernacular dialects of northern India many remains of pre-existing languages, distinct from Sanskrit, which are supposed to have been spoken by non-Arian tribes settled in that portion of the peninsula before the immigration of the Āryas; and I have also alluded to the existence of a class of languages in the south of India, viz., the Telugu, the Tamil, the Malayālim, and the Canarese, which are fundamentally different from the Sanskrit.[138] I shall now proceed to

[137] *Yat tvam me hṛidayāj jāto vayaḥ svam na prayachhasi | tasmāt prajā samuchhedaṁ Turvaso tava yāsyati | Sānkīrṇāchāra-dharmeshu pratilomachareshu cha | Piśitāśishu ch' āntyeshu mūḍha rājā bhavishyasi | Guru-dara-prasakteshu tiryag-yoni-gateshu cha | Paśu-dharmishu pāpeshu Mlechheshu tvam bhavishyasi ||* In verse 3533 Turvasu is said to be the progenitor of the Yavanas (*Turvasor Yavanāḥ smṛitāḥ |*)

[138] See above, p. 49.

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establish in detail the assertions I have made regarding these southern languages.

Various savage tribes are still to be found among the hilly tracts in central India, such as the Gonḍs, Kols, etc., whose language is quite distinct from any of the ancient or modern Prākṛit dialects derived from the Sanskrit. It is not, however, necessary that I should enter into any details regarding the speech of these wild races. It will suffice for the purposes of my argument if I show that the same remark applies equally to the far more numerous, and more cultivated tribes who occupy the Dekhan; and that the various languages which are current in the different provinces of the south, while they have a close affinity to each other and a common origin, are, in their entire character, essentially distinct from Sanskrit and its derivatives. In regard to these languages, information of the most conclusive character may be obtained from the preface to Mr. A. D. Campbell's Telugu Grammar (including the note by Mr. Ellis), as well as from the Rev. Dr. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages. From the last-named work I abstract the following details:—"There are four principal languages current in the different provinces of southern India, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, and Malayālim, spoken collectively by upwards of thirty-one millions of people, besides five minor dialects, spoken by 650,000 persons. These forms of speech are not, in the proper sense of the word, dialects of one language, as no one of them is so nearly related to any of the others, as that two persons using different members of the group, the one, for instance, Tamil, and the other Telugu, would be mutually intelligible. The Tamil and the Malayālim have the most affinity to each other, and yet it is only the simplest sentences in one of these languages that would be understood by a person who spoke only the other. The Tamil and the Telugu, on the other hand, are the furthest removed from each other of the four languages; and though the great majority of roots in both are identical, yet they are so disguised by inflection and dialectic changes, that persons speaking each only one of these two languages would be scarcely at all understood by each other. The various Dravidian idioms therefore, though sprung from a common stock, must be regarded as distinct languages.

"The northern Pandits classify the vernacular dialects of India[139]

[139] See Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, vol. ii., pp. 21, ff.

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in two sets of five, the five Gauras and the five Dravidas. In the latter, they include the Mahratha and Gurjara, as well as the Telinga, the Karṇāṭaka, and the Drāviḍa or Tamil. The first two languages are, however, erroneously coupled with the last three; as, though the Muhratha and Gurjara (Guzeratee) possess certain features of resemblance to the languages of the south, they yet differ from the latter so widely and radically and are so closely allied with the northern group, Hindī, Bengalī, etc., that they must be placed in the same class with the latter. The Drāviḍa proper or Tamil, the Telinga or Telugu, and the Karṇāṭaka, or Canarese, are not, as the northern Pandits suppose, derived from the Sanskrit, like the northern dialects, but, as regards their original and fundamental portion, are quite independent of Sanskrit. The difference between the northern and southern dialects consists in this, that though the former contain a small proportion of aboriginal or non-Sanskrit words, they are mainly composed of words derived by corruption from the Sanskrit,[140] while the Tamil, Telugu, and other southern languages, on the contrary, though they contain a certain amount of Sanskrit words, are yet, both as regards the great bulk of their vocabulary and their whole genius and spirit, totally distinct from the classical speech of the Arians."

On this subject I shall introduce here some quotations from a note by Mr. F. W. Ellis, appended to the preface to Campbell's Telugu Grammar: "In arrangement the two latter [the Carnata and Telingana alphabets], which are nearly the same, certainly follow the Nágari, but in the form of the letters, mode of combination, and other particulars, there is no resemblance; and the Tamil is totally different, rejecting all aspirates, and having many sounds which cannot be expressed by any alphabet in which the Sanscrit is written. . . . . Neither the Tamil, Telugu, nor any of their cognate dialects, are derivations from the Sanscrit; the latter, however it may contribute to their polish, is not necessary for their existence; and they form a distinct family of languages, with which the Sanscrit has, in latter times especially, intermixed, but with which it has no radical connexion."—(p. 2). . . . . "The Telugu, to which attention is here more specially directed, is formed from its own roots, which, in general, have no connexion with the Sanscrit, nor with those of any other language,

[140] See above, p. 32, f.

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the cognate dialects of Southern India, the Tamil, Cannaḍi, etc., excepted, with which, allowing for the occasional variation of con-similar sounds, they generally agree; the actual difference in the three dialects here mentioned is in fact to be found only in the affixes used in the formation of words from the roots; the roots themselves are not similar merely, but the same."—(p. 3.)

"To show that no radical connexion exists between the Sanscrit and Telugu, ten roots in alphabetic order, under the letters A, C, P, and V, have been taken from the common Dhātumālā, or list of roots, and with them have been compared the Telugu roots under the same letters taken from a Telugu Dhātumālā. . . . These will be found in the following lists, the mere inspection of which will show, that among the forty Telugu roots not one agrees with any Sanskrit root." These lists I will copy here:—

SANSKRIT.	TELUGU.
Ak, to mark, move, move tortuously.	*Akkalu*, to contract the abdominal muscles.
Ag, to move, move tortuously.	*Agalu*, to separate, break.
Anka, *Anga*, to mark.	*Aggu*, to worship.
Agh, to move, despise, begin, move quickly.	*Aggalu*, to be insufferable, excessive
Agha, to sin.	*Aṭs*, to give by compulsion, to incur debt.
Ach, to honour, serve.	*Aṇṭu*, to touch, adhere, anoint the head.
Anch, to move, speak unintelligibly, speak intelligibly.	*Aḍangu*, to be destroyed, submit, be subdued.
Aj, to throw, move, shine.	*Aḍaru*, to shine, shoot at.
Aṭ, *Aṭh*, to move.	*Aḍalu*, to weep bitterly.
Aḍ, to occupy, undertake.	*Aḍu*, to slap.
Kak, to hint desire, go.	*Kakku*, to vomit.
Kakk, laugh.	*Kaṭs*, to play dice, chess.
Kakh, laugh.	*Krats*, to want.
Kakkh, laugh.	*Kaṭṭu*, to tie, build, become pregnant.
Kag, to move.	*Kaḍugu*, to wash.
Kach, to tie, shine.	*Kaḍangu*, *Kaṇangu*, to swell, boil.
Kaj, to hiccup.	*Kaṭaku*, *Kaḍagu*, to lick as a dog.
Kaṭ, to move, screen, rain.	*Kaḍaru*, to call aloud.
Kaṭh, to fear, recollect anxiously.	*Kaḍalu*, to move or shake.
Kaḍ, to eat, rejoice, divide, preserve.	*Kaḍi*, to approach, obtain.
Pach, to cook, explain, stretch.	*Pagalu*, *Pangalu*, to break, make forked.
Paḍ, to shine, move.	*Panchu*, to divide, send away, appoint.
Paṭh, to speak.	*Paṭṭu*, to seize, touch, begin, knead the limbs, understand, unite intimately.
Paṇ, to traffic, praise.	*Paḍu*, to suffer, fall.

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SANSKRIT.	TELUGU.
Pat, to rule, move.	*Paṇḍu*, to reprove, produce, lie down.
Path, to move.	*Paḍayu*, to obtain.
Pad, to move, be fixed.	*Pantangu*, to vow.
Pan, to praise.	*Paḍaru*, to act precipitately, speak nonsense, threaten.
Pamb, to move.	*Pannu*, to join steers to a plough, prepare.
Parbb, to move.	*Panatsu*, to send, employ.
Vak, to be cooked, move.	*Vaga*, *Vagu*, to grieve, pretend grief, consult.
Vag, to be lame.	*Vagir*, to speak deceitfully, bark as a dog.
Vach, to speak, order.	*Vangu*, to stoop.
Vaj, to move, renew, or repair.	*Vats*, to come.
Vaṭ, to surround, share, speak.	*Vantsu*, to bind, pour out water.
Vaṭa, to surround, share.	*Vrats*, to divide.
Vaṇṭa, to share.	*Vaṭu*, to become lean.
Vaṭh, to go alone, be able.	*Vaṭṭu*, to dry up.
Vaḍ, to shine, surround.	*Vaṭṭru*, to shine.
Vaṇ, to sound.	*Vaḍḍu*, to serve food

Mr. Ellis then (p. 7) adduces a list of fifteen roots, Telugu, Canarese and Tamil, taken in alphabetical order, "to show that an intimate radical connexion exists between the Telugu and other dialects of Southern India." As I believe the affinity between these languages is admitted by all competent scholars, I do not consider it necessary to quote this comparative list. Mr. Ellis then proceeds (p. 11) to prove by further details that these three languages are not only radically connected, but have also an intimate relation to each other "as regards terms used for the expression of ideas." With this view he first quotes a native writer, Māmidi Vencaya:

"Māmidi Vencaya, the author of the Āndhra Dīpikā, an excellent dictionary of the Telugu, has, in the preface to this work, introduced a concise analysis of the language, the substance of which . . . . is translated in the following paragraph.

"'The modes of derivation in the Andhra [Telugu] language are four; they are Tatsamam, Tadbhavam, Deśyam, and Grāmyam. Tatsamam consists of Sanscrit terms, pure as spoken in heaven, the Telugu terminations being substituted for those of the original language.'"

Of these the following are examples[141]:—

SANSKRIT.	TATSAMAM.	SANSKRIT.	TATSAMAM.
Rāmaḥ	*Rāmaṇḍu.*	*Vāc*	*Vāccu.*
Vanam	*Vanamu.*	*Dyau*	*Divamu.*

[141] [A few examples only are selected under two heads.—J.M.]

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"'Tadbhavam consists of terms formed, either from the Sanscrit direct, or through one of the six Prâcrits, varied by the interposition of syllables, and by the substitution, increment, and decrement of letters. . . . . The several modes of derivation . . . . are exemplified in the following lists:'"—

SANSKRIT.	TADBHAVAM.	SANSKRIT.	TADBHAVAM.
Samudraḥ	*Sandaramu.*	*Chandraḥ*	*Tsandurundu.*

Separate lists follow of Tadbhava terms introduced from Sanskrit into Telugu through the Mahârâshṭrî, the Śaurasenî, the Mâgadhî, the Paiśâchî (said to be spoken in the countries of Pâṇḍya and Kekaya), the Chulikâ-Paiśâchî (spoken in Gandhâra, Nepâla, and Kuntala), and the Apabhraṅśa, spoken in the country of Abhîra, and on the coast of the western ocean.

Mr. Ellis proceeds, p. 15, with his extracts from Mâmidi Vencaya: "'Deśyam, in other words Ândhra or Telugu, is of two kinds; the language which originated in the country of Telingana, and Anyadeśyam, or the language of foreign countries intermixed with it.'" Previously to showing what part of the language originated in Trilingam, the native author quotes from the "Adharavana Vyâcaranam" a description of the country to which this name applies.[142] Mr. Ellis gives the author's definition of the native Telugu, as the language which arose within the boundaries of Trilinga, as follows: "As it is here said, in the country between Śrîsailam, the station of Bhîmeswara at Dracharâmam, the greater Kâleśwaram, and, as the fourth, the

[142] This passage, as quoted in the Andhrakaumudî, is given by Mr. Campbell in the Introduction to his Grammar, p. ii. note. I am indebted to the late Prof. H. H. Wilson, for transcribing it for me from the Telugu into Roman characters: *Śrîśaila-Bhîma-Kâleśa-Mahendra-giri-samîyutam | Prâkâraṁ tu mahat kritvâ trîṇi dvârâṇi ch' âkarot | Trilochano maheśasya triśûlaṁcha kare vahan | Trilingarûpî nyavasat tri-dvâreshu gaṇair vritaḥ | Ândhra-Vishṇuḥ sura-yuto Danujena Nishambhuna | Yuddhvâ trayodaśa yugân hatvâ tam Râkshasottamam | Avasat tatra ṛishibhir yuto Godâvarî-taṭe | Tatkâla-prabhṛiti kshetram Trilingam iti viśrutam|* I translate this anew as follows:—"He [the Andhrian Vishṇu before mentioned], having constructed a vast wall connecting Śrîśaila, Bhîmeśvara, Kâleśvara, and the Mahendra hills, formed in it three gates. There, in the form of three Lingas, with three eyes, bearing in his hand the trident of Maheśa (Śiva), he dwelt in the three gates surrounded by his hosts. The Andhrian Vishṇu, attended by the Suras, having slain the illustrious Râkshasa Nishambhu, the son of Danu, after a conflict lasting for thirteen yugas, resided there with the ṛishis, on the banks of the Godâvarî. Since that time this sacred territory has been called Trilinga."

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mountain of Mahendra, in these holy places were three lingams, and the language which originated in the country known by the name of the Trilinga-dēśam, is that now under consideration; this is the Atsu or pure Telugu, and is thus described in the Appacavīyam (verse): 'All those words which are in use among the several races who are aborigines of the country of Andhra, which are perfectly clear and free from all obscurity, these shine forth to the world as the pure native speech of Andhra (Śuddha-Andhra-Dēśyam).'" The following are some of the examples given, viz., *pālu*, milk, *perugu*, curdled milk, *ney*, clarified butter, *puḍami*, the earth, *paḍatuka*, a woman, *koḍuku*, a son, *tala*, the head, *nela*, the moon, *maḍi*, a field, *puli*, a tiger, *magavanḍu*, a man. Māmidi Veṅcaya then proceeds to the terms introduced into Telugu from foreign countries. "The following verse is from the Appacavīyam: 'O Keśava, the natives of Andhra, having resided in various countries, by using Telugu terms conjointly with those of other countries, these have become Andhra terms of foreign origin.'"

This is what Māmidi Veṅcaya has to say about the Grāmyam terms: "Terms which cannot be subjected to the rules of grammar, and in which an irregular increment or decrement of letters occurs, are called Grāmyam; they are corruptions, and are described in the following verse from the Appacavīyam (verse): 'Such Telugu words as are commonly used by rustic folk are known as Grāmyam terms: these lose some of their regular letters and are not found in poetry, unless, as in abusive language, the use of them cannot be avoided.'"

"In the preceding extracts" (Mr. Ellis proceeds) "the author, supported by due authority, teaches that, rejecting direct and indirect derivatives from the Sanscrit, and words borrowed from foreign languages, what remains is the pure native language of the land: this constitutes the great body of the tongue, and is capable of expressing every mental and bodily operation, every possible relation and existing thing; for, with the exception of some religious and technical terms, no word of Sanscrit derivation is necessary to the Telugu. This pure native language of the land, allowing for dialectic differences and variations of termination, is, with the Telugu, common to the Tamil, Cannaḍi (i.e. Canarese), and the other dialects of southern India: this may be demonstrated by comparing the Dēśyam terms contained in the list taken by Veṅcaya from the Appacavīyam with the terms

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expressive of the same ideas in Tamil and Cannaḍi. It has been already shown that the radicals of these languages mutatis mutandis are the same, and this comparison will show that the native terms in general use in each, also, correspond."

A comparative list of Telugu, Canarese, and Tamil words is then annexed, pp. 19–21, which I omit. Mr. Ellis then goes on (p. 21): "From the preceding extracts and remarks on the composition of the Telugu language, as respects terms, it results that the language may be divided into four branches, of which the following is the natural order. Dēśyam, or Atsu-Telugu, pure native terms, constituting the basis of this language, and, generally also, of the other dialects of southern India: Anya-dēśyam, terms borrowed from other countries, chiefly of the same derivation as the preceding: Tatsamam, pure Sanscrit terms, the Telugu affixes being substituted for those of the original language: Tadbhavam, Sanscrit derivatives, received into the Telugu direct, or through one of the six Praerits, and in all instances more or less corrupted. The Grāmyam (literally the rustic dialect, from *Grāmam*, Sans. a village), is not a constituent portion of the language, but is formed from the Atsu-Telugu by contraction, or by some permutation of the letters not authorized by the rules of grammar. The proportion of Atsu-Telugu terms to those derived from every other source is one half; of Anya-dēśyam terms one tenth; of Tatsamam terms in general use three twentieths; and of Tadbhavam terms one quarter.

"With little variation, the composition of Tamil and Cannaḍi is the same as the Telugu, and the same distinctions, consequently, are made by their grammatical writers. The Telugu and Cannaḍi both admit of a freer adoption of Tatsamam terms than the Tamil: in the two former, in fact, the discretion of the writer is the only limit of their use; in the high dialect of the latter those only can be used which have been admitted into the dictionaries by which the language has long been fixed, or for which classical authority can be adduced; in the low dialect the use of them is more general; by the Brahmans they are profusely employed, more sparingly by the Śudra tribes. The Cannaḍi has a greater, and the Tamil a less, proportion of Tadbhavam terms than the other dialects; but in the latter all Sanscrit words are liable to greater variation than is produced by the mere difference of

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termination, for, as the alphabet of this language rejects all aspirates, expresses the first and third consonants of each regular series by the same character, and admits of no other combination of consonants than the duplication of mutes or the junction of a nasal and a mute, it is obviously incapable of expressing correctly any but the simplest terms of the Sanscrit. All such, however, in this tongue are accounted Tatsamam when the alteration is regular and produced only by the deficiencies of the alphabet.

"But though the derivation and general terms may be the same in cognate dialects, a difference of idiom may exist so great that in the acquisition of one no assistance in this respect can be derived from a knowledge of the other. As regards the dialects of southern India this is by no means the case: in collocation of words, in syntactical government, in phrase, and indeed in all that is comprehended under the term idiom, they are not similar only, but the same. To demonstrate this, and to show how far they agree with, or differ from, the Sanscrit," Mr. Ellis proceeds to give a series of comparative renderings of sentences in Sanskrit, and in the Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese. As, however, it would lengthen this Section too much to cite these details, I must refer the reader who is desirous of pursuing the subject further to Mr. Ellis's "Note" itself.

From Mr. Campbell's Introduction to his Grammar, pp. vii, viii, ff., I supply some further particulars regarding the early cultivation of Telugu and the belief of the native grammarians as to the origin of their language:—"The most ancient Teloogoo grammarian of whom mention is made in the native books is the sage Kunva, who is said to have been the first that composed a treatise on the principles of the language. It is stated[143] that he executed this work by command of a king of Andhra, named Andhra Royoodoo,[144] son of Soochundra. . . .

[143] "Kunva said: 'He who speaks irreverently of my grammar, composed by the command of Andhra Vishnoo, shall be considered as guilty of irreverence to his priest.' Andhra Cowmudi." The original is as follows: *Kaṇvas tu yathā āha Andhra-vishṇor anujñā-kṛitasya mad-vyākaraṇasya drohī guru-drohīti.*

[144] In regard to this king Mr. Campbell quotes the following passage, which precedes that cited in my former note, p. 428: *Andhra-nātho Mahāvishṇur Nishambhu-danujāpahā | Purā Svayambhuvo Manoḥ kāle Kaliyuge Hariḥ | Kākule rāja-varyasya Suchandrasya tanūbhavaḥ | Abhavat sarva-devaiścha veshṭito loka-pūjitaḥ |* "Formerly, in the time of Manu Svayambhū, in the Kali age, Hari, the lord of Andhra,

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The works of Kunva, of Audharvan Achary, and of several other ancient grammarians, are not now to be found. All the treatises on Teloogoo grammar at present extant consist of Sanscrit commentaries on a series of concise apophthegms written in Sanscrit by a Bramin named Nannapa, or Nunniah Bhutt."

"It has been very generally asserted (says Mr. Campbell, p. xv, ff.,) and indeed believed, that the Teloogoo has its origin in the language of the Vedams. . . . I venture publicly to state my inquiries to have led me to a contrary conclusion; but I do so with the less hesitation as I find myself supported by the concurrent evidence of all native authors who have ever written on the subject of the Teloogoo language."

"In common with every other tongue now spoken in India, modern Teloogoo abounds with Sanscrit words; . . . nevertheless there is reason to believe that the origin of the two languages is altogether distinct." "In speaking the Teloogoo the Soodras use very few Sanscrit words: among the superior classes of Vysyas, and pretenders to the Rajah caste, Sanscrit terms are used only in proportion to their greater intimacy with the Bramins, and their books; and when we find even such Sanscrit words as these classes do adopt, pronounced by them in so improper and rude a manner as to be a common jest to the Bramins, who, at the same time, never question their pronunciation of pure Teloogoo words, I think we may fairly infer it to be probable at least that these Sanscrit terms were originally foreign to the language spoken by the great body of the people."

"Some native grammarians maintain that before the king Andhra Royadoo[145] established his residence on the banks of the Godavery, the only Teloogoo words were those peculiar to what is emphatically termed the pure Teloogoo, now generally named the language of the land, which they consider coeval with the people, or, as they express it, 'created by the god Brimha.' The followers of this prince, say they, for the first time began to adopt Sanscrit terms with Teloogoo

the great Vishnu, the slayer of the Dānava Nishambhu, was born in Kākula as the son of the monarch Suchandra, and was attended by all the gods, as well as reverenced by all mankind."

[145] "This is the prince who is now worshipped as a divinity at Siccacollum on the river Krishna, and who was the patron of Kunva, the first Teloogoo grammarian."

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terminations, and by degrees corruptions from the Sanscrit crept into the language, from the ignorance of the people respecting the proper pronunciation of the original words.[146] This would imply that the nation still retain some faint remembrance of those times in which their language still existed independent of the Sanscrit; and it is certain that every Teloogoo grammarian, from the days of Nunniah Bhutt to the present period, considers the two languages as derived from sources entirely distinct; for each commences his work by classing the words of the language under four separate heads, which they distinguish by the respective names of Dēshyumoo, language of the land; Tutsumumoo, Sanscrit derivatives; Tudbhuvumoo, Sanscrit corruptions; and Gramyumoo, provincial terms. [Compare the Grammar, p. 37.] To these, later authors have added Anya-dēshyumoo, foreign words."

"The words included in the first class, which I have denominated the language of the land, are . . . the most numerous in the language, and the model by which those included in the other classes are modified and altered from the different languages to which they originally belonged. The name by which they are designated implies 'that which belongs to the country or land;' it marks the words in question not as merely 'current in the country,' but as the growth and produce of the land."

"In the course of this work it will be obvious to the Sanscrit scholar that the declension of the noun by particles or words added to it,—the use of a plural pronoun applicable to the first and second persons conjointly—the conjugation of the affirmative verb—the existence of a negative aorist, a negative imperative, and other negative

[146] The following is the passage referred to, and it follows the one quoted in the note, p. 428: *Tatratyās tatsamālāpās tatkālīnāḥ Harer bhaṭāḥ | Kālena mahatā sarvaṁ tatsamaṁ svalpa-buddhibhiḥ | Aśuddhochchāryamāṇaṁ sat tadbhavaṁcheti sammatam | Vikarsha-vyatyayābhyāṁcha pādārdhokti viśeshataḥ | Tadbhavam iti kathyante kālena mahatā samāḥ | Brahmaṇā nirmitāḥ vāchaḥ pūrvam Andhreśitur Hareḥ | Achchāḥ iti cha kathyante sup-kṛid-dhātu-samanvitāḥ |* "The adherents of Hari who dwelt there (in Trilinga, on the banks of the Godāvarī) at that time, spoke tatsama words. In process of time these tatsama words began to be incorrectly pronounced by simple persons, and were regarded as tadbhava. Tatsama words were denominated tadbhava from loss or substitution [of letters], or from being contracted a fourth or a half. Words, consisting of nouns, verbals, and roots, which were fashioned by Brahmā before the time of Hari, the lord of Andhra, are called achcha (pure)."

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forms of the verb—the union of the neuter and feminine genders in the singular, and of the masculine and feminine genders in the plural, of the pronouns and verbs—and the whole body of the syntax, are entirely unconnected with the Sanscrit; while the Tamil and Karnataca scholar will at once recognize their radical connexion with each of these languages. The reader will find all words denoting the different parts of the human frame, the various sorts of food or utensils in common use among the natives, the several parts of their dress, the compartments of their dwellings, the degrees of affinity and consanguinity peculiar to them, in short, all terms expressive of primitive ideas or of things necessarily named in the earlier stages of society, to belong to the pure Teloogoo or language of the land. It is true (so mixed have the two languages now become) that Sanscrit derivatives or corruptions may, without impropriety, be occasionally used to denote some of these. This, however, is not common: the great body of Sanscrit words admitted into the language consists of abstract terms, and of words connected with science, religion, or law, as is the case, in a great degree, with the Greek and Latin words incorporated with our own tongue: but even such Sanscrit words as are thus introduced into Teloogoo are not allowed to retain their original forms; they undergo changes and assume terminations and inflections unknown to the Sanscrit, and, except as foreign quotations, are never admitted into Teloogoo until they appear in the dress peculiar to the language of the land."

At the risk of some repetition, I shall add a few further observations, abstracted from Dr. Caldwell's grammar, pp. 29, ff., and 56, in proof of the radical differences between the Sanskrit and the southern languages:—"No person," he remarks, "who is acquainted with comparative philology, and who has compared the primitive and essential words, and the grammatical structure of the Dravidian languages with those of the Sanskrit, can imagine that the former have been derived from the latter by any known process of corruption or decomposition. We shall first advert to the Sanskrit element which has been introduced into these languages, and then revert to their non-Sanskrit or essential basis." First, the most recent infusion of Sanskrit words into the Tamil, Dr. Caldwell states (p. 56), "was effected by the great religious schools of Śankara Achāryya and Rāmānuja, from about the

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tenth to the fifteenth century A.D. The words then introduced (excepting a few points wherein change was unavoidable) are pure, unchanged Sanskrit. Secondly, at a period partly preceding and partly contemporaneous with the above, from the eighth to the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D., the Jainas introduced the largest proportion of the Sanskrit derivatives that are to be found in Tamil. This period of Jaina intellectual predominance was the Augustan age of Tamil literature, a period when the celebrated college of Madura flourished, and the Cuṛaḷ, the Chintāmani, and the classical vocabularies and grammars were written. The Tamilian writers of this period, from national feeling, and their jealousy of Brahminical influence, modified the Sanskrit words which they employed so as to accord with the euphonic rules of Tamil. Thus *loka*, 'world,' becomes *ulagu*[147] in Tamil; *rājā*, 'king,' becomes *araśu*; and *ra*, 'night,' (from *rātri*) becomes *iravu*. Nearly the whole of the Sanskrit words found in the Telugu, Canarese, and Malayālim belong to these two periods, or correspond mainly with the Sanskrit derivatives found in the Tamil of those two periods, especially the more recent. These derivatives are divided into the two classes of Tatsama, words identical or nearly so with pure Sanskrit, and Tadbhava, words which are borrowed from Sanskrit or the northern Prakrits, but have been to some degree modified in form. Thirdly, the Tamil contains many derivatives, belonging to the very earliest period of the literary cultivation of that language, which were probably introduced before Sanskrit words had begun to be imported into the other southern dialects. The Sanskrit of this period is more corrupted than that of the Jaina period, and the corruptions are of a different character. The Jainas altered the Sanskrit words in accordance with the euphonic rules of Tamil, whereas the words introduced in the earliest period have been changed in defiance of all rules; as the Sanskrit *śrī*, 'sacred,' into *tiru*. While, however, a certain proportion of Sanskrit words have been introduced into the Dravidian tongues in the ways just described,—it would be quite a mistake to suppose that these languages are derived from the Sanskrit in the same manner as

[147] It is supposed by some scholars, from the fact that, in most passages of the Rigveda where the word "loka" occurs, it is preceded by "u," that the original form of the word was "uloka," and that in the texts in question "u" is not a particle separate from the word before which it stands. See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* "loka."

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the Hindī, Mahrattī, and other Gauḍa dialects. For (1) the non-Sanskrit portion of the Dravidian languages exceeds the Sanskrit portion nearly as much as in the North-Indian dialects the Sanskrit element exceeds the indigenous or non-Sanskrit element. (2) The pronouns and numerals of the Dravidian languages, their mode of inflecting verbs and nouns, the syntactic arrangement of their words—everything, in fact, which constitutes the essential structure of a language, are radically different from those of the Sanskrit. The contrary is the case with the vernacular dialects of the north, in which the pronouns, the numerals, and a large proportion of nouns and verbs, have been derived by adoption or gradual transformation from the older Prakrits and ultimately from the Sanskrit. (3) The true Dravidian words, which form the great majority in the southern vocabularies, are placed by the native grammarians in a different class from the Sanskrit derivatives, and are honoured with the epithets 'national words' and 'pure words.'" In support of this Dr. Caldwell refers to the passage already quoted in p. 433; and gives it as his opinion that Andhraraya probably lived several centuries before the Christian era. "(4) In the uncultivated languages of the Dravidian stock, Sanskrit words are not at all, or very rarely, employed. And further, some of the cultivated Dravidian languages which do make use of Sanskrit derivatives are able to dispense with these altogether. This indeed is not the case with Telugu, Canarese, or Malayālim; but Tamil, the most highly cultivated, as regards its original structure, of all the Dravidian idioms, is not dependent on Sanskrit for the full expression of thought. In fact, the ancient or classical dialect of this language, the Shen-Tamil, in which nearly all the literature has been written, contains very little Sanskrit; and even differs chiefly from the colloquial dialect by the jealous care with which it rejects derivatives from Sanskrit and restricts itself to pure Dravidian elements. So much is this the case that a Tamil composition is regarded as refined and classical, not in proportion to the amount of Sanskrit it contains, but in proportion to the absence of Sanskrit. It is also worthy of remark that though the principal Telugu writers and grammarians have been Brahmans, in Tamil, on the contrary, few Brahmans have written any works of distinction, while the Tamilian Sudras have cultivated and developed their language with great ardour and success; and the finest

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compositions in the Tamil language, the Cuṛaḷ and the Chintāmani, are not only independent of the Sanskrit, but original in design and execution."

A few more specimens of Tamil words derived from Dr. Caldwell's book, passim, may be added to show how perfectly distinct they are from the Sanskrit, and North-Indian vernacular, words having the same sense, with which I shall presume the reader to be acquainted.

NOUNS, ETC.

nān	I	kīṛ	below	illāl	a wife
nām	we	kāl	foot	vaṇṇān	a washerman
nī	thou	viṇ	sky	vaṇṇātti	a washerwo-
nīr	we	kurudu	blindness	oru	one [man
viral	finger	irumbu	iron	irandu	two
kaḍal	the sea	iruppu	of iron	mūndru	three
maṇal	sand	suvar	a wall	nāngu	four
kuḍal	a bowel	ugir	finger-nail	eindu	five
niṛal	shade	tamir	sweetness	aru	six
sēval	a cock	kiṇaṛu	a well	eṛu	seven
nilam	the ground	īral	the liver	eṭṭu [148]	eight
mādu	an ox	tigil	a fright	onbadu	nine
ādu	a sheep	tinggal	the moon	pattu	ten
kuraṇjɪ	a monkey	iruḷ	darkness	mupattu	thirty
pagal	a day	toppu	a grove	mūṛu	a hundred
kaṇ	the eye	magan	a son	munnūṛu	three hundred
mūkku	the nose	magaḷ	a daughter	arubadu	sixty
mēl	above	illān	a husband	eṛubadu	seventy

Tamil declension of *manei*, a house.

	Singular.	*Plural.*
NOM.	manei	maneigal
ACC.	maneiyei	maneigalei
INST.	maneiyāl	maneigalāl
CONJ.	maneiyoḍu	maneigaloḍu
DAT.	maneikku	maneigalukku
ABL.	maneiyilirundu	maneigalirundu
GEN.	maneiyin	maneigalin
LOC.	maneiyiḍattil	maneigaliḍattil
VOC.	maneiye	maneigaḷe

VERBS.

irrukkiṛadu	it is	tuḷir	to sprout
perugugiṛudu	it increases	pugaṛ	to praise
aḍangu	to be contained	magiṛ	to rejoice
aḍakku	to contain	suṛal	to whirl
āgu	to become	kuyil	to sound
ākku	to make	tuval	to bend
nīngu	to quit	uruḷ	to roll
nīkku	to put away	kaḍukku	to suffer pain
nirambu	to be full	tara	to give
nirappu	to fill	vara	to come
vaḷar	to grow		

[148] This word, it must be allowed, is not unlike the Hindī *āṭh*, eight.

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"(5) The grammatical structure of the Dravidian languages is radically different from that of the Sanskrit; and proves that they are quite independent of that language." For further illustrations of this fact I must refer to Dr. Caldwell's Grammar, pp. 34, ff., and to the subsequent details given in that work, passim.

Sect. VII.—*Results deducible from the preceding Sections.*

In the last section I have supplied abundant evidence, derived from the best authorities, of the radical differences which exist between the languages of the south of India and the Sanskrit. The evidence which I have adduced is not (as will have been noticed) confined to the fact of those dissimilarities of roots and of structure which are sufficient to convince the comparative philologist that the Dravidian dialects have no original affinity with the Indo-European tongues. We have also the testimony of the native grammarians of the south to the same effect, as far as regards the Sanskrit (as we have seen, pp. 428, 433). The Telugu authors hold that the words of which their language is composed are of four classes, Deśya or Atsu (or aboriginal), Tatsama (pure Sanskrit), Tadbhava (modified Sanskrit), and Grāmya (or rustic); and they consider that the first class, the Deśya or Atsu-Telugu words, constituted the primeval basis of the language before the introduction of Tatsama words in the time of King Andhrarāya,[149] and were created, with a complete grammatical structure of their own, by the god Brahmā. I am not in a position to cite any similar testimony on the part of the Tamil grammarians; but Mr. Ellis informs us (see p. 430) that the same distinctions are made by them as by the Telugu writers, and their idea of the relation of perfect independence in which their language stands to the Sanskrit is sufficiently shown by the fact that they regard that Tamil as the most pure and classical in which there is the smallest admixture of Sanskrit. It is therefore a fact, established beyond all doubt, that the Dravidian or South-Indian languages have, as regards their original and fundamental portion, no affinity with the

[149] We have already seen, p. 436, that Dr. Caldwell considers this monarch to have flourished several centuries B.C. From the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 24, it appears that an Andhra-bhritya dynasty of kings reigned in Magadha, whose accession Wilson (V.P., iv. 203, Dr. Hall's ed.) calculates to have dated from 18 years B.C. See also Lassen, Ind. Ant., ii. 755, 934.

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Indo-European languages; and could not, by any modification known to comparative philologists, have been derived from any member of that family. There are certain processes and modes of mutation which are always discoverable when one language springs out of another. The words of the derivative tongue are always, or almost always, recognizable (even if considerably modified), in the new forms which they have assumed; and the steps of their transformation can be either exactly traced, or at least divined with certainty. But the primitive words and forms of the South-Indian dialects could not have issued from the Sanskrit by any known law of modification.

But if the Dravidian languages be of a stock altogether distinct from the Sanskrit, it follows, at least, as a primâ facie inference (see above, p. 267), that the races which originally spoke these two classes of languages must also have been distinct from one another in their descent, and could not have belonged to the same branch of the human family. Had the Dravidian nations been of Arian lineage, the whole of their languages must, in all probability, have more or less closely resembled either the older Prākṛits (described in the early part of this volume) or the later Ḥindī, Mahrattī, and Bengalī, all of which have evidently arisen, in great part, from the decomposition of Sanskrit. But such (as we have seen) is not the case in regard to those southern dialects.

And as the Dravidians now make use of languages which are radically distinct from Sanskrit, we cannot suppose it probable that the aboriginal part of the nation ever, at any former time, spoke a language which had any affinity to Sanskrit. Such a supposition would be at variance with the traditions preserved by the Telugu grammarians. And no race of mankind has ever been known which (except under the pressure of external influence) has lost, or abandoned, the language which it had derived from its forefathers, and of itself adopted a form of speech fundamentally different. But as we have no proof of any such external influence which could have led the Dravidians to exchange their original language for another, we must conclude that they have derived their existing dialects from their forefathers; and these their forefathers, as their speech was distinct from that of the ancestors of the Arians, must, as we have every reason to conclude, have been distinct in lineage also from the latter. But if

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the original Dravidian Indians of the south of India are of a different race from the Arian Indians, they could not, as Manu and the Mahābhārata assert (see above, p. 422), have been degraded Kshatriyas. And this conclusion is not in the slightest degree affected by the fact that a considerable portion of the existing Dravidian communities, though speaking the language of the south, belongs, or claims to belong, to the higher Arian castes. For if the southern Brāhmans, and some of the other castes, be (as in all probability they are) of Arian descent, more or less pure, this does not prove that the same is the case in regard to the great mass of the Dravidian population; for there is every reason to believe that those southern communities existed before the Arians had spread themselves to the south of the Vindhya mountains, and that the Brāhmans emigrated at a comparatively recent period from northern to southern India. On their arrival in the south, these Brāhmans no doubt spoke Sanskrit, or rather one of its derivative Prākṛits. But though, from their superior civilization and energy, they soon succeeded in placing themselves at the head of the Dravidian communities, and in introducing among them the Brahmanical religion and institutions, they must have been so inferior in numbers to the Dravidian inhabitants as to render it impracticable for them to dislodge the primitive speech of the country, and to replace it by their own language. They would therefore be compelled to acquire the Dravidian dialect of the province in which they settled; and in a generation or two, the majority of them would lose the vernacular use of the Prākṛit dialects which they had brought with them. This, however, might not prevent their retaining in use a good many words of Sanskrit origin. And as many of these Brāhmans, or subsequent immigrants from Northern India by whom they were subsequently reinforced, were, no doubt, learned men, and as their religious books were composed in Sanskrit, they would necessarily preserve their acquaintance with that sacred tongue, and with its literature; and would no doubt from time to time introduce fresh Sanskrit words into the local vernacular,[150] just as we see that English is continually enriched by

[150] I may take this opportunity of adverting again to the probability already alluded to above, in note 67, p. 33, that Sanskrit has not only influenced the aboriginal tongues both of northern and southern India, but has also received some influence from one or from both of them in return. Mr. E. Norris observes (Journ. Roy. As. Soc., vol. xv., p. 19): "I will here express my conviction that the sounds

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the addition of new Greek and Latin words. The fact that many of the present inhabitants of the south of India are of Arian extraction affords, therefore, no reason for doubting that the primitive language of those provinces was entirely distinct from the Sanskrit, and that the population by whom that language was originally employed was totally unconnected with the Arian race. For even the existence of the limited proportion of non-Sanskrit words which we can discover (see above, p. 31, f.) in the Hindī, Mahrattī, and other northern dialects, seems sufficient to prove that there originally existed in northern India one or more races of non-Arian inhabitants who occupied the country before the immigration into Hindustan of the Sanskrit-speaking Āryas.

It now remains for me to inquire how this important fact that the great bulk of the population of the Dekhan is non-Arian in its descent, affects the results at which I had previously arrived, on the grounds set forth in the foregoing pages, in regard to the trans-Himalayan origin of the Arians, and their immigration into India from the north-west.

In the preceding chapter, we were led by a variety of considerations,

called cerebral are peculiar to the Tartar or Finnish class of languages; that the really Indian [i.e. the aboriginal, or non-Arian—J.M.] languages are all of Tartar origin, or, at least, that their phonetic and grammatical affinities are Tartar; and that the writers of Sanskrit adopted the sound from their Indian neighbours." And Professor Benfey says (Complete Sanskrit Grammar, p. 20): "The mute cerebrals have probably been introduced from the phonetic system of the Indian aborigines into Sanskrit, in which, however, they have become firmly established." And at p. 73 of the same work he thus writes: "Sanskrit is a language of great antiquity and of wide diffusion. Long after it had ceased to be vernacularly spoken, it continued to be employed as the organ of culture and religion, and in this capacity it prevailed over extensive regions where there existed alongside of it, not merely a variety of dialects which had been developed out of it, but also several popular dialects which were originally quite distinct from it. From these circumstances it has resulted, not only that forms which have been admitted into the Prakrit dialects have been afterwards adopted into Sanskrit, but further, that words which were originally quite foreign to the Sanskrit have been included in its vocabulary. To separate these foreign words will only become possible when an accurate knowledge of the dialects which have no affinity with Sanskrit shall have been attained. But it is almost as difficult to distinguish those irregular forms which have originated in the dialects derived from Sanskrit and have been afterwards received into Sanskrit, from those forms which have arisen in Sanskrit itself; because, on the one hand, Sanskrit literature and its history are as yet but little known, and on the other hand, those phonetic changes, which attained their full power in the Prakrits, had already begun to work in Sanskrit itself. See also above, p. 141, f.

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all pointing to the same result, to conclude that the Āryas had penetrated into India from the north-west. The facts which have been substantiated in the foregoing sections of the present chapter are in perfect harmony with that conclusion. These facts are (1) that the Āryas, when living in the Panjāb, found themselves in conflict with a class of enemies whom, in contrast to the men of their own race, they called Dasyus: (2) that the Āryas, after occupying the north-west of India, from the Indus to the Sarasvatī, began, at length, to move forward to the east and to the south: (3) that, still later, they crossed the Vindhya range, and commenced to colonize the Dekhan, which had been previously occupied exclusively by savage or alien tribes: and now we learn (4) that the nations who at the present day inhabit the different provinces of the Dekhan, and who (with the exception of such part of the population as is descended from the later Arian immigrants, or has received an infusion of Arian blood) are the direct descendants of the original tribes, — speak a class of languages which are radically distinct from the Sanskrit. It may be expedient, however, to show somewhat more in detail the manner in which these circumstances corroborate, or at least harmonize with, the theory that the Arians are not autochthonous, but of trans-Himalayan origin, and that they immigrated into Hindustan from the north-west. First, then, the fact that at the dawn of Indian history, the earliest Vedic period, we find the Arian Indians inhabiting the Panjāb; then advancing gradually eastward along the southern border of the Himālaya from the Sarasvatī to the Saḍānīrā, and spreading simultaneously, no doubt, over the southern parts of Doab, and in Behar; and at length crossing the Vindhya mountains into the Dekhan;—affords the strongest presumption that they penetrated into India from some quarter closely adjoining the north-western corner of that country, which was the starting-point of their onward course of conquest and colonization. Secondly: the indubitable fact that the Arians found, on advancing into the Dekhan, a people speaking a language radically different from their own, who had been in earlier occupation of the country; and the almost equally certain fact that they had previously encountered similar alien tribes in the Panjāb and in the Doab, add to the probability of the conclusion that they (the Arians) could not have belonged to the race by whom India was originally peopled. For, we

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must either suppose that both of these two races, the Arian and the non-Arian, grew up together in India, where we find them in contact from the earliest period, or that one or both of them have immigrated into that country from without. But it seems unlikely that two races whose languages differ so essentially, as those of the Arians and non-Arians do, and whose religions also were, no doubt, originally diverse, should have sprung up, and co-existed, in the same country, and under the same climatic influences. It is much more likely that one or both of them should have been foreign. The fact is that both have probably immigrated into India from the north-west;[151] but the evidence in favour of this supposition is far stronger in the case of the Arian, than in that of the non-Arian tribes. For, besides the proofs derived from the language of the Arians, which clearly connects them with the nations to the west of the Indus, we have the evidence of their complexion, which in the present day is fairer than that of the aborigines, and in earlier times was perhaps still more clearly distinguishable from the dark colour of the latter (see pp. 281, f., 310). But if neither of these two races was indigenous in India, and if they did not at first occupy any portion of that country contemporaneously with each other, which of them is most likely to have been the first possessor? We must, no doubt, conclude that the Dasyus or barbarous races and the Dravidians were the earliest occupants. For, as Lassen observes (see p. 309), we perceive evident traces of the Arians having severed asunder an earlier population, and driven one portion of it towards the northern and another towards the southern hills; and the inhabitants of the Vindhya range, and of the Dekhan, appear always as the weaker and retiring party who were driven back by the Arians. And we cannot ascribe to the non-Arian tribes the power of forcing themselves forward through the midst of an earlier Arian population to the seats which they eventually occupied in the centre and south of the peninsula: for the Arians were from the beginning a more powerful and civilized people than their adversaries, and from a very early period have held them in subjection. It is indeed objected by Mr. Curzon (see above, p. 301), that these rude so-called aboriginal tribes may have been descended from some of the barbaric hordes who under the name of Śakas, Hūṇas, etc., are

[151] In the App., note O, I shall quote the views of the Rev. Dr. Caldwell and other writers, regarding the origin and relations of the different non-Arian tribes.

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mentioned by Sanskrit writers as having invaded India, and some of whom, after their defeat, may have taken refuge in the hills and forests of Hindustan. But I apprehend that this explanation will not meet the facts of the case. We can have no assurance, that such legends as that regarding the Sakas, which is quoted in the first volume of this work (pp. 486, ff.), even if they have any historical foundation, can be referred to any very remote period. For the time at which the Indo-Scythians, who were repelled by Vikramaditya, made themselves masters, and retained possession, of the western frontiers of India, cannot be placed much earlier than the commencement of the Christian era. (See Lassen's Ind. Antiq. vol. ii. 365, ff., 398, 408, 409.) But the traces which we discover in Indian literature of the existence of the Dasyus are (as we have seen from the various Vedic texts cited above) much older than this period.

In conclusion, I return to the point from which I started at the commencement of this volume; and, as the result of the preceding investigations, repeat the following propositions: First, that the Hindus of the superior castes are sprung at least partially from the same race with the Indo-European nations of the west: Secondly, that as the parent race appears to have had its origin in Central Asia, the ancestors of the Indian branch of it could not have been indigenous in Hindustan, but must have immigrated into that country from the north-west.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—*Page* 187, *last line.*

On this subject Professor H. Kern remarks in his recent dissertation, "Indische theorieën over de Standenverdeeling" (Indian Theories on the Division of Classes): "That mention is sometimes made [in the Zendavesta] of three, and at other times of four [classes], proves of itself nothing whatever. The case may once have stood on the same footing as the mention sometimes of three, sometimes of four, Vedas. Here also some have thought to discover a contradiction, and have drawn from it the most adventurous conclusions. When the Hindus speak of the three Vedas, they mean that there is a triple Veda, consisting (1) of recited verses (*ṛich*), (2) of verses sung (*sāman*) and (3) of formulas in prose (*yajush*), all the three words being comprehended under the name of "mantra." Altogether independent of the three sorts of mantras is the number of the collections of them. Though there were a hundred collections of mantras, the Veda is, and remains, threefold. It happens by accident that the Hindus possess four such collections (and in a certain sense, five), which usually bear the name of the Sanhitās of the Rigveda, Sāmaveda, Yajurveda (white and black), and Atharvaveda. This does not interfere with the fact that the Atharvaveda is almost entirely a Rigveda, though the larger collection is regarded as the Rigveda in the most eminent sense, whilst the Yajurveda only in part consists of yajush-verses. It does not need to be proved that we must know the principle on which any distribution proceeds before we can deduce any conclusion from numbers." p. 13, f.

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NOTE B.—*Page* 191, *line* 22.

In his dissertation quoted in the preceding note, pp. 3, f., Professor Kern says of the Atharvaveda: "Sometimes it is difficult to guess what is meant by older and younger. For example, the Atharvaveda is said to be younger than the Rigveda: that has become a sort of article of faith, which some one uninitiated believer receives on the authority of critics; whilst another, again, copies with confidence what has been asserted by the former. Now about half the hymns in the Atharvaveda are, with the exception of an occasional *varietas lectionis*, the same as in the Rigveda, so that *the* Atharvaveda cannot be younger than the Rigveda. And it could only be asserted that the remaining portion of the A.V. is of later date, when grounds for this position, derived from language, versification, and style, etc., had been adduced. But, so far as I know, no one has ever even attempted to seek for such grounds. I will show, by a single example, that even in the remaining portion of the A.V. to which I have referred, somewhat may very well be found which, without the least doubt, was known to the Indians in the oldest Vedic period, and even still earlier, though the Rigveda makes no mention of it. In A.V. v. 22, 5, 7, 14, the Bahlīkas (or Balhikas) are named. As Balkh was conterminous with the most ancient abodes of the Arians in India, the Bahlīkas cannot possibly have been unknown to the oldest Indians. And yet we find in the Rigveda no traces of these neighbours with whom they were constantly coming into contact, whilst there are such traces in the Atharvaveda."

I am unable to agree with Professor Kern when he alleges that no one has ever attempted to seek for proofs of the posteriority of the A.V. to the R.V. from differences in language, versification, style, etc., between the two, although such proofs have not always been stated in detail. See the remarks quoted from Professor Whitney in p. 190, above. In his Dissertations on the Literature and History of the Veda, p. 12, Prof. Roth writes as follows: "In the pieces which are common to it (the A.V.), with the Rik, it allows itself a great many transpositions and alterations, which further appear to be in most cases of an arbitrary character. In the sections which are peculiar to it, the language approaches to the flowing mode of expression belonging to a later period, though it has the grammatical forms of the older hymns. Between it

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and the Rik, there subsists, further, the peculiar relation that the latter too, towards the end (in the last anuvāka of the tenth maṇḍala), contains a considerable number of sections which bear completely the character of the Atharva-hymns, and are also actually reproduced in the latter. In addition to these general marks of a later origin of this Veda, we find also a number of special characters, of which I here adduce one: The hymns of the Rik celebrate in various ways the deliverances which Indra, the Aśvins, and other gods had vouchsafed to the forefathers. The names of the persons so rescued, however, lie beyond the times of the authors themselves, and a Vedic rishi is seldom found to be mentioned. But in the fourth book of the Atharva there occurs, for example, a hymn in which Mitra and Varuṇa are invoked so to protect the suppliant,—not as they had preserved, for instance, Dadhyach, Rebha, Pedu, and others, but Jamadagni, Vasishṭha, Medhātithi, Purumīlha, etc., all these being names of men whom the tradition makes to be composers of hymns in the Rigveda. It thus appears to admit of no doubt that the Atharva has not only been collected later than the Rik, but is also of later origin."

In his Dissertation on the A.V.[1] pp. 22, ff., the same author writes: "If I have above designated the A.V. as a sort of supplement to the R.V., it is already implied that I regard this collection as later. But it would be a useless undertaking to try to determine its date even approximately, as our information regarding the dates of particular Indian writings is far too uncertain. For the rest, this Veda must, without hesitation, be reckoned as part of the old literature. I shall be able in another place to collect, in the form of a survey, the manifold proofs which may be drawn from the contents of the A.V., to establish the assertions that the greater part of its formulas and hymns are later than the hymns of the R.V., and that this collection has been made subsequently to the other. Here I will confine myself to the single, but quite certain proof, that derived from language.

"With a view to the preparation of the Sanskrit Lexicon, the words of all the Vedic Sanhitās have been completely collected by myself and my co-editor of the A.V., Mr. W. D. Whitney. I can, therefore, state, with tolerable exactness, the number of times that particular words occur in these different Sanhitās. Generally regarded, the

[1] Abhandlung über den Atharwaveda, Tübingen, 1856.

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language of the A.V. shows itself to be the same which is peculiar to the other Vedas, and thus as very notably distinguished from the so-called classical, or more properly, common, Sanskrit. The A.V. also has very many peculiar Vedic forms, i.e. forms which belong to the old speech; and yet when an opportunity is afforded of comparing parallel passages of the R.V., there may not seldom be observed (*a*) the exchange of the old form for one which prevailed at a later period, e.g. of the absolutive *tvi* or *tvāya* for *tvā*, which alone was in common use at a later period: similarly, (*b*) a treatment of the hiatus in verse which shows how gradually the ancient usage ceases (see the Sanskrit Lexicon, *s.v. iva*). But the tendency towards the later linguistic usage is most of all visible from a lexical point of view" (*i.e.* that which regards not the forms of words, but the words themselves). "This is shown most strikingly in the use of many particles: just as Homer, who is so rich in these small words, is in this respect distinguished from later authors, so is the R.V. distinguished from later books, and already from the A.V. Thus, in those pieces which are peculiar to it, the latter has the particle *itthā* but once, whilst it occurs more than sixty times in the R.V. So, too, it employs the particle *it* much more rarely, whilst *im*, which is found about two hundred times in the R.V., is not used in it at all. On the other hand, the R.V. does not at all know the later form *evam*, but makes use of the older *eva*, whilst the A.V. has *evam* more than forty times, but (and here there may be a trace of a revision of the text) only from the eighth book onward.

"In the same way, certain main conceptions of the older language appear but seldom in the A.V. This case, it is true, is different from that of those particles. These small words may occur anywhere in a book, whatever its contents may be, provided only that it agrees in point of form with another book which is compared with it, which is the case here. Nouns and verbs, on the contrary, cannot occur with equal frequency in books of which the contents are different. Yet even here a comparison between the R.V. and A.V. may be instituted with an approach to correctness. "Ṛita," the fundamental conception in the religious system of the Vedas, could not certainly be so prominent in the A.V. as in the R.V.; yet it must surprise us that this word, with its compounds, is found so very seldom in the former, whilst it is met with more than three hundred times in the latter. So

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too *ṛikvan*, which the R.V. has twenty times, is wanting in the A.V.; *ūti*, which is found in above a hundred places in the former, occurs in only six or seven texts of the latter. *Kāru*, which the R.V. has forty-five times, is met with only once in the A.V. So, too, the latter has *ukthya* only once, the former about forty times.

"The old much-employed word *ish* is met with very rarely in the A.V., and nearly always only in connexion with *ūrj*; *údan* but once; the adjective *ṛishva* is used forty-eight times in the R.V. and only once in the A.V.; the old adverbial form *uruyā* is unknown to the A.V., whilst in the R.V. we find it perhaps twenty times. The denominative verb *urushyati*, which would have suited perfectly the class of conceptions prevalent in the A.V., is met with there only twice, whilst the R.V. has it thirty-four times. The ancient verb *kan*, which was afterwards entirely lost, is wanting also in the A.V., while we encounter it nearly forty times in the R.V. On the other hand, the A.V. is very liberal in its use of the verb *kalp*, which was so much applied in later times, whilst the R.V. has it only once in the first nine, i.e., the ancient, books; although in the tenth book it certainly uses it fourteen times. The word *indriya*, which occurs indeed very often in the R.V., but never in its later ordinary signification, of "sense," has the latter meaning in the A.V.: in the nineteenth book it is used for the five senses.

"These examples might be increased at pleasure. I have chosen them from the letters already worked out in the Lexicon, in order that an opportunity may be afforded of examining the proofs of them; and they will abundantly suffice for our purpose. It will be observed how the vocabulary of the A.V. approaches to that of the later period of language, of which, so far as we yet know, the Brāhmaṇas, the second class of Vedic books, are the earliest productions. But from this fact it must not be immediately concluded that the hymns preserved in the A.V. are all of them later than those of the R.V., but we must, at the same time, keep in view that in the case of those among them which perhaps date from as early a linguistic period, either revision, or daily usage, may have stripped off the antiquated words. For, according to my view, it is not to be denied that the A.V. contains many pieces which, both by their style of expression, and by their ideas, are shown to be contemporary with the older hymns of the R.V."

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I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for the following further detailed proofs of the same point. In the parts of the A.V., which consist of entire hymns common to it and the R.V., there are found not only whole verses, but portions of verses and phrases, which have been borrowed from the R.V., and adapted to certain purposes different from those which they served in the original. That these verses, portions of verses, and phrases, have been taken from the R.V. by the A.V., and not *vice versâ*, from the latter by the former, is shown by the context in each case. It is further to be remarked, that several verses which occur not in the text of the R.V., but only in the Khilas or supplementary hymns of an evidently late character interpolated in it, are found in the A.V. Compare Prof. Müller's Preface to his Rigveda, vol. ii., p. xxxiv., and vol. iv., preface, pp. 13 and 19, lines 12, ff., from the bottom. The Rātrisūkta, one of these Khilas, [printed in the 4th volume of this work, p. 424], is partly found in the A.V. This does not preclude the possibility that a few hymns, especially the magical ones in books i.–ix. of the A.V., but no others, may be as old as certain hymns of the tenth maṇḍala and others of the R.V., which have been attached to the end of other maṇḍalas, such as i. 191, and the last two hymns of the second maṇḍala; or that some ideas of the A.V. may be as ancient as any in those parts of the R.V.

The Rigveda, though the oldest collection, does not necessarily contain everything that is of the greatest age in Indian thought or tradition. We know, for example, that certain legends bearing the impress of the highest antiquity, such as that of the Deluge, appear first in the Brāhmaṇas.

Descending to particulars, we find a great difference between the two Sanhitās.

i. *Religion.*

Do the religious ideas in the A.V. stand at the same point as in the R.V.? or is there a progress towards a systematization of religion; Do we find traces of a development of polytheism, or of an advance towards monotheism? Surely the latter.

1. Vishṇu. The A.V. contains no hymn addressed to this god. He is mentioned merely as one of the *οἱ πολλοί*, or as a *lokapāla* (guardian of one of the regions of the world), iii. 27, 5; xii. 3, 59.

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2. Varuṇa. The A.V. has a hymn to this god, iv. 16, remarkable in some respects (which was employed as an oath to be taken by a witness),[2] but every line of it affords evidence of being copied from the R.V. There is also another hymn, no doubt based upon some old tradition, in which Varuṇa is represented as giving a cow to Atharvan, but apparently spun out with the view of intimating to the faithful that the magician (Atharva-priest) should be rewarded by a donation of cows. For the rest, Varuṇa is treated very much as Vishṇu.

3. Indra. No particular hymn is addressed to him; no feats, no enemies, of his are mentioned beyond such as are found in the Rigveda.

4. The same is the case in regard to Agni. And, further, he no longer appears as the ever youthful mediator between gods and men, but his fire has become formally divided into the Dakshiṇāgni, the Pūrvāgni, the Gārhapatya, etc.

From all this it is clear that the A.V. has no fresh hymns contemporary with older ones of the R.V. or exhibiting distinct and original features of the most ancient gods, but in so far as they are concerned, builds upon the materials supplied by the R.V., while it introduces new and more modern characteristics leading in the direction of, and ultimately developed into, the latter mythology. In fact, the principal gods of the R.V. have sunk down to the same level, which they occupy in the later epic poems, and a new god, Bhava-Sarva, has arrived at supremacy.

The A.V. has, however, besides the last-named Bhava and Sarva (xi. 2, 1, and elsewhere), who occur nowhere in the R.V., its peculiar gods, not such as the bright elementary powers of the R.V., but serpents,[3] sprung from fire, from plants, from the waters, from lightning (*tebhyaḥ sarpebhyo namasā vidhema* | "Let us with reverence worship these serpents"), x. 4, 23; viii. 8, 15; viii. 10, 29 (where Takshaka is mentioned), etc.; and it has hymns to Night, xix. 47–50;[4] and

[2] In the actual application, in particular cases, of the formula in verse 9, *tais tvā sarvair abhi shyāmi pāśair asāv āmushyāyaṇo amushyāḥ putra*, "with all these bonds I bind thee, so and so, son of such and such a man, and of such and such a woman," the real name of the person was substituted for the words *āmushyāyaṇa*, and a definite purpose in the verse is thus evident. Comp. A.V. x. 5, 30, 44; xvi. 7, 8; xvi. 8, 1.

[3] The R.V. has *sarpa*, "serpent," only once, x. 10, 6.

[4] It is true that we have the same in R.V. x. 127; but in the A.V. the adoration is more decided.

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pays worship to cows, xii. 4 and 5. On the other hand, the A.V. shows a progress towards monotheism in its celebration of Brahman, Brahma jyeshṭham, Skambha (see the 5th volume of this work, pp. 378, ff.); and has hymns to Kāla and Kāma, divinities unknown to the R.V. (See vol. v., pp. 402, ff.)

ii. *Poetry, Imagination.*

Of poetical sentiment, or imagination (such, for example, as breathes in the beautiful hymns to Ushas in the R.V.), the A.V. has next to nothing. The reader feels himself in a dark suffocating atmosphere, surrounded by domineering priests, who would sternly repress any flights of levity

iii. *Ritual.*

The development in this department becomes clearer and clearer. Compare terms such as *agnishṭoma, anuvāka, prayāja, anuyāja,*[5] (i. 30, 4), *mahānāmnī, mahāvrata, rājasūya, vājapeya, agnihotra, ekarātra, dvirātra, chatūrātra, pancharātra,* etc. (x. 7, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11): see also xix. 22 and 23. In xiii. 3, 6, the three words of the sacrifice (*yajnasya trayo 'ksharāḥ*), meaning, it is to be supposed, such directions as *yakshat, vashaṭ, svāhā,* are mentioned. The whole 20th book is compiled for certain definite sacrificial purposes, which are very minutely stated in the A.V. Sūtras.

iv. *Speculation.*

In the A.V. we encounter the terms (*a*) *nāma* and *rūpa,* "name," and "form," which occur so constantly in the Brāhmaṇas and Vedantic literature; (*b*) *pīlumatī dyauḥ,* "a heaven formed of atoms," (xviii. 2, 48); (*c*) *kshiti* and *akshiti,* "transitoriness," and "eternity" (xi. 7, 25); (*d*) the three *guṇās,* x. 8, 43 (comp. viii. 2, 1, and the fifth volume of this work, pp. 309, note 468, and 377, note 561); (*e*) the conception of sleep as being neither life nor death, vi. 46, 1, which is of a modern character.

v. *Language.*

A few points of difference in this respect between the R.V. and the A.V. may be mentioned, to which a multitude of others could easily be added. The root *kṛi* has in the R.V. only the form *kṛiṇoti,* and *kuru* occurs only in x. 145, 2. The A.V. has *kṛiṇoti,* but *karoti* quite as

[5] These two terms occur also in R.V. x. 51, 8, f.

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often. The R.V. uses the root *sas*, and not so commonly *svap*, for "to sleep." The A.V. has *sas* only once, iv. 1, 6, and in verses that are borrowed from the R.V. it substitutes *svap*, e.g. iv. 5, 5, 6. The R.V. has only the form *dyut*, "to shine;" the A.V. has this, but also *jyut*, "to shine," vii. 16, 1; iv. 37, 10. The R.V. has never *tadā* for "then," and *tadānīṁ* only in x. 129, 1 (this being one of the points insisted upon for proving the comparatively modern origin of the hymn), while the A.V. has both forms. The use of *tva . . . tva*, "the one . . . the other," is common in R.V., whilst the A.V. has the phrase only once, viii. 9, 9, and there only in what appears to be an imitation of R.V. x. 71, 7, 8. *Divākara*, "the sun," in A.V. iv. 10, 5; xiii. 2, 34, is a word which has quite a modern sound. *Na*, in the sense of "like," "as," disappears in the A.V. gradually, as also the particle *it*, both so very common in the R.V. *Dṛiś*, "to see," of which in the R.V. we have the forms *dṛiśeyam*, *darśam*, *dṛiśan*, *adṛiśran*, *dṛiśāna*, never appears in the A.V., except, as in later Sanskrit, in the perf., etc.; for *jyog eva dṛiśema sūryam*, in i. 31, 4, is an imitation of R.V. i. 24, 1, 2, etc., etc.

vi. *Miscellaneous terms indicating a more modern stage.*

Dvīpin, "a leopard," occurs in iv. 8, 7; vi. 38, 2; xix. 49, 4. (The animal comes from the *dvīpa*, "island," perhaps Ceylon). *Śyāmaṁ lohitam ayas*, "real (black) iron and brass," xi. 3, 7. *Imāni pañchendriyāṇi manaḥshashṭhāni*, "these five senses and the mind, *manas*, a sixth." Names of seasons: *grīshma* (R.V. only in the Purusha-sūkta). *Kali*, one of the dice, vii. 109, 1. *Ācharya*, *brahmachārin*,[6] xi. 5, 1. A *Śrotriya* (a priest who has studied the Veda) can alone be a guest, ix. 6, 37. *Dhana*, which in the R.V., especially in old hymns, has the sense of "prize," appears in the A.V. chiefly (only rarely meaning "a stake,") in its later sense of property, wealth, money. The form *dharma* occurs in the A.V. xi. 7, 17; xii. 5, 7; xviii. 3, 1. In R.V. the word appears only in the form *dharman*. *Naga*, "mountain," is found in xix. 8, 1; it signifies "not going," and is a perfectly modern word, as modern as *namura*, xiii. 4, 46, "immortality," for the older *amṛita*. *Puṇḍarīkaṁ navadvāram*, i.e. the body "with the nine openings," x. 8, 43. *Nārakaṁ lokam*, "hell," occurs, xii. 4, 36, whilst there is nothing of the

[6] Brahmachārin occurs also in R.V. x. 109, 5.

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kind in the R.V. *Panchāṅguri* (the five-fingered) "man," is modern. *Parameshṭhin*, of a supreme deity (often with *Prajāpati*, iv. 11, 7; viii. 5, 10; ix. 3, 11; or different from him, viii. 7, 1), very frequently occurring, is not found a single time in the R.V. *Paś*, "to see," has, in the R.V., often its oldest form *spaś*, but never in A.V. except in three passages that are taken from the R.V. *Paśupati*, applied to Bhava, e.g. xi. 2, 28; xi. 6, 9; xv. 5, 3, never occurs in the R.V. *Māgadha*, "a bard," xv. 2, 1–4, as in later times.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that the very fact that the A.V. mentions countries like Magadha, Anga, Balhika, v. 22, is a proof that it was composed at a time when the geographical knowledge of the Hindus had become enlarged. Strabo knew more of the world than Herodotus; therefore he was later.

On this subject, a learned correspondent writes: "No one will affirm that every single piece in the A.V. is more recent than every part of the R.V. But every one must see that the great bulk of the R.V. is of a much older character than the bulk of the A.V.; and that the collection of the pieces making up the latter is later than in the case of the R.V. It follows from this, that any one who seeks to represent any part of the A.V. as older than any part of the R.V., must prove this as the exception, and cannot be allowed to throw on his opponent the burden of establishing the contrary. For the rest, it will not aid us much to propound such general rules. In every individual given case, a sufficient number of material proofs will be found to relieve us from such general discussions."

Remarks on Professor Kern's conclusion regarding the antiquity of castes.

The present volume does not treat of caste; but as that is the subject of my first volume, it appears necessary that I should take this opportunity of adverting to Professor Kern's opinions on the antiquity of that institution, as set forth in the dissertation above quoted, which was read before the Royal Academy of Sciences at Amsterdam on the 13th of March, 1871. First of all I must briefly state the author's positions, and the grounds on which he bases them. He refers, first (p. 6) to the fact that the four castes or classes (Standen) are mentioned in the Purusha-sūkta, which, however, some scholars

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regard as one of the most recent in the collection of the Rigveda, whilst others maintain the exact contrary. Neither party, he considers, have proved their assertions. He himself regards the antiquity of the hymn as a matter of indifference, not in itself, but in its bearing upon the question of the antiquity of classes. After quoting and explaining the hymn, he proceeds (p. 8): "We may confidently ask whether the expressions it contains either in themselves, or in connexion with the whole, furnish the least ground even for guessing that the poet intended to register, or to recommend, a new institution? In truth, if anything is plain in the whole poem, it is this, that in the estimation of the author, the division into classes was as old as the sun and moon, as Indra and Agni, as the horse and the cow, in short, as old as the creation. Before such a symbolical theory could arise, all remembrance of the historical origin of classes must have been lost. How is this affected by the question whether the Purusha-sūkta is the latest, or the earliest, hymn in the Rigveda?"

He adds (p. 8): "We are ignorant how long a period intervened between the institution of classes and the composition of the hymn. As little is it shown by the quotation whether all the legal prescriptions regarding the classes were then applied, or even existed theoretically; and we are also left in uncertainty whether, besides the four principal divisions, the intermediate classes also were recognized. But we must of necessity conclude that classes were hereditary, because the once effected division of Purusha is represented as something permanent." Dr. Kern goes on to remark (p. 9) that we must not expect to derive from the hymns a complete picture of the contemporaneous Indian institutions; or persuade ourselves that our conjectures founded on their scanty data possess the certainty of established facts. He had previously said in p. 3, that the argumentum a silentio has been sometimes abused in treating of geographical questions affecting the Vedic Indians.

Secondly, Professor Kern inquires (pp. 9, ff.) whether we find in the Zend Avesta any reference to the existence of the same classes as we meet with in India, as he considers that such reference would afford probable proof of the existence of this division into classes before the separation of the Perso-Arians and the Indo-Arians. This question he answers in the affirmative. He finds that in Yaśna xix.

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46, four classes are mentioned: Āthrava, Rathaeshtāo, Vāśtriya-fshuyañṭ, and Hūiti [words which are rendered in Neriosengh's Sanskṛi translation by āchārya, kshatriya, kuṭumbin, and prakṛitikarman, i.e. "religious teacher, kshatriya, householder (or peasant), and workman."] On this he remarks, p. 11, "It is thus established that according to the Zend Avesta the first class (pishtra) consists of teachers or priests, of Brāhmans, the second of Knights, Kshatriyas, exactly as in India. Consequently a division of the nobility into Brahmans and Kshatriyas, and the precedence of the former over all the classes, is not the work of the Indian Brahmans." In like manner, Professor Kern considers (p. 11) that the third class, Vāśtriya fshuyañṭ, corresponds to the Indian Vaiśya, being composed of the same elements; and that both designations are very ancient; and further (p. 12) that the fourth class, Hūiti, is that of workmen, servants, and petty traders, and answers to that of the Śūdras. The word pishtra (which Professor Spiegel renders by "trade") Professor Kern regards (p. 13) as probably synonymous with varṇa, the Sanskrit word for caste; and adds: "If we observe that a few lines above the passage which has been cited, it is said, Yaśna xix. 44; 'This word [command] which Ahura Mazda [the creator] has spoken embraces four classes [pishtra],' I think we may assert that there is an unmistakable correspondence in the manner in which the sacred books of the Iranians and of the Indians speak of the institution of classes, although here, as in every other case, the Hindu expresses himself in much more metaphorical language than his kinsman in Iran."

Prof. Kern then proceeds (p. 13) to combat the opinion expressed in a note on the passage by Prof. Spiegel, which I quote at length: "Four trades are known only to the later Iranian State. Older pieces of the Yaśna (comp. xiv. 5, ff.), as of the Vendidad, unequivocally recognize only three. The word by which the fourth class is here designated (Hūiti) is an entirely peculiar one, and does not occur elsewhere. There is no ground for assuming that the remark respecting the fourth class is here interpolated; and consequently the piece before us is shown to be a tolerably late one." Professor Kern demurs to this assertion without proof. He adds that nothing is proved by the circumstance that in some places four, in others only three classes are mentioned; as (p. 14) the three classes referred to in Yaśna xiv. 9,

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teachers, knights, and peasants, are spoken of as "the greatest powers of the Mazdayasnian faith;" and that even in India, when reference is made to fellowship in religious worship, the three superior classes alone are mentioned. The same may have been the case in Bactria. Prof. Kern also remarks that four classes are referred to in Vendidad xiii. 125, the fourth being denoted by the word "vaeśu," rendered by Professor Spiegel, "villager." On the preceding grounds Professor Kern maintains that the fourfold division of classes is older than the most ancient Indian documents.

In a communication with which he has favoured me, Prof. Kern maintains that among all Indo-Germanic nations, classes were hereditary at the time when these nations appeared on the stage of history. It is, he says, a novelty to him to learn that anywhere amongst the Indo-Germans of yore, the classes could intermarry without any limit. The Bactrians, it appears to him, were the most exclusive of all the Indo-Germans in their notions about intermarriage, for the Magi of old, and the Parsis of modern times, proceed to such lengths in their apprehension of intermingling pure with impure blood, that they esteem marriages between the nearest relatives to be meritorious. However that may be, he asks (after referring to the Iranian subdivision of classes as above specified), whether the bare facts of the case such as we know them at present, lead to the conclusion that it was only in India that the Brāhmans acquired or usurped a supremacy which did not belong to them before they came to India? This question he finds himself obliged to answer in the negative. The further question, how far the four castes as a legal institution were common to all the Arian nations? Professor Kern leaves undecided, only drawing attention to the fact that hereditary classes with prescriptions regarding marriage, etc., among all the Indo-Germans, deviate less from the character of the existing Hindu castes in proportion as we extend our view further back into the history of the past.

A learned friend has favoured me with some remarks on Dr. Kern's dissertation, of which I will give the substance, with some additions of my own.

The decisive objection against these assertions is, that if castes had existed from the earliest times, they must have been everywhere mentioned in the oldest Indian records. Just as the later books are full of

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allusions to them usque ad nauseum, so must in that case the ancient texts also have constantly referred to them. But now the Purusha-sūkta alone takes notice of them. This is strange. Professor Kern considers that the argumentum a silentio may be abused, but in this case its application seems to be perfectly legitimate. For the rest, it should not be necessary to prove to a Sanskrit scholar that this hymn is not old. Does it not read as much like a set of verses from the Mahābhārata as like one of the older hymns?[7] If that be not admitted, and special proofs be required, it is sufficient to draw attention to the fact that the words "vaiśya," "śūdra," "prishadājya," "sādhya" (v. 7), occur only in this hymn (verse 16 is here, as also in R.V. i. 164, 50, evidently a subsequent addition); and that in v. 14, we have "loka" not "u loka" (see the St. Petersburg Lexicon, *s.v.*)

Professor Kern urges that in the estimation of the author of the Purusha-sūkta castes are as old as the sun and moon. True; but what does that prove? Is not in India everything as old? Did not the first man compose the well-known institutes of law?

Professor Kern says (p. 10) that the same classes are found among all kinds of nations. This tells more against, than for, him. In these cases it is natural classes, and not unnatural castes, that we find. And if the writer had made this distinction clear to himself, and had sought in his texts for the characteristics of each, he would have seen that there were no grounds for the assertion he has made. For we all know that wherever human society has attained to a settled order, it has become divided into classes; and that privileged orders have everywhere existed. But the transformation of classes into castes is peculiar to India (even in Egypt there were no castes in a strict sense). But this transformation did not cause itself. Did, for instance, the Vaiśya impose on himself the restriction that he was not to

[7] This does not of course mean that the Purusha-sūkta is contemporaneous with the Mahābhārata; and is not in some respects of a more archaic character than even the oldest parts of the latter. The rules of Sandhi, which were in force at the time when the Mahābhārata was composed, are not observed in the Purusha-sūkta (see above p. 161, end of note 181); and neuter plural forms like *viśvā* in verse 3 of the latter are no longer used in the former. In the opinion of my correspondent, the tenth maṇḍala of the R.V. is properly a gleaning of hymns supplementary to the preceding books, and contains compositions in regard to the authorship of which no tradition had been preserved. That such a "gleaning" should contain comparatively recent poems need occasion no surprise.

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learn, and to practise, the functions of a priest, not to marry the daughter of a Brāhman, etc.? All this necessarily arose from a legislation which from small beginnings was continually pushing its inroads further and further; that is, it took place artificially. With this process should be compared the privileges which the Romish Church has partly striven after, and partly attained, for its Brāhmans. And who but the Brāhmans themselves were the authors of this legislation?

"The great point, I repeat, is to distinguish between the natural classes or orders, and castes, which cannot have arisen naturally, but are artificial.

"The solution of the question at issue cannot turn on the degree of strictness with which the classes were separated from each other. We have long been acquainted with the fact that classes and races—like nations—were everywhere far more rudely held asunder in ancient than in modern times. It is thus perfectly natural that marriages between persons of different classes were also rare. Let it be recollected what a gulf divided the patricians and plebeians in Rome. Hence the greatest weight is to be attached to an exact definition of the conception of caste. I believe it may be asserted that it is only in India that the conclusions resulting from this conception have been completely drawn, by regarding each caste as a description of men sui generis, as a separate divine creation.

"I am not aware on what evidence Professor Kern founds his opinion that the Bactrians were the most exclusive of all the Indo-Germans in regard to intermarriage. On this subject I would draw attention to the passage of Herodotus iii. 31, where the marriage of Cambyses with his sister is spoken of at length. What the later Iranian books say of the so-called Khetudas can prove nothing in regard to ancient times. The Avesta gives, so far as I understand of it, no sort of prescription about the marriage of relatives; and the counsellors of Cambyses said to him quite correctly *νόμον οὐδένα ἐξευρίσκειν, ὃς κελεύει ἀδελφεῇ συνοικέειν ἀδελφεόν.* We must first be told what the word qaêtvadatha (see Justi's Lexicon, p. 86), in the few passages of the Avesta where it occurs, actually signifies. Justi himself understands it as meaning marriage between relatives only in one place. And even that has yet to be proved. The word qaêtu (hvaêtu),—or as it would be more correct (namely on the ground of

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the metre, which everywhere reckons hv [=qj as a syllable; e.g. qâthra [hvâthra] as trisyllabic = huâthra) to write it,—haêtu, means only relationship (and is in the Gāthās always bisyllabic). Any one who wishes to combine with that the idea of marriage, must prove his point. In Spiegel too, I find no example from the old books. In fact, he says in his Introduction to vol. ii. of his translation, p. xxvi., that 'everything relating to marriage appears to date from a very recent period.'

The explanations of the few Avesta passages which Professor Kern adduces are not of importance in their bearing on the main question. Ordinarily, in fact, it is only the three natural classes, Āthrava, Rathesta, and Vāstrya (cattle-farmer), that are mentioned. Though in two passages a "hūiti" or "vaeśa" is added to these, that, too, is only a class. Professor Kern explains "vaeśa" rightly. In the Veda also "veśa" denotes a dependent settler, perhaps an inhabitant, one belonging to somebody, and so a servant. The interpretation of hūiti as a "proletary" does not appear to be in conformity with the conceptions of that period. If it is to have such a signification, why does he not rather derive it from "hu" = "sū" (compare "prasūta," and other forms which frequently occur in the ancient language), which means to command, direct?

I may, in addition to the above remarks, draw attention to the fact, that if the Indian and Iranian classes had a common and simultaneous origin, it is singular that there should be no trace of any similarity in the names by which these classes were permanently denoted, although the Zend and the Sanskrit exhibit so close an affinity in so large a portion of their vocabulary.

It is true that two of the words are common to both languages, as "āthrava" (crude form "atharvan") corresponds to the Sanskrit "atharvan"; while the Zend "rathaēstāo" answers nearly to the Sanskrit "ratheshṭhā." The former word, "atharvan," is thus explained in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon: "(*a*) The fire and soma priest, R.V. ix. 11, 2; viii. 9, 7 (here Agni is the priest); V.S. viii. 56 (Soma is his own priest); R.V. vi. 47, 24; x. 48, 2; a brāhman, Medinīkosha, n. 164; (*b*) Atharvan personified is the first priest, in an undefined antiquity, who calls down fire from heaven, offers soma, and presents prayers, R.V. vi. 16, 13; vi. 15, 17; x. 21, 5; i. 80, 16; x. 92, 10;

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i. 83, 5; A.V. xviii. 3, 54. With miraculous powers he overcomes the demons, and receives from the gods celestial gifts, R.V. x. 87, 12, etc." In Prof. Wilson's Dictionary the word is explained as signifying a brāhman. Prof. Goldstücker, *s.v.* interprets it as "(1) A brāhmaṇa, a priest, probably one connected with offerings to fire, or the attendance on the holy fire. (2) The proper name of a priest who is considered to have obtained fire from heaven," etc., etc. The word is perpetuated in the name of the Atharvaveda (which also bears the name of the "Atharvāngirasas," the hymns or incantations of the Atharvans and of the Angirases, who were another set of ancient sages, or priests). But although we should admit, on the authority of the Medinīkosha, that "atharvan" is a synonym of brāhmana, it cannot be said to have obtained much currency in Sanskrit in this sense, and cannot even be regarded as a generic name for priest. The passages of the R.V. given by Roth (see above), in which it is not employed as a proper name, are the following: ix. 11. 2 (=S.V. ii. 2): *Abhi te madhunā payo atharvāṇo aśiśrayuḥ | devaṁ devāya devayu |* "The atharvans have mingled milk with thy sweet liquor, [milk which is] divine, and devoted to [thee, soma], who art divine." viii. 9, 7: *Ā somam madhumattamaṁ gharmaṁ sinchād atharvaṇi |* "Let him (the ṛishi) pour the sweet soma, the heated potion, into the priest." By the priest is meant Agni, according to Professor Roth. Sāyaṇa explains the word *atharvaṇi* as = *ahiṁsake 'gnau | yadvā 'tharvā ṛishiḥ | tena nirmathito 'gnir upachārād "atharvā" ity uchyate |* "Into the innoxious fire; or, Atharvan was a ṛishi: the fire rubbed forth by him is by a figure called 'atharvan.'" Vāj. S. viii. 56: *Atharvā upāvahriyamāṇaḥ |* "It (soma) becomes 'atharvan' when being brought." Here, Professor Roth says Soma is his own priest. (The commentator's note is as follows: *Kaṇḍanārtham upāvahriyamaṇaḥ ānīyamānaḥ somo 'tharva-nāmako bhavati.*) R.V. vi. 47, 24: *Daśa rathān prashṭimataḥ śataṁ gāḥ atharvabhyaḥ | Aśvathaḥ Pāyave adāt |* 'Aśvatha has given ten chariots with their horses, and a hundred cows, to the priests, to Pāyu." Sāyaṇa explains *atharvabhyaḥ* as = *atharva-gotrebhyaḥ ṛishibhyaḥ |* "Ṛishis of the family of Atharvan." R.V. x. 48, 2: *Aham Indro rodho vaksho Atharvaṇaḥ |* "I, Indra, am the protecting armour, and strength, of Atharvan [or, of the priest]." Roth, *s.v. vakshaḥ*, seems to take Atharvan in this text for a proper name. The word employed in the

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Veda for priest was at first "brahman," and subsequently "brāhmaṇa," the son of a "brahman." See the first vol. of this work, pp. 242, ff. If "atharvan" had been the name of a caste in the Indian sense from a period preceding the separation of the Indo- and Perso-Arians, it could scarcely have been dropped by the former, or made way for "brahman" and "brāhmaṇa."

The crude form of "rathaēstāo," as given in Justi's Dictionary, is "ṛathaēstar," whilst the Sanskrit form is "ratheshṭhā." The words thus differ somewhat in form. In all the passages of the Rig-veda, cited in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, "ratheshṭhā" appears to be an epithet of Indra, "riding in a chariot." The only other text cited in the Lexicon, viz. Vāj. S. 22, 22, is as follows: *Ā brahman brāhmaṇo brahmavarchasī jāyatām | ā rāshṭre rājanyo śūraḥ iṣhavyo 'tivyādhī mahāratho jāyatām | dogdhrī dhenuḥ | voḍhā 'naḍvān | āśuḥ saptiḥ | purandhir yoshā | jishṇuḥ ratheshṭhāḥ sabheyo yuvā ā'sya yajamānasya jāyatām |* "O priest, may a brāhman be born possessed of the lustre of sacred learning. May a rājanya be born in the kingdom, heroic, a piercing archer, riding on a great chariot ('mahāratha'). May a cow yielding milk, an ox fit to carry a load, a swift horse, a wise woman, a victorious rider in a chariot ('ratheshṭhā,' a polite youth, be born to this sacrificer." Here it will be observed that the word "ratheshṭhā" is not one of the epithets applied to the Rājanya in the early part of the sentence; and although where it is separately introduced afterwards, it probably denotes a person of the warrior class, yet it is evidently not the appellation of a caste, but a synonym for a fighting man. The word does not seem to be known to later Sanskrit; at least, no instance of its occurrence there is adduced by Böhtlingk and Roth, and it does not appear at all in Wilson's Dictionary.

In the first volume of this work, pp. 11, 14, f., 292, ff., the views of Prof. Haug, on the antiquity of caste, as explained in his tract on the "Origin of Brahmanism" (published at Poona, in 1863), have been stated. Dr. Haug returns to the subject in a dissertation ("Brahma und die Brahmanen") read before the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, on the 28th March, 1871, in which he maintains, with some modifications, the conclusions at which he had before arrived. Thus, in p. 13, he states—

(*a*) regarding the Purusha-sūkta: "In any case it proves that the

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caste-system in India is very ancient, and existed already in the Vedic age. Some have sought to disprove its existence at that period, on the ground that, excepting this one, the old hymns contain no distinct reference to it. The hymn itself they assign to the very end of the Vedic era. In its present form, it is true, it is not older than the greater part of the hymns of the tenth book, and than those of the Atharvaveda. But the ideas which it contains are certainly of a primeval antiquity: in particular, the descriptive portion of it looks like a versified sacrificial formula. And in fact the hymn is found in the Yajurveda among the formulas connected with human sacrifices, which were formerly practised in India.

(*b*) "But even if it were to be admitted that this hymn, with its ideas, is but a very recent product of the Vedic age, that would afford no sufficient proof that castes did not exist at all in the earliest period of the Arian immigration into India. As we have seen above, p. 9, the Brāhman already appears [R.V. iv. 50, 8, f., and i. 108, 7] in contrast to the Rājan, i.e. a member of the warrior caste (they are frequently called Rājanyas instead of Kshatriyas),—a circumstance which plainly points to a distinction of castes.

(*c*) "Besides, it is scarcely conceivable that the caste-system, to which reference is made in all the four Vedas, sometimes more frequently, sometimes more rarely, should have been suddenly formed in the later Vedic period.

(*d*) "The reason why the names of the castes are not mentioned in those hymns of the Rigveda which, rightly or wrongly (for a thorough investigation of this point with certain results is as yet wanting), are regarded as the oldest, may be a different one," [i.e. the reason why the castes are not there mentioned need not be that these castes did not then exist]. "The fact, namely, must not be overlooked, that by far the greater part of the Vedic hymns were composed for sacrificial purposes, and partly for quite definite ceremonies, are often merely the poetical variations of primeval sacrificial formulas, and further that the most of them are the compositions of Brāhmans. As the ceremonial is not prescribed in the hymns, where almost everything turns upon the invocation of the most diverse gods, no opportunity was offered to make special mention of the castes. The sacrificers, i.e. those who caused the sacrifice to be offered (yajamānās), are called 'givers' in

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general, also 'the rich,' (maghavan) without any mention of their caste. . . . . Now as there were no hymns or sacrificial formulas composed specially for Brāhmans, or Kshatriyas, or Vaiśyas,—as there actually have been for the ceremonies of the Śūdras, who are not allowed to hear verses of the Veda,—the Vedic poets had no opportunity to mention the castes in their hymns. Consequently the fact that the names of the individual castes do not appear there does not by any means prove their non-existence. This conclusion was in any case premature."

(*e*) "Besides the grounds already assigned, a further positive proof can be adduced that castes actually existed already in the most ancient period. In the religious records of the Iranians, who are so nearly allied [to the Indians], in the Zendavesta, the four castes are quite plainly to be found, only under other names, (1) Athrava, 'priest,' (Skr. Atharvan), (2) Rathaēstāo, 'warrior,' (3) Vāstriyo fshuyās, 'cultivator,' (4) Hūitis (Pehl. hutokhsh), 'workman' (Yasna 19, 17, Westerg.) No further data regarding the mutual relations of these castes are contained in the Zend writings; but we can conclude, from various circumstances, that the priests, the Athravas, already formed a caste. So, for example, Zarathustra is forbidden by Ahuramazda to communicate a sacred text to any one else but an Athrava, i.e. priest (Yasht 14, 46, West.)." [See Spiegel's Avesta, iii. 148.] "No one but the son of a priest may be a priest, and the daughters of members of the priestly caste may only be given in marriage within the caste,—a custom which continues to this day. The distinction of the other castes has, however, become obliterated among the Zoroastrians, just in the same way as, among the Hindus, the Brāhman caste alone has on the whole been maintained pure, though split up into innumerable subdivisions, whilst the other three castes have become dissolved into a great number of mixed castes, so that at the present day, properly speaking, four castes only exist in theory, but not in reality. This circumstance, now, that a remnant of the caste-system has still been preserved among the Zoroastrians, speaks strongly in favour of the assumption that that institution already existed among the Indians in the remotest times, in any case ever since their immigration into India. How close the connexion between the old Indians and the Iranians must have remained, even in the Vedic period, is shown by a distinct

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allusion which I have lately discovered in the Zendavesta to the initial verse of the Atharvaveda."

(*f*) In an earlier part of his Dissertation (p. 8, f.), Prof. Haug, after explaining that in the Vedic age Kshatriyas as well as Brāhmans could take part in the performance of sacrifice, and were in some cases composers of Ṛik verses; and that even Kavasha Ailūsha, the son of a slave, was the author of a hymn (see above, p. 397, f., note 85), adds: "Notwithstanding that the Brāhmans in the Vedic age occasionally accorded to distinguished men of other classes a participation in the privileges they claimed, they nevertheless appear, even in the most remote period, to have formed a caste distinguished from the other classes, and already tolerably exclusive, into which no one who was not born in it could, without great difficulty, obtain an entrance." He then quotes the text R.V. iv. 50, 8, f., and refers to and compares i. 108, 7.

I add a few remarks on some portions of Prof. Haug's argument.

(*a*) In regard to the Purusha-sūkta, I refer to what has been said above, in the first volume of this work, p. 11. Prof. Haug now states his opinion that the ideas of the hymn are very old, but not its diction.

(*b*) See the first volume of this work, pp. 246, and 247, note 15 in the latter page, and p. 263, f., also Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* "kshatra." Does not Prof. Haug found too much on the passages to which he refers (R.V. iv. 50, 8, f., and i. 108, 7)? See, however, the verse of Manu, iii. 13, quoted below, where the word "rājan" is employed for Rājanya. In R.V. iv. 50, 8, f., the word seems evidently to denote a "king." In R.V. i. 108, 7, however, it may mean a man of the ruling tribe or class. Comp. Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* "rājan."

(*c*) The Vedic period was of considerable duration. Professor Haug himself estimates the period during which "the bulk of the Saṇhitā" was composed to have been from 1400—2000 before our era, and thinks "the oldest hymns and sacrificial formulas may be a few hundred years more ancient still, so that we would fix the very commencement of Vedic literature between 2400 and 2000." Ait. Br. i. 47, f. The entire Vedic period would thus be a thousand years, which however, is, perhaps, too large an estimate.

(*d*) The reasons here assigned in explanation of the non-occurrence

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in the hymns of other references to the castes, supposing them to have then existed, and to have borne the same names as afterwards, seem scarcely sufficient. The hymns do not appear to be so exclusively sacrificial in their character as is here assumed; and might in many passages have admitted of allusions to the existence of castes.

(*e*) The observations already made upon Professor Kern's Dissertation are applicable here.

(*f*) In reference to these remarks, see the first volume of this work, p. 265, ff. Prof. Kern, in his Dissertation, p. 18, cites a passage from the Mahābhārata, xiii. 2505, ff., in regard to the intermarriages of Brāhmans with the other two next classes, one verse of which (2515) is to the following effect: *Abrāhmaṇaṁ tu manyante Śūdrā-putram anaipuṇāt | trishu varṇeshu jāto hi brāhmaṇād-brāhmaṇo bhavet |* "They regard from want of skill as not a Brāhman the son of a Śūdrā woman [by a Brāhman father]. A son begotten by a Brāhman in the three castes [i.e. on a woman of either of the upper three classes] will be a Brāhman." And Manu says, iii. 13, *Śūdraiva bhāryā Śūdrasya sā cha svā cha viśah smṛite | te cha svā chaiva rājnaś cha tāś cha svā ch' āgrajanmanaḥ |* "A Śūdrā female only can be the wife of a Śūdra. She and a woman of his own caste may be the wives of a Viś, i.e. Vaiśya. These two and a woman of his own caste may be the wives of a Rājan, i.e. Rājanya; these three and a woman of his own caste may be the wives of a Brāhman." From these texts it would appear that purity of caste blood was not much regarded among the Hindus in early ages.

NOTE C.—*Page* 258.

"The conformities [between the languages of the same family] are astonishing; and especially so, because they enter into the minutest details, and even into the anomalies. It is a curious phenomenon to discover such an inconceivable tenacity in idioms which might appear to be nothing more than passing caprices. The most volatile portion of languages, I mean their pronunciation, has evinced its stability: in the midst of mutations of letters, which are, nevertheless, subject to certain rules, vowels, long or short, have often preserved their quantity." "On the other hand, the disparity is great: the distances which

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the languages have traversed in their individual development are immense. After we have exhausted all the analogies, even the most secret, there remains in each of these languages a portion which is no longer susceptible of comparison with the other languages of the same family. We must therefore admit as the causes of that partial incommensurableness, two opposite principles, viz., oblivion and invention. The oblivion of forms and words formerly in use is but too manifest in the languages with whose history we are most intimately acquainted; and it has frequently injured their richness and beauty. Such oblivion must always follow a retrograde movement in civilization: in proportion as the intellectual sphere is contracted, a generation which has relapsed into ignorance and barbarism, abandons expressions which have now become superfluous. And as regards invention, I find no difficulty in that either, since in order to comprehend the absolute origin of language, we have no choice between having recourse to a miracle, and conceding to mankind an instinctive power of inventing language."—A. W. von Schlegel, de l'origine des Hindous, Essais; and in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom, vol. ii. p. 433.

NOTE D.—*Page* 277.

Mr. Geldart argues the question both from a negative and a positive point of view. Under the first head, he remarks that "language is too uncertain an ethnological test to be of any practical value," and instances the complete discrepancy which exists between the races and the languages of the British Isles. Cumberland and Cornwall, for example, in language agree with London and disagree with Wales, while as to race, it is directly the reverse." The same thing is shown, he observes, "by many similar examples: the accumulative evidence of all amounted to this, that since in so many cases where the ethnological indications of language can be compared with the actual testimony of history, the latter completely contradicts the former," a common language is "not even primâ facie evidence in favour of a common lineage." "Secondly, in a positive point of view, it was shown that in all the instances above cited, there had taken place between the races a close assimilation of (1) political, (2) religious, (3)

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intellectual, or (4) general social relations, or of any, or of all of these combined; and it was suggested that it is such an assimilation, and not unity of race, that unity of language rightly typifies."

"The sum of the whole was, that it is not safe to infer from affinity between the language of two nations more than this, that there was a time when there existed between them civil, religious, or some sort of social relations. Language was the product and token of a nation's political, moral, or intellectual, but not of its physical constitution. It would not reveal a people's genealogy, but its mental and social history.

"Should it ever be proved that all languages were derived from one original, the sole valid inference would be, that at some time one sovereign race had imposed upon all the rest its own political or social institutions, while the great question of the number of races would remain just where it stood."

NOTE D*.—*Page* 287.

"Strabo tells us that the tribes of the Persians, Medes, Bactrians, and Sogdians, spoke nearly the same language. We can have no difficulty in supposing that this similarity of speech which existed in Strabo's age, existed also in earlier times. The old Iranian dialects, of which the monuments have been still preserved to us, justify this assumption. Of these there are four, (1) the speech of the earlier Achæmenidæ, (2) that of the later Achæmenidæ, (3) the dialect of the Gāthās,[8] (4) the old Bactrian, the ordinary language of the Avesta. The last two dialects might perhaps also be embraced under the designation of Avestic. The first two of these dialects belong to western, the last two to eastern, Iran."—Spiegel, in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge zur Vergl. Sprachf. ii. 6. I must refer to the original paper for further details regarding these dialects. I will only quote one or two remarks. In his account of the old Persian or earlier Achæmenidan dialect, Spiegel observes (p. 7), that, "we find in it all the classes of the Sanskrit alphabet represented, excepting the cerebrals, which have a purely local origin." (See above, p. 440,

[8] [It is scarcely necessary to say that this has no connexion with the Indian Gāthā dialect, described above, pp. 115, ff.—J.M.]

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note.) At p. 13, he remarks: "We have pointed out in the entire grammar of the old Persian so much that is identical with the Sanskrit, that it may now be time to notice the differences which stamp it as a distinct language from the old Indian. Not a few such peculiarities are to be found in all the departments of grammar. In a phonetic aspect, there is this important deviation that the old Persian has the letter *z*, which is unknown to the Sanskrit, and that it, like the Greek, changes the Indian *s* into *h*."—(See above, pp. 313, and 315).

NOTE E.—*Page* 296.

Rigveda ix. 113, 7–11. *Yatra jyotir ajasraṁ yasmin loke svar hitam | Tasmin mām dhehi pavamāna amṛite loke akshite | Yatra rājā Vaivasvato yatrāvarodhanaṁ divaḥ | Yatrāmūr yahvatīr āpas tatra mām amṛitam kṛidhi | Yatrānukāmaṁ charaṇam trināke tridive divaḥ | Lokāḥ yatra jyotishmantas tatra mām*, etc. | *Yatra kāmāḥ nikāmāścha yatra bradhnasya vishṭapam | Svadhā cha yatra tṛiptiścha tatra mām*, etc. | *Yatrānandāścha modāścha mudaḥ pramuda āsate | Kāmasya yatrāptāḥ kāmās tatra mām*, etc. | "Place me, O purified (Soma), in that undecaying unchanging region, where perpetual light and glory abide. Make me immortal in the world where king Vaivaśvata (Yama) reigns, where the sanctuary of the sky is, and those great waters are. Make me immortal in the third heaven, where action is at pleasure, where the shining regions exist. Make me immortal in the world where all enjoyments abide, in the realm of the sun, where celestial food and satisfaction are found. Make me immortal in the world where there are manifold pleasures and joys, and where the objects of desire are attained." Benfey, Gloss. to Sāmaveda, under the word *nikāma*, renders *svadhā* and *tṛiptiḥ* by "nectar and ambrosia." See the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 284, ff.

NOTE F.—*Page* 297.

I shall here translate or abstract the most important parts of Dr. Windischmann's Dissertation, "On the Soma-worship of the Arians." Dr. Windischmann begins with the following remarks: "If we advert to the striking contrast which exists between the doctrine of Zarathustra and the Brahmanical system, and to the fact that the former

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must be looked on as the work of a reformer seeking to preserve the old nature-worship from the mythological transformations with which it was threatened, it must appear as a matter of the greater importance to throw light upon those points in which the two religions agree. For as regards those conceptions which existed before the two systems had developed their opposing principles, we may reasonably assume that they were possessed in common long before the separation of the Arian race into the Indian and Iranian branches, that they formed part of the (already existing, and distinguishable) religions of the Zendavesta and the Veda, and that they had been inherited from the most primitive tradition. Such traditions are, indeed, comparatively few; but the concurrence of those which have been preserved, is so much the more striking; as, for example, Lassen (Ind. Ant. i. 517) has shown in regard to the Iranian legend of king Yima, son of Vivañghat, who corresponds to the Indian Yama, son of Vivasvat. Yima, however, is regarded by the Medo-Persians as the first king, lawgiver, and founder of the Iranian worship, while Yama is looked on by the Brahmans as lord of Hades (R.V. i. 35, 6), and judge of the dead, and it is his brother Manu who plays the same part as Yima." [See, however, p. 296, above.] "But by far the most remarkable analogy is that which exists between the Haoma of the Zendavesta and the Soma of the most ancient Brahmanical books, an analogy which is not confined to some few features of the legend, but extends to the entire Soma-worship of the early Arian race.

"Haoma and Soma are names etymologically identical. Both come from the root su, in Zend hu, which signifies, 'to beget,' and also, but especially in the Vedic dialect, to 'drop,' or 'to press out juice.' In later Indian mythology Soma means the moon and its deity: but in the Zendavesta and the Vedas it signifies a celebrated plant, and its juice. This is the asclepias acida, or sarcostema viminalis, the expressed juice of which produces a peculiarly astringent, narcotic, and intoxicating effect. The plant,[9] plucked up by the roots, is collected by moonlight on the mountains; stripped of its leaves; carried on a car drawn by two goats to the place of sacrifice (where a spot covered with grass and twigs is prepared); crushed between stones by the

[9] Compare Stevenson's Translation of the Sāmaveda, p. iv. This work is repeatedly referred to in the sequel.

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priests; and is then thrown, stalks as well as juice (sprinkled with water) into a sieve, whence, after the whole has been further pressed by the hand of the Brahmans, the juice trickles into a vessel (called *droṇa*) which is placed beneath. The fluid is then mixed with clarified butter, wheaten and other flour, and brought into a state of fermentation; it is then offered thrice a day, and partaken of by the Brahmans. The Sāmaveda is almost entirely made up of songs to accompany this ceremony; and the Rigveda, too, contains numerous passages which have reference to it. It was unquestionably the greatest and the holiest offering of the ancient Indian worship. The sound of the trickling juice is regarded as a sacred hymn. The gods drink the offered beverage; they long for it (as it does for them); they are nourished by it, and thrown into a joyous intoxication: this is the case with Indra (who performs his great deeds under its influence), with the Aśvins, the Maruts, and Agni. The beverage is divine, it purifies, it inspires greater joy than alcohol, it intoxicates Śakra, it is a water of life, protects and nourishes, gives health and immortality, prepares the way to heaven, destroys enemies, etc. The Sāmaveda distinguishes two kinds of Soma, the green and the yellow: but it is its golden colour which is for the most part celebrated.

"If we compare all this with what the Persians say of the Haoma plant, we find the most surprising agreement. Haoma is the first of the trees, planted by Ahura Mazda in the fountain of life. He who drinks of its juice never dies. According to the Bundehesh, the Gogard or Gokeren tree bears the Haoma, which gives health and generative power, and imparts life at the resurrection. The Haoma plant does not decay, bears no fruit, resembles the vine, is knotty, and has leaves like jessamine; it is yellow and white. Its juice is prepared and offered with sacred rites, and is called Parahaoma. Thus in Yaśna, iii. 5, it is said *haomencha para-haomencha ayēšē*, 'I reverence the Haoma and the Para-haoma.'

"The fact that the Magians offered up a plant was known to Plutarch,[10] but what this plant was is not certain. . . . . The plant

[10] The paragraph in which this information is found (of which Windischmann cites only a few words) is as follows:—

Plutarch de Isid. et Osir. 46. Νομίζουσι γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι δύο καθάπερ ἀντιτέχνους, τὸν μὲν ἀγαθῶν, τὸν δὲ φαύλων δημιουργόν· οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀμείνονα θεὸν, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον δαίμονα, καλοῦσιν· ὥσπερ Ζωρόαστρις ὁ μάγος, ὃν πεντακισχιλίοις ἔτεσι τῶν

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seems to have changed with the locality; and the soma-plant of the Indians does not appear to be the same as the haoma of the Persians; at least the latter affirm that their sacrificial plant does not grow in India. Ahura Mazda causes the white haoma to grow among the numerous kinds of trees. . . . . A constant appellation of the haoma is the gold-coloured (*zairigaonō*), just as in the Veda.

"But these are not the only points of resemblance between the Soma worship of the Indians and Persians. There is one other very important particular in which they both agree. In the Vedas, Soma is not merely a sacred sacrificial beverage, but also a god. This is proved by numerous passages of the Veda (Stevenson, p. 98); and in particular by the splendid hymn to Soma, Rigveda, i. 91. Precisely in the same manner, Haoma is, in the Zendavesta, not a plant only, but also a powerful deity; and in both works the conceptions of the god and the sacred juice blend wonderfully with each other. The most important passages regarding this personified Haoma are to be found in the 9th and 10th sections of the Yaśna, which are explained by striking analogies in the hymn of the Veda just referred to. The

Τρωϊκῶν γεγονέναι πρεσβύτερον ἱστοροῦσιν. Οὗτος οὖν ἐκάλει τὸν μὲν Ὡρομάζην, τὸν δὲ Ἀρειμάνιον· καὶ προσαπεφαίνετο τὸν μὲν ἐοικέναι φωτὶ μάλιστα τῶν αἰσθητῶν, τὸν δὲ ἔμπαλιν σκότῳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ· μέσον δὲ ἀμφοῖν τὸν Μίθρην εἶναι· διὸ καὶ Μίθρην Πέρσαι τὸν μεσίτην ὀνομάζουσιν· ἐδίδαξε μὲν τῷ εὐκταῖα θύειν καὶ χαριστήρια, τῷ δὲ ἀποτρόπαια καὶ σκυθρωπά. Πόαν γάρ τινα κόπτοντες ὄμωμι καλουμένην ἐν ὅλμῳ, τὸν Ἅδην ἀνακαλοῦνται καὶ τὸν σκότον· εἶτα μίξαντες αἵματι λύκου σφαγέντος, εἰς τόπον ἀνήλιον ἐκφέρουσι καὶ ῥίπτουσι. Καὶ γὰρ τῶν φυτῶν νομίζουσι τὰ μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ δαίμονος εἶναι· καὶ τῶν ζώων, ὥσπερ κύνας καὶ ὄρνιθας καὶ χερσαίους ἐχίνους, τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ· τοῦ δὲ φαύλου τοὺς ἐνύδρους εἶναι, διὸ καὶ τὸν κτείναντα πλείστους εὐδαιμονίζουσι.

"For some think that there are two gods, as it were opposed in their functions, the one the framer of good objects, the other of bad. Some call the more excellent being God, and the other Demon; as Zoroaster, the Magian, who is related to have lived 5000 years before the Trojan war. He called the one Ōromazes, the other Arimanius, and declared that the former resembled light most of all sensible things, and the latter darkness and ignorance. He also said that Mithras was intermediate between them. This is the reason why the Persians call Mithras the mediator: He taught them to sacrifice votive and thank-offerings to the one (Ōromazes), and to the other gloomy oblations to avert his wrath. For after pounding a certain herb called *ōmōmi* in a mortar, they invoke Pluto and darkness; and when they have mixed it with the blood of a slaughtered wolf, they carry it to a sunless spot and cast it away. For they also regard certain plants as belonging to the good deity, and others to the evil demon; and some animals, as dogs, and birds, and hedgehogs, to the former (and others as) sea-urchins, to the latter; and they felicitate those who have killed the greatest number of these last."

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9th section begins thus: 'In early morning Haoma came to Zarathustra, who was consecrating his sacred fire, and repeating prayers. Zarathustra asked him, "What man art thou, whom I see to be the most excellent in the whole existing world on account of his immortal life?" Hereupon Haoma, the pure, the remover of sickness, answered me, "I am, O Zarathustra, the pure, the remover of sickness. Invoke me, holy man, pour me forth to drink, celebrate me with praise, as formerly the holy men used to do." Then Zarathustra said, "Reverence to Haoma."'[11] Haoma is here called 'remover of heat, or sickness,' and in the same way Soma is said in Rigveda, i. 91, 12, to be *amīvahā*, 'the destroyer of suffering.' This passage of the Yaśna clearly shows how, as I have before mentioned, the separate ideas of the god and of the juice are blended. Haoma desires that he himself shall he prepared for sacrifice.

"This passage is followed by a specification of the four original worshippers of Haoma. The first was Vivañhat, who prepared the celestial beverage *hunūta*, and in consequence obtained a blessing, and the fulfilment of his wish that a son should be born to him. This was King Yima, the most glorious of men, in whose realm men and animals never died, water and trees never dried up, food was superabundant, and cold, heat, disease, death, and devilish envy were unknown.

"What has before been said of Yima shows the importance of this passage. The worship of Haoma is placed anterior to Yima, *i.e.* to the commencement of Iranian civilization; and in fact is declared to be the cause of that happy period. The Rigveda also refers to this high antiquity of the Soma worship, when (i. 91, 1) it says of Soma: 'By thy guidance, O brilliant (Soma), our courageous fathers have obtained treasures among the gods.' Like Vivañhat, the next worshippers of Haoma, viz., Athwya and Samanām Sevishta, also obtained

[11] Compare Spiegel's translation of the same passage, and its continuation, Avesta, ii. 68, ff. In note 4 he remarks: "Haoma, like various other deities of the Avesta, is regarded as at once a personal god, and as the thing on account of which this god was imagined. Haoma is at once a Yazata and a drink. The original identity of the Indian Soma with the Haoma of the Avesta has been excellently shown in F. Windischmann's dissertation. Among both nations the healing power of the Haoma is prominently noticed, but among the Parsīs it is particularly the white Haoma which imparts immortality. The Indian plant is the asclepias acida; the Persian is not determined. Both nations notice that the plant grew on mountains, and originally, at least, it must have been the same plant which both employed."

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offspring,—Thraētaonō and sons who destroyed the Ahrimanian monster. The heroic age of the conflict of light is thus referred back to Haoma, whilst in the Rigveda (i. 91, 8), Soma is invoked to 'deliver from destruction, to suffer none of his friends to perish;' and (in verse 15) to protect from incantations and from sin; and in the Sāmaveda (Stevenson, p. 259) he is said to drive away the Rakshasas.

"It is interesting to remark, that while Thraētaonō is said here to have been bestowed by Haoma, the Sāmaveda names a Rishi Trita as an offerer of Soma.

"The fourth worshipper of Haoma is Pourusaśpa, the father of Zarathustra: his reward was the birth of this illustrious son, the promulgator of the anti-demonic doctrine. Here also the ancient legend confirms the priority of the Haoma worship to the Zoroastrian reformation.

"When Zarathustra has thus learnt that he owes his own existence to Haoma, he celebrates his praises: and the epithets which he here applies to the god agree in a remarkable way with those of the Veda. Some of these parallel epithets are *hvareṣa*, Zend, = *svarshā*, Sanskrit (R.V. i. 91, 21), 'giving heaven;' *verethrajao*, Zend, = *vṛitrahā*, Sanskrit (R.V. i. 91, 5), 'destroyer of enemies;' *hukhratus*, Zend, = *sukratuḥ*, Sanskrit (R.V. i. 91, 2), 'offering good sacrifices,' or 'wise,' or 'strong.' The blessings supplicated by Zarathustra from Haoma also agree in many points with those which the Vedic poet asks from Soma."

It is not necessary, however, to pursue the subject farther. I refer the reader, who wishes further details of this sort, to Dr. Windischmann's dissertation itself.

I copy the following remarks on the Soma worship from Mr. Whitney's "Main Results of the later Vedic Researches in Germany" (Journal of the Amer. Orient. Society, iii. 299, 300). The "hymns, one hundred and fourteen in number [of the 9th book of the Rigveda], are, without exception, addressed to the Soma, and being intended to be sung while that drink was expressed from the plant that afforded it, and was clarified, are called *pāvamānyas*, 'purificational.' . . . . The word *soma* means simply 'extract' (from the root *su*, to express, extract), and is the name of a beverage prepared from a certain herb, the asclepias acida, which grows abundantly upon the mountains of India and Persia. This plant, which by its name should be akin to our common milk-weed, furnishes, like the latter, an abundant milky

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juice, which, when fermented, possesses intoxicating qualities. In this circumstance, it is believed, lies the explanation of the whole matter. The simple-minded Arian people, whose whole religion was a worship of the wonderful powers and phenomena of nature, had no sooner perceived that this liquid had power to elevate the spirits, and produce a temporary phrenzy, under the influence of which the individual was prompted to, and capable of, deeds beyond his natural powers, than they found in it something divine; it was, to their apprehension, a god, endowing those into whom it entered with god-like powers; the plant which afforded it became to them the king of plants; the process of preparing it was a holy sacrifice; the instruments used therefor were sacred. The high antiquity of this cultus is attested by the references to it found occurring in the Persian Avesta; it seems, however, to have received a new impulse on Indian territory, as the *pāvamānya* hymns of the Veda exhibit it in a truly remarkable state of development. Soma is there addressed as a god in the highest strains of adulation and veneration; all powers belong to him; all blessings are besought of him, as his to bestow. And not only do such hymns compose one whole book of the Rik, and occur scattered here and there through other portions of it, but the most numerous single passages and references everywhere appearing, show how closely it had intertwined itself with the whole ritual of the Vedic religion." [See the section on Soma in the fifth volume of this work.]

Lassen remarks in reference to the affinities of the Iranians and Indians (Ind. Ant. 1st ed., i. 516; 2nd ed., i. 617): "It should first be recollected that the Zendavesta shows us the [Iranian] doctrine not in its original, but in a reformed shape; a distinction is made between the pious men who lived before the proclamation of the law by Zoroaster, and the 'nearest relations:' and we may conclude that the points wherein the Brahmanical Indians and the followers of Zoroaster coincide, belong to the old, and those in which they differ, to the new, system. Of the beings who are the objects of veneration in the Avesta, it is the seven highest, i.e. Ahura Mazda and the Amesha Spentas, who are peculiarly Iranian; their names are unknown to the Brahmans; the Vedas recognize no class of seven divinities of the highest rank who are of the same character. On the other hand, there is no trace of Brahma among the Iranians. The fundamental principle of the Zend doctrine, the

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dualistic separation of the good and evil principles, is, in like manner, foreign to Brahmanism. But there are, nevertheless, other deities, who are equally venerated in the Zendavesta and the Veda, viz., fire, the sun, the moon, the earth, and water; a fact which indicates that both religions have a common foundation."

Lassen also treats of the legend of Yima, and of other points of connexion between the Indian and Iranian religions, 1st ed. i. pp. 517–526, and at greater length in the 2nd ed. pp. 619–634; and then observes: "These common reminiscences of the Eastern Iranians, and the Arian Indians, cannot be explained from any communications such as neighbouring nations might make to one another. On the contrary, we perceive sometimes a varying, sometimes a contradictory, conception of important traditions and appellations, which is only intelligible if we presuppose an earlier agreement, which had, in part, become lost and modified in the course of time, after the separation of the two nations; and in part had become converted into a contradiction by a division in their opinions. Even this contradiction indicates a closer connexion between the two nations at an earlier period."

See also Professor R. Roth's articles in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, for 1848 (pp. 216, ff.), 1850 (pp. 417, ff.), and 1852 (pp. 67, ff.), on the legends of Feridūn and Jemshīd, and on the "highest gods of the Arian nations;" and also his paper on Nabānazdista, at p. 243 of the last-named volume; as well as Spiegel's paper in Indische Studien, iii. 448. In the vol. of the Journal of the Germ. Or. Society for 1848, p. 216, Roth proposes to show by an example, "how the Veda and the Avesta flow from one fountain, like two streams, the one of which, the Vedic, has continued fuller, purer, and truer to its original character; while the other has become in many ways polluted, has changed its original course, and consequently cannot always be followed back with equal certainty to its sources." See also Professor Müller's "Last Results of the Persian Researches," reprinted in "Chips," i. 81, ff.

NOTE G.—*Page* 306.

Professor Cowell, editor of the fifth edition of the History of India (1866), has some remarks on this conclusion of Mr. Elphinstone in an additional Appendix, no. viii., pp. 284, ff. He there gives a summary

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of the circumstances which lead to the belief that the Indians were immigrants from without, as the most probable inference from the premises. He alludes first to "the fact of a connexion between the original Sanskrit-speaking tribes and the other nations of Western Asia and Europe, as proved by the common origin of their respective languages," as admitted by Mr. Elphinstone, and then proceeds: "It is perhaps going too far to assert that this connexion is thus proved to be one of race; at any rate, this is a question which belongs to physical science rather than to history. It is enough for the historian if it is granted that in some remote prehistoric time the ancestors of these various tribes were living in close political relation to each other; and the similarity which we find in their languages must undoubtedly prove this, even although the problem of race should remain as unsettled a question as before." Compare Mr. Geldart's remarks in note D, above, pp. 467, 468.

Professor Cowell allows that "this similarity and linguistic sympathy proves only the fact of a connexion; but they 'prove nothing regarding the place where it subsisted, nor about the time,' [Elphinstone]; but" (he adds) "perhaps the following considerations may throw some light on this further question," and then goes on to say that "a central home once occupied by the ancestors of these now widely scattered nations seems *primâ facie* more probable than to suppose that they emigrated from the furthest extremity of the line as India." He then states the considerations which confirm this view.

NOTE H.—*Page* 315.

"The question regarding the time and place of the separation is of yet greater importance than that concerning its cause. For our present inquiry, it is of less consequence to determine the place, than the time, of that separation. As regards the region where the Indians and Iranians dwelt together, several suppositions may be made. The Iranians may have immigrated into the Panjáb along with the Indians, and have turned thence in a westerly direction. But, on the other hand, the Indians might have separated themselves from the Iranians, and travelled towards the east. Thirdly, it might be conjectured that the two races had parted from each other before they migrated towards India and Iran. Be this as it may, though we are unable to assign

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any date to the period of the separation, we must decidedly hold it to have occurred before the Vedic era. No such relation exists between the two races as would justify us in assuming that the Iranians formed one community with the Indians during the Vedic period. The great majority of the Vedic gods and of the Vedic conceptions are as little known to the Iranians, as the Iranian conceptions are to the Indians. The ideas which are common to both nations may be most easily and satisfactorily explained by supposing them to have been developed in the ante-Vedic period." Spiegel, in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge zur vergl. Sprachf. vol ii. pp. 3, 4.

NOTE I.—*Page* 316.

"It is the common view that it was religious grounds which occasioned the separation of the Indians and Iranians. This opinion is supported by the fact that the names of several divinities which have a good signification among the one people, are used in a bad sense by the other, and vice versâ. Thus the Indian *deva* (god), has become a daêvo among the Iranians under the form of *daeva;* and Indra as Añdra has experienced a similar degradation. It must not be denied that these differences of conception may have had their foundation in a religious schism between the two nations; but this opinion should not be regarded as more than a probable conjecture, or held to be an historical fact, which follows from the linguistic data with the same certainty as the proposition that the Indian and Iranian nations had originally the same common ancestors. Other possible modes may be conceived, in which this opposition may have arisen; such as the internal development of the Iranian people itself. We have only to reflect on the case of the German religions, and their ancient gods, who, in presence of Christianity, came to be regarded as evil spirits. Dualism, with its rigorous consequences, was a power which operated in Iran in precisely the same manner as Christianity did in Germany. This dualism, which was a result of the particular development of the Iranian people, was compelled to make room in its system, in the best way it could, for those forms of religious belief which it found already in existence, and did not feel itself strong enough to discard. Many beings formerly regarded as gods may thus have been transformed into

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evil spirits, because they stood in too strong a contrast to the new moral system. It appears to me that the opposition between the religious conceptions of the Indians and the Iranians grew up gradually, and not all at once, in consequence of a reform of Zarathustra, as some have assumed." Spiegel, as above, p. 3. On Añdra see the 5th vol. of this work. p. 121, and note 212 there.

NOTE J.—*Page* 327.

Ptolemy, Geogr. vi. 16, has the following notice of Ottorocorra:—

Ὄρη δὲ διέζωκεν τὴν Σηρικὴν, τά τε καλούμενα Ἄννιβα, κ. τ. λ. "The country of Serica is surrounded by mountain ranges," viz., the Annibian, the Auxacian, the Asmiræan, the Casian, the Thagurian, and that of Emodus.

Καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ὀττοροκόῤῥας, οὗ τὰ πέρατα ἐπέχει μοίρας ρξθ λστ καὶροστ λθ. "[Another of these ranges] is that called Ottorocorras, the limits of which extend from 169° 36′ to 176° 39′ east longitude."

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀρκτικώτερα τῆς Σηρικῆς κατανέμονται ἔθνη Ἀνθρωποφαγῶν. "The northern parts of Serica are inhabited by the tribes of the Anthropophagi" (men-eaters). The Annibi, Sizyges, etc. follow.

Καὶ μεσημβρινώτατοι παρὰ τὰ Ἡμωδὰ καὶ Σηρικὰ ὄρη Ὀττοροκόῤῥαι. "And southernmost of all, near the Emodian and Serican mountains, dwell the Ottorocorræ."

Among the cities of Serica is mentioned Ottorocorra, in east longitude 165° 37′ 15″.

Ottorocora is again alluded to by Ptolemy in book viii., in his remarks on the eighth map of Asia:—

Ἡ Ὀττοροκόρα τὴν μεγίστην ἡμέραν ἔχει ὡρῶν ιδγο ἔγγιστα· καὶ διέστηκεν Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς ἕω ὥραις ἑπτά. "The greatest length of the day in Ottorocora is nearly 14¾ hours. It is distant from Alexandria seven hours towards the east."

See, for an account of Ptolemy's geographical system, Lassen's Ind. Ant. iii. 94, ff.; and for the position of Ottorocorra, the map at the end of the same volume.

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NOTE K.—*Page* 334.

In regard to Airyanem Vaējo, Lassen observes (Ind. Ant. 1st ed., i., p. 526, ff.; 2nd ed. p. 634, ff.): "If we assume that the Arian Indians and the Iranians had originally the same common abodes, out of India, we should expect to find a tradition on the subject among the latter people rather than among the former. We have already said that the Indians have no longer any legend of this sort, though they imagine a sacred region and the seats of the gods to exist to the north of India.[12] The Iranians, on the contrary, clearly designate Airyanem Vaējo as the first created country: this they place in the extreme east of the Iranian highlands, in the region where the Oxus and Yaxartes take their rise. This country was afflicted with winter by Ahriman, and had only two months of summer, as if the tradition of a decrease in the earth's temperature still floated in the legend. We must suppose the cold highlands on the western slopes of Belurtag and Mustag to be meant," etc. [The next paragraph will be quoted in Note M.] The following remarks are added: "It suffices to have made it probable that the earliest abodes of the Indians and Iranians are to be sought in the extreme east of the Iranian highlands; but we may assert it to be more than probable that the Indians were derived from some part of the Iranian

[12] Lassen's idea, quoted in p. 337, that the "daily prospect of the snowy summits of the Himālaya, glittering far and wide over the plains," and the knowledge the Indians had of the "table-land beyond, with its extensive and tranquil domains, its clear and cloudless sky," etc., would point out the "north as the abode of the gods, and the theatre of wonders," is confirmed by Homer's description of Olympus, Odyss. vi. 42, ff.:—

Οὔλυμπόνδ', ὅθι φασὶ θεῶν ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
Ἔμμεναι· οὔτ' ἀνέμοισι τινάσσεται, οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρῳ
Δεύεται, οὔτε χιὼν ἐπιπίλναται· ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἴθρη
Πέπταται ἀνέφελος, λευκὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν αἴγλη.

"Olympus, where they say the blessed gods
Repose for ever in secure abodes:
No stormy blasts athwart those summits sweep,
No showers or snows bedew the sacred steep;
But cloudless skies serene above are spread,
And golden radiance plays around its head."

This, however, is the ideal Olympus. The mountain is styled ἀγάννιφος, "snowy," in Iliad i. 420, where the scholiast explains the discrepancy by saying that the epithet "snowy" applies only to the parts below the clouds, the summits being above the clouds, and exempt from rain or snow.

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country. . . . . The means of arriving at a conclusion on this subject are uncertain; we can only form conjectures from a review of the later geographical positions occupied by these nations; and we are thus led to fix on the country lying between the Caspian sea and the highlands before mentioned, as having been most probably their ancient seats."

See also Ariana Antiqua, p. 134, quoted in Note M.

Baron von Bunsen also treats of the First Fargard of the Vendidad in one of the Appendices to his Bibel-werk, vol. v. pp. 315, 316. I abstract the following remarks:—"The sacred books of Zoroaster's followers begin with a description of the gradual diffusion of the Arian races of Bactria, as far as the Penjab. The account of these migrations of the Bactrian Arians is preceded by a remarkable reference to the primeval country in the north-east, from which their forefathers removed to their present abodes, in consequence of a great natural convulsion. It appears that that once perfect primeval country, Airyana, had originally a very mild climate, until the hostile deity created a powerful serpent, and snow; so that only two months of summer remained, while winter prevailed during ten. The country next occupied was Sogdiana; and the third Bactria. The progress of the Arians with their civilization is, as it were, the march of Ahura Mazda, the lord of spirits. This advance has an historical import, for all the countries which are specified form a continuous series, extending towards the south and west, and in all of them the Arian culture is discoverable, and even now (in part exclusively) predominant. The first-named country can be no other than that where the Oxus and Yaxartes take their rise; the table-land of Pamer, and Khokand. Assuming the genuineness and antiquity of the Bactrian tradition, we have here a testimony, deserving of the highest consideration, to the historical character of the Biblical tradition regarding the interruption of the life of the Asiatic population by a great natural convulsion confined to this locality. The country lying between the highlands just mentioned to the east, and the mountains of Caucasus and Ararat to the west, with the Caspian Sea in its centre, is regarded by scientific geologists, such as Humboldt and Murchison, as the very region where the most recent convulsions of nature have occurred. The snow and the prolonged winter alluded to in the oldest Arian tradition must have been the result of an upheaving of the land into mountains."

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NOTE L.—*Page* 354.

In the Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. 108, Professor H. H. Wilson translates parts of a long passage in the Karṇa Parva, or viii[th] book of the Mahābh., verses 2025, ff., in which the manners of the Bāhīkas, Madras, Gāndhāras, Araṭṭas, and other tribes of the Panjāb are stigmatized as disgraceful. The same text is quoted and translated in the appendix to M. Troyer's Rājataraṅginī, vol. ii. pp. 549, ff. I will cite a few specimens from this passage. The country where the Bāhīkas dwell is thus defined (verses 2029, ff.): *Vahishkṛitāḥ Himavatā Gangayā cha vahishkṛitāḥ | Sarasvatyā Yamunayā Kurukshetreṇa chāpi ye | Panchānām Sindhu-shashṭānāṁ nadīnāṁ ye'antarāśritāḥ | Tān dharmavāhyān aśuchīn Bāhīkān parivarjayet |* "Let every one avoid those impure Bāhīkas, who are outcasts[13] from righteousness, who are shut out by the Himavat, the Gangā, the Sarasvatī, the Yamunā, and Kurukshetra, and who dwell between the five rivers which are associated with the Sindhu (Indus), as the sixth."

Their women are thus described (v. 2035): *Gāyanty athacha nṛityanti striyo mattāḥ vivāsasaḥ | Nagarāgāra-vapreshu vahir mālyānulepanāḥ*, etc. "The women, drunk and undressed, wearing garlands, and perfumed with unguents, sing and dance in public places, and on the ramparts of the town," etc.; with much more to the same effect.

Again (v. 2063, ff.): *Panchanadyo vahanty etāḥ yatra nissṛitya parvatāt | Āraṭṭāḥ nāma Bāhīkāḥ na teshv Āryo dvyaham vaset |* (v. 2068, ff.) *Āraṭṭāḥ nāma te deśāḥ Bāhīkaṁ nāma tajjalam | Brāhmaṇāpasadāḥ yatra tulyakālāḥ Prajāpateḥ | Vedo na teshāṁ vedyañcha yajño yajanam eva cha | Vrātyānāṁ dāsamīyānām annam devāḥ na bhunjate | Prasthalāḥ Madra-Gāndhārāḥ Āraṭṭāḥ nāmataḥ Khaśāḥ | Vasāti-Sindhusauvīrāḥ iti prāyo 'tikutsitāḥ |* "In the region where these five rivers flow after issuing from the mountains dwell the Bāhīkas, called Araṭṭas; let no Ārya dwell there even for two days. . . . The name

[13] These expressions, "dharma-*vahyān*" and "*vāhish*-kṛitāḥ," seem to contain a play on the name of the *Bāhīkas*. This tribe is mentioned in the S'. P. Br. i. 7, 3, 8, quoted above, p. 202; where it is said that they gave to Agni the name of Bhava. This reference to their recognition of one of the Indian gods, without any depreciatory allusion to their manners, may perhaps be held to indicate that the author of the Brāhmaṇa did not hold them in such low esteem as the speaker in the Mahābhārata. See also the quotations from Pāṇini in note 142, p. 354.

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of the country is Araṭṭa; the water of it is called Bāhīka. There dwell degraded Brāhmans, contemporary with Prajāpati. They have no Veda, no Vedic ceremony, nor any sacrifice. The gods do not eat the food offered by Vrātyas and servile people. The Prasthalas, Madras, Gandhāras, Araṭṭas, Khaśas, Vasātis, and Sindhusauvīras are nearly all very contemptible." Again it is said of the same country (v. 2076, ff.) *Tatra vai Brāhmaṇo bhūtvā tato bhavati Kshatriyaḥ | Vaiśyaḥ Śūdraścha Bāhīkas tato bhavati nāpitaḥ | Nāpitaścha tato bhūtvā punar bhavati Brāhmaṇaḥ | Dvijo bhūtvā cha tatraiva punar dāso 'bhijāyate | Bhavaty ekaḥ kule viprāḥ prasṛishṭāḥ kāmachāriṇaḥ | Gāndhārāḥ Madrakāśchaiva Bāhīkāśchālpachetasaḥ.* "There a Bāhīka, born a Brāhman, becomes afterwards a Kshatriya, a Vaiśya, or a Śūdra, and eventually a barber. And again the barber becomes a Brāhman. And once again the Brāhman there is born a slave. One Brāhman alone is born in a family among the senseless Gāndhāras, Madras, and Bāhīkas; the [other brothers] act as they will without restraint."

In the Rājataraṅginī, i. 307, ff., the Gāndhāra Brāhmans are thus characterized: — *Agrahārān jagṛihire Gāndhāra-brāhmaṇās tataḥ | samāna-śīlās tasyaiva dhruvaṁ te 'pi dvijādhamāḥ | Bhaginī-varga-sambhoga-nirlajjāḥ Mlechha-vaṁśajāḥ | Snushā-sangati-saktāścha dāra-dāḥ santi pāpinaḥ | Vastubhāvais tathā bhāṭya bhāryyā-vikraya-kāriṇaḥ | paropabhogitās teshāṁ nirlajjās tarhi yoshitaḥ |* "Then the Gāndhāra Brāhmans seized upon rent-free lands; for these most degraded of priests were of the same disposition as that [tyrannical prince.] These sinners, sprung from Mlechhas, are so shameless as to corrupt their own sisters and daughters-in-law, and to offer their wives to others, hiring and selling them, like commodities, for money. Their women being thus given up to strangers, are consequently shameless."

M. Troyer remarks (vol. ii. 317) that "the inhabitants of the Panjāb are in this passage of the Mahābh. named generally Bāhīkas and Araṭṭas, while the Gāndhāras are associated with the different tribes into which these inhabitants are subdivided, such as the Prasthalas and Madras, in such a way that it can scarcely be doubted that the former (the Gāndhāras) lived in their neighbourhood, diffused like them between the six rivers of that country. . . The Sindhu-Gāndhāras mentioned, Rāj. i. 66, lived on the Indus."

And Wilson says (As. Res. xv. 105): "According to the Mahābh.

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the Gandhari are not only met with upon crossing the Setlej and proceeding towards the Airāvatī (Ravi), or where Strabo places Gandaris, but they are scattered along with other tribes throughout the Panjāb, as far as to the Indus, when we approach Gandaritis. According also to our text (Rāj. i. 66) one body of the Gandhari appear to occupy a division of their own on the last river, which is named after that very circumstance, Sindhu-Gandhar, and these may have extended westward as far as the modern Candahar." In his Vishṇu-Pur., 1st ed., p. 191, note 83, the same writer says of the Gāndhāras: "These are also a people of the north-west, found both on the west of the Indus, and in the Panjāb, and well known to classical authors as the Gandarii and Gandaridæ." See also Rawlinson's Herodotus, iv. pp. 216, 217.

NOTE M.—*Page* 356.

Lassen, Ind. Ant. i. 527, remarks as follows: "The opinion that the original seats of these [the Indian and Iranian] nations are to be sought here in [the extreme east of the Iranian highlands], receives great confirmation from the fact, that we find branches of these nations on both sides of this lofty range; for the ancient inhabitants of Casghar, Yarkhand, Khoten, Aksu, Turfān, and Khamil are Tājīks and speak Perṣian; it is from this point only that they are diffused towards the interior of upland Asia: so that their most powerful germ seems to have been planted on this range."

And Professor H. H. Wilson says: "Without extending the limits of India, however, too far to the north, there is no reason to doubt that the valleys of the Indian Caucasus were properly included within them, and that their inhabitants, as far as to the Pamer mountains and Badakhshān, were Indians, who may have been at first tributary to Persia, and afterwards subjects of some branches of the Greek race of Bactrian kings."—Ariana Antiqua, p. 134.

Badakhshān is the country on the banks of the Oxus near its sources, situated between lat. 36° and 38° north, and lying eastward from Balkh. Pamer lies in the same direction. See the map in Ariana Ant. p. 214, or that of Ancient India in Lassen's Ind. Ant., vol. ii.

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NOTE N.—*Page* 396, *note* 83, *line* 6.

The passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa here referred to is as follows: xiii. 8, 1, 5: *Chatussrakti | devāś cha asurāś cha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ dikshv aspardhanta | te devāḥ asurān sapatnān bhrātṛivyān digbhyo 'nudanta | te 'dikkāḥ parābhavan | tasmād yāḥ daivyaḥ prajāś chatussraktīni tāḥ śmaśānāni kurvate | atha yāḥ āsuryaḥ prāchyās tvad ye tvat parimaṇḍalāni | te 'nudanta hy enān digbhyaḥ.* "Four-cornered. The gods and Asuras, both the offspring of Prajāpati, contended in the regions. The gods expelled the Asuras, their rivals and enemies, from the regions" [conceived, apparently, as square, or angular]. "They, being regionless, were overcome. Hence, the people who are divine construct their graves four-cornered; whilst the Eastern people, who are akin to the Asuras, construct them round. For the gods drove the Asuras from the regions."

NOTE O.—*Page* 443.

A question of considerable interest here presents itself, on which it may be desirable to make a few remarks, viz., whether the indigenous or non-Arian races, who now speak Tamil, and the other languages of the southern group, are of the same family as those tribes who were brought into contact with the Āryas on their first arrival in India, and the remains of whose languages have survived in the vernacular dialects of northern Hindustan. The late Rev. Dr. J. Stevenson appears to have been of opinion that the non-Sanskrit element in the northern and southern vernacular dialects was originally to a great extent the same, and that the people who spoke them also belonged to one race. He remarks (Art. vii., Journ. Bombay Branch Royal As. Soc., No. XII. for 1849), "It is usually taken also for granted that between the non-Sanskrit parts of the northern and southern families of languages there is no bond of union, and that the only connecting link between the two is their Sanskrit element. It is to this last proposition that the writer of this paper demurs." He afterwards proceeds: "The theory which has suggested itself to the writer as the most probable is, that on the entrance of the tribes which now form the highest castes, those of the Brahmans, Kshattriyas and

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Waisyas, into India, they found a rude aboriginal population, speaking a different language, having a different religion, and different customs and manners; that by arms and policy the original inhabitants were all subdued, and in great numbers expelled from the northern regions, those that remained mixing with the new population, and being first their slaves, and then forming the Sudra caste. The language of these aborigines is supposed to have belonged to the southern family of languages, the most perfect remaining type of which family is the Tamil." The fundamental affinities of the northern and southern languages are then discussed by Dr. Stevenson in various papers in the same journal, which appeared in the years 1851 and 1852. Dr. Caldwell, however, has expressed his dissent from Dr. Stevenson, both in regard to the affinities between the pre-Aryan races themselves of the north and of the south, and their original languages. (See pp. 38, ff. and 69, ff. of his Dravidian Grammar). In regard to the languages he remarks (p. 39, ff.) that the hypothesis of their affinity does not appear to him to have been established; as though various analogies in grammatical structure seem to connect the non-Sanskrit element in the north Indian idioms with the Scythian or Tartar tongues, yet that no special relationship of the former to the Dravidian languages has yet been proved to exist. If the non-Sanskrit element in the northern vernaculars (p. 40) had been Dravidian, we might have expected to find in their vocabularies a few primary Dravidian roots such as the words for head, hand, foot, eye, ear; whereas Dr. Caldwell has been unable to discover any trustworthy analogy in words belonging to this class. Further research, he adds (p. 42), may possibly disclose the existence in the northern vernaculars of distinctively Dravidian forms and roots, but their presence does not yet appear to be proved; and he therefore concludes that the non-Sanskrit portion of the northern languages cannot safely be placed in the same class with the southern, except, perhaps, in the sense of both being Scythian rather than Arian. The same is the opinion of the Rev. Dr. J. Wilson, who in his "Notes on the Marāthī Language," in the preface to the second edition of Molesworth's Marāthī Dictionary (p. xxii), thus writes:—"The Scythian words in the Marāthī are, in general, like those of the other Turanian tongues, more in their forms than in their sounds. They differ very much

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from the vocables of the Turanian languages in the south of India (the Canarese, Telugu, Tāmul, and Malayālam), the comparison of the dictionaries and grammars of which throws but little light on the Maṛāthī; and though they may be classed in the same tribe of languages, they evidently belong to a different family, to a different Turanian immigration into India, yet to be explored by the combined labours of the philologist and the ethnographer." Regarding the question whether the non-Arian tribes of the north and the south are themselves of the same stock, Dr. Caldwell remarks (p. 72) that the Dravidians may be confidently regarded as the earliest inhabitants of India, or at least as the earliest that entered from the north-west, but it is not so easy to determine whether they are the people whom the Arians found in possession, or whether they had been already expelled from the north by the irruption of another Scythian race. Without deciding this point positively, Dr. Caldwell is led by the apparent differences between the Dravidian languages and the aboriginal element in the northern vernaculars, to incline to the supposition that the Dravidian idioms belong to an older stage of Scythian speech; and if this view be correct, it seems to follow that the ancestors of the Scythian or non-Arian portion of the north Indian population must have immigrated into India at a later period than the Dravidians, and must have expelled the Dravidians from the greater portion of north India before they were themselves subjugated by a new race of Arian invaders from the north-west. In any case Dr. Caldwell is persuaded that it was not by the Arians that the Dravidians were expelled from northern India, and that, as no reference occurs either in Sanskrit or Dravidian tradition to any hostilities between these two races, their primitive relations could never have been otherwise than amicable. The pre-Arian Scythians, by whom Dr. Caldwell supposes that the Dravidians may have been expelled from the northern provinces, are not, he considers, to be confounded with the Kolas, Santhals, Bhills, Doms, and other aboriginal tribes of the north, who, he supposes, may have retired into the forests before the Dravidians, or, like the Bhotan tribes, have entered into India from the north-east. The languages of these forest tribes Dr. Caldwell conceives to exhibit no affinity with the aboriginal element in the north-Indian vernaculars. We

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have therefore, according to the views just summarily expounded, four separate strata, so to speak, of population in India:

First and earliest, the forest-tribes, such as the Kolas, Santhals, Bhills, etc., etc., who may have entered India from the north-east.

Second. The Dravidians, who entered India from the north-west, and either advanced voluntarily towards their ultimate seats in the south of the peninsula, or were driven by the pressure of subsequent hordes, following them from the same direction.

Third. We have the race (alluded to at the end of the preceding head, No. 2) of Scythian or non-Arian immigrants from the north-west, whose language afterwards united with the Sanskrit to form the Prākṛit dialects of northern India.

Fourth. The Arian invaders who (after separating first from the other branches of the Indo-Germanic stock, and last of all from the Persian branch of that family) advanced into India, drove before them the non-Arian tribes who were previously in possession of the Panjāb and other parts of the north-west provinces of India, and after organizing Brahmanical communities, and founding Brahmanical institutions in the north, gradually diffused themselves to the east and south, and eventually extended their discipline, and to some degree their sacred language, to the remotest parts of the peninsula.

To whatever degree the details of this theory may be capable of proof, the general conclusion, at least, seems to be undeniable, viz., that the ancestors, both of the Dravidian nations, and of other non-Sanskritic tribes now occupying different parts of India, were in occupation of that country before the immigration of the Arians; and that the former could not (as is erroneously intimated in various Puranic and other traditions) have been descended from the latter. If the Dravidian Cholas, Keralas, etc., were originally Kshatriyas who fell away from Brahmanism, they must have been reconverted to that system; a double process of which there is no historical proof.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES.

i. *Page* 47, *lines* 21–24.

This remark seems to be incorrect. The Scholiast could not have meant to denote the Mahārāshṭrī, or any other of the provincial Prākṛits, by the term "*deśi*," as they all embraced a "tatsama" and a "tadbhava" element also. He could only, when using the word "*deśi*," have referred to the local element in each. See pp. 49, 427, ff.

ii. *Page* 249, *lines* 18, ff.

A leanred friend informs me that the Sanskrit *astu* does not correspond to the Latin *esto*, which in old Latin is *estod*; that the latter word coincides with such Sanskrit forms as *yajatāt*, etc.; and that the same holds good of the Greek *estō*. He also states that *santu* (Sanskrit) is not = *sunto* (Latin); and that the Greek *ēs*, *ēn*, do not correspond to the Sanskrit *āsīs*, *āsīt*, but to the Vedic *ās* (compare Böhtlingk and Roth *s.v.* 1, *as*; where Pāṇini vii. 3, 97, and R.V. x. 8ᴖ, 7; x. 129, 3, and x. 149, 2, are referred to). Bopp. Comp. Gr., 2nd ed., ii. p. 410, gives the Sanskrit *āsam*, *āsīs*, *āsīt*, and *ās*, as corresponding to the Greek *ēn*, *ēs*, *ēs*, *ēn*; and Schleicher in the table in p. 710, of his Compendium, 3rd ed., gives *estō* (Gr.) and *esto* (Lat.) as corresponding to the Sanskrit *astu*, and *sunto* (Lat.) as coinciding with the Sanskrit *santu*.

iii. *Page* 250, *line* 14.

Darś, *dadarśa*, correspond both in sense and sound to *derkō*, *dedorka*.

iv. *Page* 251, *lines* 25–27.

Instead of the Sanskrit *navatā*, *samatā*, *laghutā*, such Vedic forms as *arishṭaiāti*, *devatāti*, *sarvatāti*, should have been given as the more exact equivalents of the Zend, Greek, and Latin words there quoted. See Bopp's Comp. Grammar, 2nd ed., vol. iii. pp. 218 (where the Latin *senecta*, *juventa*, *vindicta*, are specified as the forms corresponding to the

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Sanskrit *navatā*, etc.), and 221. See also Schleicher's Compendium, 3rd ed., p. 425. f.

v. *Page* 251, *lines* 28, ff.

Compare with the Sanskrit and Greek forms in *tis* and *sis*, the Latin *mens, mentis; ars, artis; fors, fortis;* and *vestis*. See Schleicher's Compendium, p. 437.

vi. *Page* 253.

In the appendix to his edition of Ujjvalaladatta, Prof. Aufrecht has pointed out a number of forms which correspond in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin.

vii. *Page* 264, *line* 1; and 289, *line* 6, *and note* 66.

See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* 1, *rudh*; where *rodhati* in R.V. viii. 43, 6, and *vi rodhat*, in R.V. i. 67, 5 (9), are derived from *ṛudh*, the old form of *ruh*, and are explained in the sense of "growing." See also Benfey's translation of the latter passage in Orient und Occident, i. 596.

viii. *Page* 347, *lines* 8, ff; 348, *lines* 25, ff., *and* 350, f.

Compare note 12 in the first preface above, p. xxv.

ix. *Page* 393, *line* 19; 395, *line* 21; 396, *line* 15; *and* 418, *note* 124.

The points referred to in these passages are further illustrated by the following lines from the Mahābhārata, ii. 1169, ff.: *Tataḥ Śūrpāraka*ṁ *chaiva Tālākaṭam athāpi cha* | *vaśe chakre mahātejāḥ Daṇḍakāṁś cha mahābalaḥ* | 1170 | *Sāgara-dvīpa-vāsāṁś cha nṛipatīn Mlechha-yoni-jān* | *Nishādān purushādāṁś cha Karṇaprāvaraṇān api* | 1171 | *Ye cha Kālamukhāḥ nāma nara-rākshasa-yonayaḥ* | *kṛitsnaṁ Koligiriṁ chaiva Surabhīpattanaṁ tathā* | . . . . 1173 | *Ekapādāṁś cha purushān Kerakān vana-vāsinaḥ* | *nagarīṁ Sanjayantīṁ cha pāshaṇḍaṁ Karahāṭakam* | 1175 | *Dūtair eva vaśe chakre-* | 1176 | *Tataḥ kachchha-gato dhīmān dūtān Mādravatī-sutaḥ* | 1177 | *Preshayāmāsa rājendra Paulastyāya mahātmane* | *Vībhīshaṇāya dharmātmā prīti-pūrvam arindama* | 1178 | *Śa chāsya pratijagrāha śāsanam prīti-pūrvakam* | "1169. Then the glorious and mighty warrior reduced to subjection Śūrpāraka, Tālākaṭa, the Daṇḍakas, (1170) the kings

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of Mlechha race, who inhabited the islands of the ocean, the Nishādas, the men-eaters, the Karṇaprāvaraṇas, [men whose ears served them for coverings], (1171) the Kālamukhas sprung from men and Rākshasas, the whole of Kolagiri and Surabhīpattana . . . . 1173. He then by his heralds subjected the Kerakas, one-footed men living in forests, the city Sanjayantī, and the wicked Karahāṭaka . . . 1176. Then the wise and righteous son of Mādravatī, arrived in the low-lying tract, sent messengers amicably to the great son of Pulastya, Vibhīshaṇa, who received his commands in the same spirit." In verse 1837, the "man-eating Romakas," and in v. 1875, the Karṇaprāvaraṇas, are again mentioned.

The monkeys despatched to seek for Sītā are desired to visit among other countries those of the following races:—Rāmayaṇa iv., 40, 28, ff. (Bombay ed., =iv. 40, 29, ff., Gorr. ed.): *Karṇaprāvaraṇāṡ chaiva tathā chāpy Oshṭhakarṇakāḥ | Ghoralohamukhāṡ chaiva javanāṡ chaikapādakāḥ | akshayāḥ balavantaṡ cha tathaiva purushādakāḥ | Kirātāṡ tīkshṇachūḍāṡ cha hemābhāḥ priya-darśanāḥ | āma-mīnāśanāṡ chāpi Kirātāḥ dvīpavāsinaḥ | antarjalacharāḥ ghorāḥ naravyāghrāḥ iti smṛitāḥ.* "The Kārṇaprāvaraṇas (men whose ears served for coverings), the Oshṭhakarṇakas (people whose ears extended to their lips), the dreadful Lohamukhas (iron-faced-men), swift, and one-footed, undecaying, strong, men-eaters (a kind of Rākshasas according to the commentator), the Kirātās, with sharp-pointed hair-knots, gold-coloured, and pleasant to behold; and the dreadful Kirātas, who are islanders, and eat raw fish, live in the waters, and are men-tigers (men below and tigers above, according to the commentator)." One of the Rākshasīs mentioned in the Mahābh. iii. 6137, is called ekapādā, "the one-footed."

x. *Page* 416, *line* 4.

The Rākshasas are in other places also described as following Brahmanical observances. Thus in the sequel of the story of Gautama (from the Mahābhārata xii. 6293, ff.), above referred to in pp. 365, f., and 418, note 124, which is told as an illustration of ingratitude,—it is narrated that in consequence of the remonstrances of the other Brāhman, the hero of the story, after pleading poverty as an excuse for his mode of life, left the Dasyu village in which he had been living,

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and went towards the ocean. While he is halting in a delightful forest under a tree, a crane, called Rājadharman, son of Kaśyapa and the goddess Dākshāyaṇī, and a friend of Brahmā, arrives in the evening from the heaven of that deity. Gautama, being hungry and thirsty, is tempted to kill and eat him. The bird, however, welcomes him as a guest to his house, and entertains him with the utmost kindness and hospitality. Gautama then, in answer to an inquiry of his host, explains that he is indigent, and on his way to the sea-coast in search of the means of subsistence. The bird promises to procure him riches, and in the morning sends him to a friend of his own, a Rākshasa king, called Virūpaksha, who lived not far off, and who, he said, would fulfil all Gautama's aspirations (v. 6356). The Brāhman accordingly proceeds to the court of the Rākshasa chief, where he is eagerly welcomed. In answer to the Rākshasa's questions, he avows that he has married a Śūdra woman as his second wife (*punarbhū*). Notwithstanding this confession, he is invited to a feast to be given to a thousand learned Brāhmans whom the Rākshasa chief was to entertain on that day (vv. 6376, ff.) These Brāhmans were all well fed, received large presents of jewels, and were assured that on that day they would receive no molestation from any Rākshasas (vv. 6392, f.). Gautama, too, got his share of gold, which weighed so heavily, that he could scarcely carry it away to his place of sojourn in the forest, where he sat down wearied and hungry. He is, however, welcomed and entertained by the crane Rājadharman, but resolves to slay his host, that he may have somewhat to eat on the way home (v. 6401). He accordingly kills the crane while asleep, plucks and roasts him (v. 6403), and sets out on his journey homeward. After a time, the Rākshasa king is apprehensive that something may have befallen his friend Rājadharman, who had not come to visit him as usual, and sends to ascertain the cause of his absence (6407, ff.). The bird's skeleton is discovered, and Gautama is pursued and brought to the Rākshasa king, who, with his ministers and purohitas, weeps at the sight of his friend's remains (v. 6418); and commands the malefactor to be slain and his flesh given to the Rākshasas to eat. They, however, beg to decline eating the flesh of such a sinner, and say it should be given to the Dasyus. But even the latter refuse to eat it. Both Rājadharman and Gautama are, however, afterwards restored to life.

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The latter returns to his old haunts, and begets wicked sons on this Śūdra woman, his second wife. He is in consequence cursed by the gods, and doomed to hell (vv. 6445, ff.).

xi. *Page* 343, *lines* 8 *and* 19.

The number of the periodical called "Nature," for 14th Sept., 1871, contains an article by Prof. Max Müller, on Major-General Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India," in which R.V. v. 53, 9, and x. 75, 6, are translated, and some remarks on the Kubhā, Krumu, and Gomatī rivers are added.

xii. *Page* 439, *line* 14.

As this sheet is passing through the press, I find that it is stated by a writer in the "Cornhill Magazine" for November, 1871. p. 570, f., that Dr. Caldwell is wrong in asserting that the Dravidians are a Turanian people; and that in reality they "represent lineally an offshoot from the great parent stock which left the fatherland long before Sanskrit was grown into vigour, and about the same period that the Teutonic wave flowed northwards into Europe. There is scarcely a Dravidian root which does not appear in Gothic, Anglosaxon, or Icelandic." As at present informed, I am unable to say whether any detailed proof of these assertions has been, or can be, adduced.

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METRICAL TRANSLATIONS.

I REPRINT here two metrical translations from Indian authors, which have already been published, though they are but very slightly connected with the other contents of this volume.

I. *Asita and Buddha, or the Indian Simeon.*

In the Lalita Vistara—a legendary history in prose and verse of the life of Buddha, the great Indian Saint, and founder of the religion which bears his name—it is related that a Ṛishi, or inspired sage, named Asita, who dwelt on the skirts of the Himālaya mountains, became informed, by the occurrence of a variety of portents, of the birth of the future lawgiver, as the son of King Śuddhōdana, in the city of Kapilavastu, in Northern India, and went to pay his homage to the infant. I have tried to reproduce the legend in the following verses. The similarity of some of the incidents to portions of the narrative in St. Luke ii. 25, ff., will strike the reader.

I may mention that the Buddhist books speak also of earlier Buddhas, that the word means "the enlightened," or "the intelligent," and that Buddha also bore the appellations of Gautama, and of Śākyasinha, and Śākyamuni—i.e., the lion, and the devotee, of the tribe of the Śākyas, to which he belonged.

That I have not at all exaggerated the expressions in the text which speak of Buddha as a deliverer or redeemer, or assimilated his character more than was justifiable to the Christian conception of a Saviour, will be clear to any one who can examine the original for himself. In a passage quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 509, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, a renowned Brahmanical opponent of the Buddhists, while charging Buddha with presumption and transgression of the rules of his caste in assuming the functions of a religious teacher (with which, as belonging to the Kshatriya, and not to the Brahmanical, class, he had no right to interfere), ascribes to him these words—"Let all the evils (or sins) flowing from the corruption of the Kali

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age" (the fourth, or most degenerate, age of the world) "fall upon me; but let the world be redeemed!" If we were to judge from this passage, it might seem that the character of a vicarious redeemer was claimed by, or at least ascribed to, Buddha. I am informed by Mr. R. C. Childers, however, that in his opinion the idea of Buddha's having suffered vicariously for the sins of men is foreign to Buddhism, and indeed, opposed to the whole spirit and tendency of the system. According to him the Buddhist idea is simply this, that Buddha voluntarily underwent great sufferings and privations during a long course of probation, in order that he might attain the truth, and teach it to men, and so redeem them from worldly existence.

Another valued correspondent, Professor E. B. Cowell, is unable to think that the sentiment ascribed to Buddha by Kumārila is foreign to his system, as it is thoroughly in accordance with the idea of the six *pāramitas*. But he does not understand it as implying any theological notion of vicarious atonement, but rather the enthusiastic utterance of highly-strung moral sympathy and charity; and would compare it with St. Paul's words in Romans ix. 3, and explain it in just the same way as, he thinks, Chrysostom does that verse. He further refers to the existence of numerous Buddhist stories in the Kathāsaritsāgara, among which is one from lvi. 153, viz., the story of the disobedient son with a red-hot iron wheel on his head, who says:—*Pāpino 'nye 'pi* [vi?] *muchyantām pṛithvyām tat-pātakair api | ā pāpakshayam etad me chakram bhrāmyatu mūrdhani |* "Let other sinners on earth be freed from their sins; and until the removal of [their] sin let this wheel turn round upon my head." In either case it is only a wish, and it is not pretended that it really had, or ever could have, any effect on other men. It only expresses a perfection of charity. The same idea (borrowed, as Mr. Cowell supposes, from Buddha) occurs in the Bhāgavata Purāna, ix. ch. 21. The "immortal word" (*amṛitaṁ vachaḥ*, v. 11) contained in the 12th verse, and ascribed to the pious and benevolent king Rantideva,—who himself endured hunger and thirst to relieve others,—is as follows: *Na kāmaye 'haṁ gatim īśvarāt parām ashṭarddhi-yuktām apunarbhavaṁ vā | ārtim prapadye 'khila-dehabhājām antaḥsthito yena bhavanty aduḥkhāḥ |* "I desire not from God that highest destiny which is attended with the eight perfections, nor do I ask to be exempted from future births. I seek to live within all cor-

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poreal beings, and endure their pains, that so they may be freed from suffering." On this the commentator annotates thus: *Para-duḥkhā-sahishṇutayā sarveshāṁ duḥkhaṁ svayam bhoktum āśāste | . . . . . "akhiladeha-bhājām ārtiṁ" duḥkhaṁ tat-tad-bhoktṛi-rūpeṇa "antaḥ-sthitaḥ" sann aham "prapadye" prāpnuyām ity evaṁ kāmaye* |)

On Himālaya's lonely steep
There lived of old a holy sage,
Of shrivelled form, and bent with age,
Inured to meditation deep.

He—when great Buddha had been born,
The glory of the Sākya race,
Endowed with every holy grace,
To save the suffering world forlorn—

Beheld strange portents, signs which taught
The wise that that auspicious time
Had witnessed some event sublime,
With universal blessing fraught.

The sky with joyful gods was thronged:
He heard their voice with glad acclaim
Resounding loudly Buddha's name,
While echoes clear their shouts prolonged.

The cause exploring, far and wide
The sage's vision ranged; with awe
Within a cradle laid he saw
Far off the babe, the Sākyas' pride.

With longing seized this child to view
At hand, and clasp, and homage pay,
Athwart the sky he took his way
By magic art, and swan-like flew;

And came to King Suddhōdan's gates,
And entrance craved—"Go, royal page,
And tell thy lord an ancient sage
To see the King permission waits."

The page obeyed, and joined his hands
Before the prince, and said—"A sage,
Of shrivelled form, and bowed with age,
Before the gate, my sovereign, stands,

"And humbly asks to see the King."
To whom Suddhōdan cried—"We greet
All such with joy; with honour meet
The holy man before us bring."

The saint beside the monarch stood,
And spake his blessing—"Thine be health,
With length of life, and might, and wealth;
And ever seek thy people's good."

With all due forms, and meet respect,
The King received the holy man,
And bade him sit; and then began—
"Great sage, I do not recollect

"That I thy venerable face
Have ever seen before; allow
That I inquire what brings thee now
From thy far-distant dwelling-place."

"To see thy babe," the saint replies,
"I come from Himālaya's steeps."
The king rejoined—"My infant sleeps;
A moment wait until he rise."

"Such great ones ne'er," the Ṛishi spake,
"In torpor long their senses steep,
Nor softly love luxurious sleep;
The infant Prince will soon awake."

The wondrous child, alert to rise,
At will his slumbers light dispelled.
His father's arms the infant held
Before the sage's longing eyes.

The babe beholding, passing bright,
More glorious than the race divine,
And marked with every noble sign,[14]
The saint was whelmed with deep delight;

And crying—"Lo! an infant graced
With every charm of form I greet!"
He fell before the Buddha's feet,
With fingers joined, and round him paced.[15]

Next round the babe his arms he wound,
And "One," he said, "of two careers
Of fame awaits in coming years
The child in whom these signs are found.

[14] Certain corporeal marks are supposed by Indian writers to indicate the future greatness of those children in whom they appear. Of these, thirty-two primary, and eighty secondary, marks are referred to in the original as being visible on Buddha's person.

[15] The word here imperfectly translated, means, according to Professor H. H. Wilson's Dictionary, "reverential salutation, by circumambulating a person or object, keeping the right side towards them."

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"If such an one at home abide,
He shall become a King, whose sway
Supreme a mighty arm'd array
On earth shall stablish far and wide.

"If, spurning worldly pomp as vain,
He choose to lead a tranquil life,
And wander forth from home and wife,
He then a Buddha's rank shall gain."

He spoke, and on the infant gazed,
When tears suffused his aged eyes;
His bosom heaved with heavy sighs;
Then King Suddhōdan asked, amazed—

"Say, holy man, what makes thee weep,
And deeply sigh? Does any fate
Malign the royal child await?
May heavenly powers my infant keep!"

"For thy fair infant's weal no fears
Disturb me, King," the Rishi cried;
"No ill can such a child betide:
My own sad lot commands my tears.

"In every grace complete, thy son
Of truth shall perfect insight[16] gain,
And far sublimer fame attain
Than ever lawgiver has won.

"He such a Wheel[17] of sacred lore
Shall speed on earth to roll, as yet
Hath never been in motion set
By priest, or sage, or god of yore.

"The world of men and gods to bless,
The way of rest and peace to teach,
A holy law thy son shall preach—
A law of stainless righteousness.

"By him shall suffering men be freed
From weakness, sickness, pain and grief;
From all the ills shall find relief
Which hatred, love, illusion, breed.

"His hand shall loose the chains of all
Who groan in fleshly bonds confined;
With healing touch the wounds shall bind
Of those whom pain's sharp arrows gall.

"His words or power shall put to flight
The dull array of leaden clouds
Which helpless mortals' vision shroud
And clear their intellectual sight.

"By him shall men who, now untaught,
In devious paths of error stray,
Be led to find a perfect way—
To final calm[18] at last be brought.

"But once, O King, in many years,
The figtree[19] somewhere flowers perha
So after countless ages' lapse,
A Buddha once on earth appears.

"And now, at length, this blessed time
Has come: for he who cradled lies
An infant there before thine eyes
Shall be a Buddha in his prime.

"Full, perfect, insight gaining, he
Shall rescue endless myriads tost
On life's rough ocean waves, and lost,
And grant them immortality.[20]

"But I am old, and frail, and worn;
I shall not live the day to see
When this thy wondrous child shall fi
From woe the suffering world forlorn.

"'Tis this mine own unhappy fate
Which bids me mourn, and weep, and s
The Buddha's triumph now is nigh,
But ah! for me it comes too late!"

When thus the aged saint, inspired,
Had all the infant's greatness told,
The King his wondrous son extolled,
And sang, with pious ardour fired—

"Thee, child, th' immortals worship all,
The great Physician, born to cure
All ills that hapless men endure;
I, too, before thee prostrate fall."

And now—his errand done—the sage,
Dismissed with gifts, and honour due,
Athwart the æther swan-like flew,
And reached again his hermitage.

[16] The term here translated "insight" is derived from the same root as the word "Buddha," and means "intelligence," or "enlightenment."

[17] The term thus rendered, *dharmachakra*, expresses a somewhat singular figure. It denotes the "wheel of the law," or the "wheel of righteousness," or the "wheel of religion."

[18] The word in the original is *nirvāṇa*, a term of which the sense is disputed—some scholars esteeming it to mean absolute annihilation; others explaining it as the extinction of passion, the attainment of perfect dispassion. Mr. Childers informs me that he considers *nirvāṇa* to signify active bliss on earth for a brief period, followed (upon death) by total annihilation. See a letter from him on this subject in No. 62 of "Trübner's Literary Record" for October, 1870, p. 27.

[19] The tree referred to in the original is the Udumbara, the *Ficus glomerata*.

[20] *Amṛite cha pratishṭhāpayishyati.*

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II. *Rāvaṇa and Vedavatī.*

The Rāmāyaṇa, as is well known to students of Indian literature, relates the adventures of Rāma, son of the King of Ayodhyā (Oude), who, in consequence of a domestic intrigue, became an exile from his country, and wandered about the southern regions of India in company with his brother Lakshmaṇa and his wife Sītā. Sītā was carried off by Rāvaṇa, King of the Rākshasas (demons or goblins), to his capital Lankā, in the island of Ceylon. Ultimately, Rāvaṇa was slain in battle by Rāma, who (according, at least, to the poem in its existing, and perhaps interpolated, form) was an incarnation of the supreme god Vishṇu, and Sītā was rescued. Rāma returned to Ayodhyā after his father's death, and succeeded him on the throne. The legend now freely translated is taken from the supplementary book of the Rāmāyaṇa, chapter 17, and relates a passage in the earlier life of Rāvaṇa. Vedavatī, the heroine of the story, agreeably to the Indian theory of the transmigration of souls, was subsequently re-born in the form of Sītā.

Where, clothed in everlasting snow,
Himālay's giant peaks arise
Against the ambient azure skies,
And bright as molten silver glow—
While, far beneath, the solitudes
Are green with Devadāru[21] woods—

It chanced that once the demon lord
Who ruled in Lankā's isle afar,
And, mounted on his airy car,
Those northern tracts sublime explored,
Alighted there upon the ground,
And roamed the forests wild around.

And, lo, he saw a maiden, fair
And brilliant as a goddess, clad
In garb ascetic, rude and sad,
Deform with squalid matted hair:
And all at once with passion fired,
The damsel's secret thus inquired:

"How is it, tell me, lovely maid—
Whose virgin charms subdue the heart,
Whose form with every grace of art
In gold and gems should be arrayed—
Thou dost this doleful garb assume,
Which ill beseems thy youthful bloom?

"Whose daughter art thou? What hath led
Thy choice to such a life austere?
O blest were he whom, lady dear
And beauteous, thou should'st deign to wed!"
Him, duly honoured as a guest,
The fair ascetic thus addressed:

"My father was a holy sage;
From him I sprang as, calm, and dead
To earthly aims and joys, he read
Th' eternal Veda's hallowed page:
The voice which spoke within the Book
In me a form corporeal took.

"The gods, enamoured, all aspired
The honour of my hand to gain:
Their ardent pleas were urged in vain;
A loftier aim my father fired;
For he had vowed, with lawful pride,
I could be only Vishnu's bride.

"Incensed at his rejection, one
Among the suitors, proud but base,
The chieftain of the Daitya race,[22]
Avenged the slight the sage had shown:
By night he nigh my father crept,
And vilely slew him while he slept.

[21] *Pinus devadaru*, which signifies, the "divine tree;" the Deodar, a magnificent tree, both n height and girth.

[22] The Daityas in character correspond with the Titans of the Greeks.

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"That I my sire's high aim may gain,
And win great Vishnu for my lord,
I lead this life, by thee abhorred,
Of hard austerity and pain;
And, till the god himself impart,
I wed his image in my heart.

"I know thee, Rāvan, who thou art:
By virtue of this life austere
All hidden things to me are clear;
I bid thee hence; avaunt, depart!"
But by the maiden's charms subdued,
The demon still his suit pursued.

"Proud art thou, lady fair, whose soul
So high aspires; but such sublime
Devotion suits not well thy prime,
Nor stern and painful self-control.
The old may so their days employ;
But thou should'st live for love and joy.

'I am the lord of Lankā's isle;
Thy peerless charms my bosom fire;
If thou wilt crown my heart's desire,
And ever on me sweetly smile,
Then thou, my favoured queen, shalt know
The bliss that power and wealth bestow.

"And who is Vishnu, pray, declare,
Whose form thy fancy paints so bright?
Can he in prowess, grandeur, might,
And magic gifts, with me compare?
A phantom vain no longer chase,
The offer of my love embrace."

To whom the holy maid replied—
"Presumptuous fiend, thy boast is loud:
No voice but thine, profanely proud,
Hath ever Vishnu's might defied.
Heaven, earth, and hell, all own him lord-
By all their hosts and powers adored."

She spake; the fiend with rage was fired:
The damsel's hair he rudely grasped;
Thus by his hated fingers clasped,
She tore her locks, and cried, inspired—
"This insult I may not survive:
I enter now this fire, alive.

"Yet though I die, I once again
Shall live to recompense this wrong.
And though my vengeance slumber long,
My pious works their meed shall gain,
And I shall re-appear on earth,
A virgin fair of royal birth."

She ceased. With fixed resolve to die,
The fire she entered, calm, elate;
When all at once, to celebrate
This deed heroic, from the sky
There fell a shower of fragrant flowers,
Rained down by gods from heavenly bowers

Nor was this maid's prediction vain.
Attaining all her heart's desire,
As Sītā she was born again,
The daughter of a royal sire,
And won great Rāma for her lord,
Whom men as Vishnu's Self adored.

And now the demon-king profane,
Whose coming doom had been foretold
By that insulted maid of old,
By Rāma's hand in fight was slain.
For how could hellish power withstand
Incarnate Vishnu's murderous brand?

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